Musical Instruments in Western European Art

An Iconographical Guide

The Flute -- 16th century

Status of August 2007

PLEASE DO NOT SEND ADDITIONAL ENTRIES. The entries published here are only the ones for which I have somewhat respectable bibliographic entries at this time. I have much more information for these and for additional entries which will be added as I get around to it. I didn’t set out to compile a bibliography -- or, more properly, an iconography. This list is just what happens to be lying about the house. It is very much a work in progress, but if I waited until everything was perfect, it would never appear.

However, I would appreciate corrections -- wrong page references, for example. Send corrections to

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I am singularly error-prone, alas, and I am sure that there are numerous mistakes in this list. I am quit capable of looking at page 257 and writing down 277, and I seem to have difficulty telling right from left. Sorry.

The purpose of this iconography is to answer the question "Where can I find an illustration of ...?" I have included only works of art for which there is a published reproduction (plus some that are in the Visual Collection, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University and a few in the Bild-Archiv Photo Marburg).

Many thanks to Isabel Gray and the UHN Music Department for putting this index on their web page.

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[GB] BRITISH ARTISTS
V: Mythology


VII: Allegory


XII: Decorative Elements


XIII: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Outdoor

Garden Parties: [Pa private collection] Gheraerts, Marcus, the Elder (1516/21-a.1604), attr. Queen Elizabeth and her Court at Kenilworth Castle. private collection. Includes figures under a portico singing and playing bass viol, lute and flute. Elsewhere, a lute player serenades picknickers. Commedia dell'arte players brandish a viola da braccio and beat a frame drum. (T. F. Heck et al. Picturing Performance... Rochester NY 1999. p. 73 [useless reproduction], as ca.1560, perhaps by Lucas van Valkenborch or one of his circle, representing a scene from one of the Hapsburg courts; Burlington 76 [1940] 70 [poor reproduction], as 1575, attr. Gheraerts)

XV: Miscellaneous Figures


**[NL] DUTCH ARTISTS**

**VII: Allegory**

**Heaven/Hell:** [Swart van Groningen Dr] Swart van Groningen, Jan (ca.1500-p.1553). *The Highway to Hell*. Berlin KsK. drawing. The procession is led by players of flute and drum. (Marburg 230 604)


**XIV: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Indoor**

**Inn (Brothel)/Barn Interiors:** See also Allegory, Vice/Virtue.


**XV: Miscellaneous Figures**

**Military Musicians:** [Claesz Pr] Claesz, Allaert (1508-ca.1555). *Standard Bearer, Drummer and Flutist*. engraving. (Hollstein [Dutch] IV, p. 149 [poor reproduction])

[B] FLEMISH ARTISTS

I: Old Testament


[M de Vos-J I Sadeler Pr] _______. *The Descendants of Lamech*. engraving. A small child (Jubal, son of Lamech) plays a woodwind instrument (looks like a flute stuck in its mouth). (IB vol. 70/1, no. 7001.025, p. 44)

Other: See also Allegory, Vice/Virtue.

II: New Testament

Nativity -- Annunciation to the Shepherds: See also Miscellaneous Figures, Angels.

Parables -- Prodigal Son: See also Scenes of Everyday Life -- Outdoor, Garden Parties.


[Pa Paris Carnavalet] Flemish, ca. 1540/50. *The Parable of the Prodigal Son*. Paris, Musée Carnavalet. With a view of Paris in the background, including the Île de la Cité and Notre-Dame Cathedral. Women play lute and flute and a man (the Prodigal) may sing. These figures also appear in Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *The Prodigal Son at the

[Bol Dr] Bol, Hans (1534-1593). Banqueting Scene in a Garden/The Parable of the Prodigal Son (1570). location unknown. drawing. The foreground scene represents the Prodigal Son among the whores and includes a woman playing a lute and a man playing a flute. On the ground there are a lute case (open) lying on top of a partly visible flute (?) case, a generic woodwind instrument (probably intended to represent a recorder) and an open music book. (C. Slim. The Prodigal Son at the Whores'... Irvine CA 1976. p. 12 [ok reproduction])

[Bol-Momper Pr] Bartholomeus de Momper (1535-p.1597) after Hans Bol. Feast in a Garden Pavilion/The Parable of the Prodigal Son (1559). engraving (from two plates). The principal scene depicts the Prodigal Son among the whores. Outside the pavilion a woman plays a lute. On the ground beside her there are a lute case (open), a flute (or recorder) case, a flute and a recorder. Inside the pavilion a woman plays a virginal and men play flute and shawm. There is a clapper bell in a little belfry over the gatehouse at the left. (Hollstein [Dutch] III, no. 218, p. 53 [useless reproduction]; Gitarre & Laute II/3 [May-June 1980] 28-29 [fine reproduction])

[Coecke van Aelst Pa] Coecke van Aelst, Pieter (1502-1550). The Prodigal Son Feasting with Harlots. Venice Correr. The Prodigal sings and two of the whores play lute and flute. These figures also appear in the Franco-Flemish painting of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the Musée Carnavalet (see above). (H. C. R. Landon and J. J.


IV: Saints

**St. Cecilia**: [M de Vos-J I Sadeler Pr] Johann (Jan) I Sadeler (1550-ca.1600) after Maarten de Vos (1532-1603). *St. Cecilia/"Caecilia et cantum spernens ..." from Speculum pudicitiae .../The Mirror of Chastity, a series of Chaste Women (18 plates).* engraving. She is surrounded by numerous musical instruments, including a flute. unimp. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLVI, no. 952, p. 65; Mirimonde *Sainte Cécile*. pl. 102a; *Muziek & Grafiek*. no. 25, p. 74 [small reproduction]; exh Munich SgS 1999: *O Musica du edle Kunst ...* no. 58, p. 154 [fine reproduction], with German and English translation
V: Mythology

Muses (unidentified): See also Allegory, Other.


Muses (Euterpe): See also Miscellaneous Figures, Putti.

[M de Vos-Anon. Pr] Anonymous engraver after Maarten de Vos (1532-1603). *Euterpe*, from a series of the Nine Muses. engraving. She plays a conical straight trumpet and holds a recorder. At her feet and beside her are bagpipe, crumhorn, flute case, flute, cornett and trumpet. In the background women around a fountain play bagpipe, crumhorn, flute and straight trumpet or very long shawm. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLVI, no. 1301, p. 167 [small reproduction]; *Muziek & Grafiek*. no. 3d, p. 53 [ok reproduction], as Philips Galle after Maarten de Vos)

Satyrs/Fauns: See also Allegory, Love and Sex.

VI: Literary and Historical Subjects/ Figures

playing (separately) harp and lute. Above them men play two flutes (right and left handed), two shawms (?), trombone and perhaps one or two more instruments. (A. J. J. Delen. *Oude Vlaamsche Graphiek*. Antwerp 1943. unnumbered page. On the next page he reproduces an engraved version published in Antwerp, Plantijnsche drukkerij, 1591, where the wind ensemble seems to include a flute [very long], another very long flute or perhaps a bassoon of some sort, and three or four shawms.)

**VII: Allegory**


[M de Vos-R Sadeler Pr] Raphael I Sadeler (1560/61-ca.1628 or 1632) after Maarten de Vos. "*Amor,*" from a Four Ages of Man (Amor, Labor, Honor, Dolor) series. engraving. A youth in classical costume plays a lute. In the background elegant company in a formal garden includes figures singing and playing bass viol, lute and flute. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLVI, no. 1462, p. 224; exh Munich SgS 1999: *O Musica du edle Kunst ...* no. 16, p. 65 [lok reproduction], with German and English translation of the text; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 69 [1967] 322 [small reproduction]) Another version, by an anonymous Dutch engraver [probably after the Sadeler engraving?]. (Muziek & Grafiek. no. 61, p. 109 [ok reproduction])

**Elements:** [M de Vos-C I de Passe Pr] Crispijn I de Passe (1564-1637) after Maarten de Vos (1532-1603). *Terra/Earth*, from a Four Elements series. engraving. The personifications are a man playing a lute and a woman singing. Among the many objects on the table in front of them are a cittern, a flute, a recorder and a cornett. In the background there are a man playing a bass viol and men playing lute and flute. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLVI, no. 1353, p. 185; P. Fischer. *Music in Paintings of the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Amsterdam 1975. p. 34 [ok reproduction], as ca. 1590; Hirth no. 1422 [ok reproduction]; Mirimonde *Astrologie*. pl. 107 [ok reproduction]; Muziek & Grafiek. no. 61, p. 109 [small reproduction]; exh Amsterdam RM, 1976: *tot Lering en Vermaak ...* p. 24 [small reproduction, not exhibited]; *Early Music* 10 [1982] 249 [fair reproduction]; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 68 [1966] 276)


For other versions by Pieter II see Ertz.


**Love and Sex:** See also Literary and Historical Subjects/ Figures; Scenes of Everyday Life -- Indoor, Parties/Music Parties.


The drawing (1580) for this is in a private collection. (exh Amsterdam, Historisch Museum, 1977: *Opkomst en bloei*. cat. no. 3, as *De Grote Markt te Bergen op Zoom*)


Music/Poetry/Liberal Arts: See also Allegory, Vice/Virtue.


[Floris-Cock Pr] Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570) after Frans Floris (1519/20-1570). Musica, from a Liberal Arts series. engraving. The personification plays a lute. She is really ugly. There are a number of unplayed musical instruments around her feet: viol (and bow), harp, flute, flute case with flutes sticking out, recorder, tiny shawm plus music books and a music sheet. (C. van de Velde. Frans Floris ... Brussels 1975. cat. P111, Afb. 257, as by Monogrammist HIV after Frans Floris; Hollstein [Dutch] IV, no.52, p. 184, as Hieronymus Cock after Floris, probably 1550 or 1551; Muziek & Grafiek. no. 4, p. 55 [ok reproduction], as by Hieronymus Cock and Floris)


[M de Vos-C I de Passe Pr] Crispijn I de Passe (ca.1565-1637) after Maarten de Vos
(1532-1603). Music, from a Liberal Arts series. engraving. The personification plays a lute, with an unplayed cittern, pommer and cornett at her feet. In the background at the right a man and a woman promenade, both playing lutes. In the background at the left figures play flute, cornett and two more. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLVI, no. 1514, p. 245)


[M de Vos-J I Sadeler Pr] Johann (Jan) I Sadeler (1550-ca.1600) after Maarten de Vos (1532-1603). The Children of Venus, from a Seven Planets series (1585). engraving. In a panoramic landscape. Includes two groups with musicians: one with a harper and a woman and two men singing; the other with a woman playing a lute and men playing bass viol, lute and flute. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLVI no. 1385, p. 195; IB vol. 70/3, no. 7001.482, p. 79; Mirimonde Astrologie. pl. 76, p. 135 [ok reproduction])


Seasons (Summer): [M de Vos-Anon. Pr] Anon. after Maarten de Vos (1532-1603). "Aestas"/Summer, from a Four Seasons series. engraving. This is similar and related to the Hearing, from a Five Senses series by Raphael I Sadeler after Maarten de Vos (Hollstein [Dutch] XXII, no. 200, p. 205). The personification plays a lute and there are numerous musical instruments surrounding her, including a flute case. In the left background a couple dances, the man playing a lute. There is also a seated couple, she playing a lute (?) -- back view) and he playing a flute. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLVI no. 1425, p. 212)

procession, with figures playing flute and drum. These figures are adapted from his
drawing for January (see above). (exh Washington, etc., 1986-87: *The Age of Bruegel*
... p. 74 [small reproduction, not exhibited]) There is a similar painting (1594) by Frans
Boels (b. ca.1550-1594) (Stockholm NM). (Lesure [German] no. 55, [English] pl. 48)

**Senses (Hearing):** [Floris-Cort Pr] Cornelis Cort (ca.1530-1578) after Frans Floris
(1519/20-1570). *Auditvs sensorivm extervs est avis et crassvs qvidam ...* /Hearing,
from a Five Senses series. engraving (pub. Hieronymus Cock). The personification
("Avditvs") tunes a lute. There are music books and a large number of unplayed
musical instruments: positive organ, violin, cello (fretted, with bow), bagpipe, case of
flutes (bits of the flutes are visible), recorder, reed cornett, cornett, trumpet and large
frame drum. (IB vol. 52, no. 232, p. 266 [ok reproduction]; J. A. Riggs. *Hieronymus
Cock ... Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp*. Ann Arbor 1976. no. 83, p. 331; C. van
*Immagini del sentire*. S. Ferino-Pagden, ed. n. p. 1996. no. III.8, p. 110, as 1561;
*Muziek & Grafiek*. no. 8, p. 59 [ok reproduction]; exh Braunschweig HAUM, 1978: *Die
Sprache der Bilder*. cat. no. 10b, p. 68)

[L van Valckenborch Pa] Valckenborch, Lucas van (ca. 1535-1597). *Allegorical
Banquet (Five Senses?)*. private collection. Figures play tenor viola da braccio, double
bass, harp, lute and flute. (exh Münster, Baden Baden, 1979/80: *Stilleben in Europa.*
no. 212, p. 403, as ca. 1580)

[M de Vos-A Collaert Pr] Adriaen I Collaert (ca.1560-1618) after Maarten de Vos (1532-
1603). *Hearing*, from a Five Senses series. engraving. The personification plays a
lute, surrounded by a viol, cittern, harp, lyre, case of flutes and cornett. The instruments
and flute case (four parallel, cylindrical tubes) are rather crudely depicted. (Hollstein
[Dutch] XLVI no. 1494, p. 236; and [reversed] no. 1499, p. 239; *Muziek & Grafiek*. no.
7, p. 60 [ok reproduction]; exh Cremona, 1996-97: *I cinque sense nell’arte/Immagini
del sentire*. ed. S. Ferino-Pagden. no. III.8b, p. 114 [ok reproduction]) There is another
engraving, after this, by Gregorius Fentzel (op. ca. 1650). (*Early Music* 6 [1978] 143;
*Musica* calendar, 1970: 31 May-13 June [fine reproduction])

[M de Vos-Cool Pr] Pieter Cool (17th century) after Maarten de Vos. *Hearing* from a
Five Senses series. engraving. The personification plays a lute, with a pommer and a
trumpet on her lap. There are also several instruments depicted as decorations on her
chariot, including a flute. very unimp. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLVI, no. 1503, p. 241)

*Hearing*, from a Five Senses series. engraving. The personification tunes a lute,
surrounded by musical instruments including double bass, cittern, lyre, bagpipe, case of
flutes, cornett and trumpet. (Hollstein [Dutch] XXII, no. 200, p. 205; XLVI, no. 1508, p.
243; exh Munich SgS 1999: *O Musica du edle Kunst* ... no. 15, p. 43 [clear
reproduction], with German and English translations of the caption; exh Vienna, Palais
Harrach, 2001: *Dipingere la musica; Musik in der Malerei des 16. und 17.*
**Jahrhunderts.** S. Ferino-Pagden, ed. p. 185 [ok reproduction])


**Vice/Virtue:** See also New Testament Parables – Prodigal Son; Scenes of Everyday Life -- Indoor, Inn (and Brothel)/Barn Interiors.

[Broeck-Wierix Pr] Jan Wierix (ca.1549-ca.1618) after Crispijn van den Broeck (1523/24-by 1591). *The Choice of Hercules*. engraving. Includes figures playing violin, lute and two flutes, with a tenor bowed stringed instrument, a lute and a woodwind instrument (shawm?) on the ground beside them (small background details). (E. Panofsky. *Hercules am Scheideweg*. Leipzig 1930. pl. 40)


Copy by Pieter II Breughel (1564-1638): Brussels MRBA. (Gazette des Beaux-Arts 135 [March 2000] *La chronique des arts* no. 1574, p.33 [small, useless reproduction])


[P I Bruegel Dr/Pr] ______. *Temperantia/Temperance*, from a Seven Virtues series. Rotterdam BvB. drawing. Includes a choir accompanied by musicians playing positive organ, lute, bagpipe, two shawms, cornett and trombone (?). There are also a number of unplayed instruments on the ground, including a fiddle, a harp, a lute (beneath the organ) and a case of flutes (?) (partly visible beneath the organist). (H. Mielke. *Pieter Bruegel. Die Zeichnungen*. n.p. 1996. no. 51, p. 174; Vis. Coll. 374.1d.B833.4Te) Engraved by Philips Galle. (Komma p. 95 [fair reproduction]; Lavalleepl. 68 [fine reproduction]; exh Munich SgS 1999: *O Musica du Edle Kunst ...* no. 22, pp.36 [ok reproduction], 37 [detail of musicians and instruments], as probably engraved by Philips Galle in 1559/60, pub. Hieronymus Cock. Notes that Temperantia is surrounded by
scenes depicting each of the Seven Liberal Arts, including Music; *Muziek & Grafiek.* no. 27, p. 78)


[A Francken-Wierix Pr] Jan Wierix (ca.1549-ca.1618) or Jerome Wierix (ca.1553-1619) after Ambrosius Francken (1544-1618) (attr.). *A Triumph (of Noon).* engraving. Temeritas brandishes a lute and a tambourine. There is a small frame drum underfoot. A child dances to a jingle ring and a woman plays a flute. The horse of Temeritas has a collar of pellet bells. (*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38 [1975] 48 [small reproduction])


[Jode Pr] Jode, Gerard de (1509 or 1517-1591) (publisher and artist?). *To Squander Time is to Lose Heaven,* from the series *The Use and Abuse of Time.* engraving. In the center foreground, a man plays a lute and a woman plays a flute. At a table, with a fool, a man plays a harp. A figure holding a cittern is being dragged into Hell. (*Simiolus* 21 [1992] 247)


[M de Vos-Passe Pr] Crispijn I de Passe after Maarten de Vos. "Heu male sana cohors ..."/The People of Nineveh Feasting under a Pergola, from The Story of Jonah (Jonah 1:2), no. 1. engraving. Includes three singers and men playing two lutes (one partly visible) and a woman playing a flute. In the background there are also figures playing three wind instruments. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLV, no. 142, p. 70 [small reproduction]; M. Westermann. The Amusements of Jan Steen... Zwolle 1997. p. 207 [small reproduction]; exh Pittsburgh, The Frick Art Museum, 1986: Gardens of Earthly Delight... Ed. K. J. Hellerstedt. no. 11, p. 32 [ok reproduction])

[M de Vos-J Sadeler Pr] Johann (Jan) I Sadeler (1550-1600) after Maarten de Vos. "Creuit in immensum ..."/The Perniciousness of Man, from the series Bonorum et malorum consensio (the story of the family of Seth, Genesis 6:1-8) (1586). engraving. In the left foreground semi-nude figures on a garden terrace include women singing and playing cittern and flute. Men sing and hold a lute (partly visible). In the right background there is a lute payer. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLV, no. 49, p. 24, notes also an engraving by Crispijn I de Passe which condenses the scene in the upper right; IB vol. 70/1 Supp., no. 7001.037, p. 58; Muziek & Grafiek. no. 41, p. 91; exh Pittsburgh, The Frick Art Museum, 1986: Gardens of Earthly Delight... Ed. K. J. Hellerstedt. no. 10, p. 30 [ok reproduction]) These figures appear beside a map of the "Royaume d'amour en l'isle de cythère," engraved by the younger Johannes Sadeler (1588-1665). (Gazette des Beaux-Arts 89 [1977] 138)

[M de Vos-J Sadeler Pr] ______. Noah’s Ark. engraving. In the background, representing Mankind before the Flood, there are dancers accompanied by figures playing the flute and one other musical instrument. (IB vol. 70/1, no. 7001.041, p. 62 [fair reproduction])

War and Peace: [Floris-Galle Pr] Philips Galle (1537-1612) after Frans Floris (ca.1518-1570). Bellona/The Arts of War, from a series depicting man's activities (1574). engraving. The artifacts of Bellona include a tiny flute (perhaps), an S-shaped trumpet and a very deep frame drum. (C. van de Velde. Frans Floris... Brussels 1975. cat. no. P129, Afb. 282)


X: Portraits

[Lombard Pa] Lombard, Lambert (1506-1566), attr. Flute Player. Liège, Musée de l'art Wallon. He holds a very large (partly visible) flute. (M. Janssen-Delvaux. La Renaissance à Liège. XVle siècle. Gembloux 1971. fig. 14 [fine reproduction], as by
Lambert Lombard; Friedländer XIII, no. 108, pl. 55, as by Lambert Lombard; C. van de Velde. *Frans Floris* ... Brussels 1975. Afb. 311, as copy after Frans Floris; *Musées de la ville de Liège*. Brussels 1952. unnumbered p. [fine reproduction], as by Lambert Lombard)

**XII: Decorative Elements**

[Ms Münster WLM] Flemish? (Liège?), 16th century. Border of musical instruments from a Missal for the Bishop of Liège (1562). Münster WLM. manuscript illumination. The main illumination is the Ascension of Christ. The border presents myriad musical instruments, including a case of flutes or recorders. (exh Münster, Baden, 1979/80: *Stilleben in Europa*. no. 255, p. 496; *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42 [1979] 107, as Liège, 1560)

[M de Vos-J I Sadeler Pr] Johann (Jan) I Sadeler (1550-1600) after Maarten de Vos (1532-1603). Title page of *Boni et mali scientia* ... (1583). engraving. With musical trophies, including one with a cittern, a bagpipe, a case of flutes and a jingle ring. The case is short and fat and one would be tempted to call it a case for recorders, except that the ends of the flutes are visible. (Hollstein [Dutch] XLV, no. 25, p. 13; IB vol. 70/1, no. 7001.017, p. 36)

**XIII: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Outdoor**


**Garden Parties:** See also Allegory, Seasons (Spring).


**Processions:** [Ta Vienna KH] Flemish (Brussels), 16th century. *Procession,* from The Deeds of Joao de Castro in Portuguese India series. Vienna KH. tapestry. One group of musicians plays three shawms and (slide?) trumpet. Another plays flute and drum. (Göbel I/2, no. 112. as 1538)

[Stradanus Dr] Stradanus, Johannes (Jan van der Straet) (1523-1605). *Procession of

Tournaments: [Cl Brussels 1569] Sport of the Spanish Soldiers in the Market Square, Brussels, 1569. etching. Includes an impromptu sort of tournament (on foot) accompanied by four groups of a flutist and 1-3 drummers (the drums are shallow and played vertically). In the background a figure is borne on a litter between two horses and preceded by a mounted trumpeter. (Hirth no. 1112; A. G. G. Wouters. Histoire des environs de Bruxelles ... vol. I. Ed. F. Marien. Brussels 1971. p. 137)


Other: [Cl Brussels 1568] Hogenberg, Franz (ca.1540-1590). Execution of the Nobles, Brussels, 1 June 1568. etching. In the foreground there are figures playing a flute and four large, deep frame drums. A nobleman being led to his execution is preceded and followed by a pair of drummers (playing shallow frame drum played vertically). (Hind no. 1111; MgB III/9, fig. 46)

XIV: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Indoor


Inn (and Brothel)/Barn Interiors: See also Allegory, Vice/Virtue; Scenes of Everyday Life -- Indoor, Parties/Music Parties..


NM. Women sing (?) and play lute and cittern. A man plays a flute. Brothel scene. (Friedländer XIII, no. 45, pl. 23 [ok reproduction]; MgB III/9, p. 83 [ok reproduction]; Antwerp KMSK Jaarboek 1965, p. 115 [fair reproduction])

XV: Miscellaneous Figures


Animals: [Borcht Pr] Borcht, Pieter IV van den (1545-1608). Apenfeest/Monkeys’ Festival. engraving. Four monkey couples dance, accompanied by a bagpiping monkey sitting in a tree. Twelve monkeys dance in a circle, accompanied by monkeys playing flute and drum. In the background a chain of monkeys dance, accompanied by another bagpiping monkey. (Muziek & Grafiek no. 46b, p. 96 [small reproduction])

Military Musicians: [Pr Anon.] Flemish (Antwerp), 16th century. New Year’s Greeting of the Antwerp Town drummers. woodcut. The main illustration depicts a flutist and a drummer in elegant costumes. At the top, flanking a cartouche, two putti blow straight trumpets. The trophy in the left border includes two (very partly visible) trumpets and a kettledrum (with snare). The trophy in the right border includes a frame drum. (Muziek & Grafiek. p. 139 [ok reproduction])


[Master of the Female Half Figures Pa] ________, attr. A Man, Two Ladies and a Fool. location unknown. The ladies play lute and flute, and the man gestures toward a music book. These also appear as the three central figures of the Franco-Flemish Parable of the Prodigal Son (Paris, Musée Carnavalet) (see above) and in Pieter Coecke van Aelst's The Prodigal Son at the Whores' (Venice, Museo Correr) (see above). (C. Slim. The Prodigal Son at the Whores'... Irvine CA 1976. p. 16 [fair reproduction], notes reproduction in Connaissance des Arts 35 [1955] 42, as School of the Brunswick Monogrammist)

location unknown. The women sing and play lute and flute. These are similar to the figures above and to the three central figures of the Franco-Flemish Parable of the Prodigal Son (Paris, Musée Carnavalet) (see above). The man is now a woman. (C. Slim. The Prodigal Son at the Whores’... Irvine CA 1976. p. 17 [poor reproduction, apparently after the de Vassy sale, Amsterdam, Muller, X.20-27.1942, no. 60])


[F] FRENCH ARTISTS

V: Mythology

Fortuna: See also Emblems.


Muses (unidentified): See also Allegory – Music/Poetry/Liberal Arts.


Venus: [Monogrammist LD Pr] Monogrammist LD (Leon Davent? op. 1540-1556). Venus et Amor sur un lit de repos. etching. Female (?) figures play viola da braccio, viol, lute and flute. There is also a male figure (statue?) with a fanciful horn horn. unimp. (exh Paris, Grand Palais, 1972-73: L'École de Fontainebleau. no. 400 [minuscule reproduction])

VI: Literary and Historical Subjects/ Figures


**VII: Allegory**

**Life and Death:** [Pr Anon.] French, second quarter, 16th century. "*Mort au mylieu de tout plaisir mondain...*" woodcut. Includes musical putti playing fiddle, flute, and woodwind; a putto clambering up a tree holding a small frame drum; and a hurdy-gurdy and a small viola da braccio (fretted) hanging from the tree. (*Art Bulletin* 19 [1937] 433 [ok reproduction])


[Delaune Pr] Delaune, Etienne (1518-1583?). *May/Gemini*, from a Twelve Months series. engraving. A scene in the gardens of an estate. A casually reclining man plays a lute. A man, two women and two children sing. Women play two bass viols, harp, and one more instrument. There are many musical instruments in the border, including a case of flutes. (The flutes are very partly visible, but they stick out farther than usual.) (*Mirimonde Astrologie*. pl. 140; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* ser. 6, t.38 [1951] July-December p. 53)

**Music/Poetry/Liberal Arts:** [Me Cologne Kunstgewerbemuseum] French (after


Seasons (Spring): [Caron Pa] Caron, Antoine (1521-1599), attr. Diversion by a Château by the Loire/Triumph of Spring, from a Four Seasons series. private collection. Musicians play from a gallery in a ruined tower: flute and large, deep frame drum; two shawms and straight trumpet. (exh Jacksonville, Cummer Gallery of Art, 1964: French Art of the Sixteenth Century. no. 13, as ca.1580; Marsyas 6 [1950-53] pl. III/2, as from the 1580s; Vis. Coll. 375.C224.4D1)

VIII: Emblems and Proverbs


Bien peult dancer àque Fortuna sone,
Mais que le chant dure longue sayson:
Lorsque son chant plus doucement resone,
Garde toy bien de son mortel poisson [poison].


X: Portraits


**XII: Decorative Elements**

See also Allegory, Months (May).

**XIII: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Outdoor**


[Caron Pa] Caron, Antoine (1521-1599), attr. *Equestrian Portrait.* Cambridge MA, Harvard University, Fogg AM. Includes figures on foot playing flute and frame drum, frame drum, and four frame drums (beside a long column of foot soldiers in the background); and mounted figures playing trumpets. (Vis. Coll. 375.C244.50[a])

**Other:** [Pa Amiens Picardie] Anon., 16th century. The *Puy d'Amiens* of 1548: "Triumph exquis au Chevalier fidèle." Amiens, Musée de Picardie. Includes on a chariot players of flute and trumpet. There are also putti playing a small lute and two straight trumpets. (exh Paris, Petit Palais, 1965-66: *Le XVie siècle européen ...* p. not recorded)

**XV: Miscellaneous Figures**


**Putti:** See also Allegory, Life and Death.

**[DACH] GERMAN, AUSTRIAN and SWISS ARTISTS**

**I: Old Testament**
Jephthah: [BI Frankfurt am Main 1565] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). The Return of Jephthah, from a Bible. Frankfurt am Main, 1565. woodcut. The Welcoming Women play harp, lute (small, partly visible), flute, a wind instrument (slightly curved, spiral outline) and triangle (with jingles). (IB vol. 20/1, no. 1.38, p.267)


II: New Testament

Herod, Feast of: [BI Frankfurt am Main 1565] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). The Feast of Herod, from a Bible. Frankfurt am Main, 1565. woodcut. Includes a flute player playing as Herod dines. (IB vol. 20/1, no. 1.104, p.303)

[H S Beham Pr] Beham, Hans Sebald (1500-1550). The Feast of Herod. woodcut (printed by Albrecht Glockendon). Contains many musical references, including players of flute and frame drum in a boat. (Geisberg-Strauss G.179-80, as ca. 1530, printed by Albrecht Glockendon from two blocks [fine reproduction]; H. Daffner. Salome ... Munich 1912. plate after p. 204; exh Austin TX, 1983: Nuremberg. A Renaissance City ... Ed. J. C. Smith. no. 82, p. 184, as ca. 1530-35)

[Rauch Pr] Rauch, Matthäus (op.1568-1620). The Feast of Herod. woodcut (8 blocks). The feast is accompanied by players of double bass, flute and one more woodwind, perhaps a recorder. (Strauss The German Single-Leaf Woodcut. p. 856)


[H S Beham Pr] Beham, Hans Sebald (1500-1550). The Parable of the Prodigal Son.
woodcut (two blocks). The central illustration is of the Prodigal among the whores. A woman sings and a man plays a (tenor?) viol (5 strings). There is another (tenor?) viol and a flute case hanging on the wall. (IB vol. 15, no. 128, p. 196 [fair reproduction]; Hirth no. 27 [fine reproduction, but in page crease]; Geisberg-Strauss nos. G.219-220, as ca.1535)

[Rauch Pr] Rauch, Matthäus (op.1568-1620). The Parable of the Prodigal Son. woodcut (8 blocks). Contains several musical references, including a garden party with two dancing couples accompanied by figures playing double bass and flute. (Strauss The German Single-Leaf Woodcut. p. 855)

Passion – Crucifixion: [Me Trier RLM] German (Rheinisch), ca.1550. Crucifixion. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum. cast iron stove plate. The Crucifixion is above. Below there is a group of people crossing a river in a boat, including militiamen playing flute and frame drum. (exh Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1970: Rheinische Kunstwerke von der Renaissance bis zum Expressionismus. pl. 87)

V: Mythology


VI: Literary and Historical Subjects/Figures

[Ms drawing Zürich ZB] Anon. Verena Trost, Barbara Meyer and her daughter Anna Lang celebrate a Witches’ Sabbath, from the chronicle collection (1560-1587) of Johann Jakob Wick (Wickiana). Zürich ZB, Ms F 18, fol. 145v-146r. manuscript drawing. Includes costumed figures playing flute and frame drum. (The women were burned to death in Bremgarten, 12 September 1574.) primitive drawings. (G. Duthaler et al. Vom Trommeln und Pfeifen. Basel 1986. p. 28 [ok reproduction]; Salmen Spielmann. Abb. 15)
VII: Allegory

Ages of Man (Youth): See also Allegory Other.


[Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). Gemini/May, from a Twelve Months series. etching/engraving (the panels, placed end to end, form a circle). Dancers are accompanied by figures playing lute and pipe and tabor. Figures around a table beneath a pergola play lute (actually, he holds it while he embraces the lady next to him) and flute. (IB vol. 20/1, no. 45, p. 39 [monogram]; Hirth no. 1323 [no monogram]; Hollstein [German] I, p. 20 [no monogram] [miserable reproduction]. Notes that the original etchings are without the monogram, the engraved copies with the monogram.)

[H S Beham Pr] Beham, Hans Sebald (1500-1550). May, from a Twelve Months series. woodcut (tiny print). In a boat a man plays a lute and a woman sings. Two men (militia) play flute and drum. (Hollstein [German] III, p.not recorded; Budapest SM Bulletin 11 [1957] 56)

[Brun Pr] Brun, Franz Isaac (ca.1535-ca.1610/20). May/Gemini. from a series of friezes of the Months with the signs of the Zodiac. engraving. Includes figures in a boat playing flute and frame drum. (Hollstein [German] V, no. 37, p. 6 [small reproduction])

Months/Zodiac (September/Libra): [Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). Libra/September, as above. Figures around a cloth-covered table beneath a grape arbor include men playing a lute and a flute and a woman playing a viola. (IB vol. 20/1, no. 4.9, p. 41 [monogram])

Music/Poetry/Liberal Arts: [BI Wittenberg 1545] Lucas II Cranach (1515-1586). Musica, passe-partout woodcut illustration published in the tenor partbook of Sixt Dietrich, Novum opus musicum, Wittenberg, Georg Rhau, 1545. The female personification, a well-dressed woman with a feathered hat, plays the lute, surrounded by fiddle, harp and dulcimer (psaltery?). A case of flutes and a shawm or reed cornett hang on a fence to form a little trophy. (MG III, col. 449-50; Komma no. 213, p. 89) Cranach's woodcut was adapted for another passe-partout illustration by Frantz Friedrich (doc. 1550-1583). This was published as the title-page illustration for
Benedictus de Drusina, *Tabulatura*, Frankfurt an der Oder, Joannis Eichorn [d.Ä], 1573 (*MGG* III, col. 1190) and was used in Mattheus Waissel, *Tabulatura*, with the same imprint (Strauss *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*. p. 214 [miserable reproduction]). Here a treble (?) viol (or a three-string German fiddle), a harp, a case of flutes, and curved and straight cornetts hang on the grape arbor behind her. A dulcimer (psaltery?) and a trumpet lie on the ground. There is a music book on the grassy bank. Friedrich also adds a dog and a rabbit.


[Lucius Pr] Lucius, Jacob (ca.1530-1597). *Musica*, from a Seven Liberal Arts series. The personification plays a lute. There are several unplayed musical instruments, including a case of flutes. (*Strauss The German Single-Leaf Woodcut. vol. II*, p. 646)

[Pencz Pr] Pencz, Georg (1500?-1550). *Musica*, from a Seven Liberal Arts series. The personification plays a positive organ. Unplayed: viola da braccio, harp, recorder (?), she has her foot on it), and a poorly depicted case of flutes. very unimp for flute. (*Hollstein [German] XXXI*, no. 86, p. not recorded; IB vol. 16, no. 114, p. 126; exh Vienna, Palais Harrach, 2001: *Dipingere la musica; Musik in der Malerei des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. S. Ferino-Pagden, ed. no. I.55, p. 182 [small reproductions of all seven], as ca.1525/30)

**Planets (Venus):** [Pencz Pr] Pencz, Georg (1500?-1550), attr. *The Children of Venus*, from a Seven Planets series (1531). woodcut. In the foreground, at the left, men sing and play harp and cornett and a woman sings. At the right, a man plays a tenor violin (da gamba) and a woman plays a lute. There is an open lute case nearby on the ground. On a balcony in the background figures play flute and frame drum and (separately) trumpet or trombone. (Hollstein [German] XXXI, no. 93, p. 194 [ok reproduction]; Geisberg-Strauss no. 994 [fine reproduction]; Hirth no. 294 [fine reproduction], as by Hans Sebald Beham; Mirimonde *Astrologie*. p. 131, as by Hans Sebald Beham; exh Austin TX, 1983: *Nuremberg. A Renaissance City*... Ed. J. C. Smith. no. 103, p. 205; H. Zschelletzschky. *Die "Drei gottlosen Maler" von Nürnberg*... Leipzig 1975. p. 160; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 68 [1966] 286 [small reproduction])

**Playing Cards:** See also Miscellaneous Figures, Musicians (amateur or professional).

**Seasons (Summer):** [Amman Dr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). "Svmer/Summer (1565) (from a Four Seasons series). Braunschweig, Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum. drawing. With the icons for Taurus, Gemini and Cancer -- April, May and June -- and presided over by Ceres. Two women sing, one man plays a lute (back view, sitting on his lute case -- it must have been sturdy) and another plays a flute. (MgB III/9, p. 120)


**Vice/Virtue:** [Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). *The Bridge of Adultery of King Arthus*. woodcut. Includes a duel attended by players of flute (small) and frame drum (large). (Hollstein [German] II, p. 30 [small, unhelpful reproduction]; Hirth nos. 1095-1098 [fine reproduction, with splendid details]; Strauss *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*. pp. 60-61)

**Playing Cards:** See also Miscellaneous Figures, Musicians (amateur or professional).


**Vice/Virtue:** [Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). *The Bridge of Adultery of King Arthus*. woodcut. Includes a duel attended by players of flute (small) and frame drum (large). (Hollstein [German] II, p. 30 [small, unhelpful reproduction]; Hirth nos. 1095-1098 [fine reproduction, with splendid details]; Strauss *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*. pp. 60-61)

**Playing Cards:** See also Miscellaneous Figures, Musicians (amateur or professional).


**Vice/Virtue:** [Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). *The Bridge of Adultery of King Arthus*. woodcut. Includes a duel attended by players of flute (small) and frame drum (large). (Hollstein [German] II, p. 30 [small, unhelpful reproduction]; Hirth nos. 1095-1098 [fine reproduction, with splendid details]; Strauss *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*. pp. 60-61)
There is a French 16th-century embroidered hanging based on this (New York Metropolitan). (exh Jacksonville, Fl, Cummer Gallery of Art, 1964: *French Art of the Sixteenth Century*.


IX: Heraldic

See also Miscellaneous Figures, Animals.

X: Portraits/Genre Portraits/Conversation Pieces

See also Decorative Elements.


XI: Still Life


XII: Decorative Elements

[Sc Freiberg Dom] Zerroen, Antonius van (op. ca.1558-1563). *The Moritzmonument.*
Freiberg, Dom, Fürstengruft. sculpture. The cenotaph of Kurfürst Moritz von Sachsen (1521-1553). Delivered ca.1563. Depicts many musical instruments. Groups include clavichord, three viols of unequal sizes, two lutes and flutes; flutes (including case), pommer, dulcian, corno torto and S-shaped trumpet; flute and frame drum; two flutes and frame drum. (Imago musicae 9-12 [1992-95] 255 [only a few of the musical instruments are illustrated, including the flute case, but they are all listed on p. 254], Heise no. 19, as by Anton von Zerroen, after designs by the brothers de Thola)

[BI Wittenberg 1538] Anon. Decorative border for the Discantvs partbook of Georg Rhau, Symphoniae ivcvndae. Wittenberg, Georg Rhau, 1538. woodcut. Presumably a passe-partout border. Several musical instruments, including a flute. (Fraenkel no. 7 [ok reproduction])

[Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). A Woman Playing an Organ, from his Kunstbuchlin ... Frankfurt am Main 1599. woodcut. Unplayed: flute case, recorder, pommer. (IB vol. 20/2, no. 4.75, p. 448)

[Amman Pr] ________, attr. Border for a Portrait of Robertvs R. F. XXXVII (Robert I), from the series Effigies Regum Francorum. engraving and etching. Includes two musical trophies, one with a lute and a partly visibled stringed instrument (psaltery?), the other with a viol, flute (?) case and a curvy horn (partly visible, rusticated bell). (IB vol. 21/1, no. 10.15, p. 147)

[Amman Pr] ________, attr. Border for a Portrait of Henricus II Rex Franco LIX (Henry II), as above. The border includes fiddle, lute, harp, case for/of flutes, curved horn, trumpet and drum. very unimp. (IB vol. 20/1, no. 10.37, p. 158)

[H S Beham Pr] Beham, Hans Sebald (1500-1550). Ornament with Angel and Musical Trophy with Harp and Flute Case. woodcut. unimp. (Geisberg-Strauss no. G.344)


[Stimmer Pr] Stimmer, Tobias (1539-1584). Decorative Portrait Border. woodcut. Includes a woman holding a chalice and a lute, surrounded by various objects including a bowed stringed instrument (scroll only visible) and a flute case (very partly visible). very unimp. (Strauss The Single-Leaf Woodcut. Vol. III, no. 17, p. 1004. Border for a portrait of Melchior Neusidler, who holds a partly visible lute)

[Zündt Pr] Zündt, Matthias (fl. 1551-1570). Portrait of Graf Nicolaus Zrinyi von Sigeth. etching. One of the border trophies includes a flute, flute case (with tips of flutes emerging), trumpet (partly visible) and frame drum (vent hole, with sticks). Elsewhere there is a single kettledrum. (Hirth no. 1091, p. 733 [ok reproduction])
**XIII: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Outdoor**

**Battles, Encampments and other Military Scenes:** [Ms Aarau Kantonsbibliothek]


[CI Ingolstadt 1546] Mielich, Hans (1516-1573). *The Siege of Ingolstadt by Emperor Charles V, 1546*. woodcut. Includes a trumpeter, a flute player and a drummer, a drummer drumming, a drummer resting against his drum, and soldiers gambling (?) on a drum. (Hirth nos. 961-976)


[Brun Pr] Brun, Franz (op. 1559-1590). *Frieze with Landsknechts*. engraving. Includes players of flute and large frame drum. They are related to those in Hans Senger's *Fencing School* (see below). They accompany a military exercise with very long poles. (Hollstein [German] V, no. 71, p. 11)

[Solis Pr] Solis, Virgil (1514-1562). *A Troop of Soldiers* (1542). Engraving (frieze). The right half includes two flute players (cases on their backs) and two drummers with huge drums beside two standard bearers with enormous banners. The left half has another group with flute and two frame drums. (IB vol. 19/1, no. 264, pp. 1228-129; Hirth no. 894 [right half])

[Stoer Pr] Stoer, Niklas (doc. 1523-m.1562/63). *Drummer and Flute Player*, from a "Soldatenzug" series. woodcut (six blocks in all). They march with their standard-bearer. The flute player has a case of for flutes at his hip. (Geisberg-Strauss nos. G.1374-1379 [the whole series, this G.1374]; MGG XIII, Taf. 28/2 [detail])

[Wandereisen Pr] Monogrammist HW/Hans Wandereisen (doc.1519-ca.1548). *Encampment/"Der profantplatz und Mumplatz bin ich genant/Allen Kriegsslewten wolbekant."* woodcut. Includes figures playing flute and large frame drum (back view, snare on bottom head) as an officer dines in his tent. (Geisberg-Strauss no. 1480-10. Notes a copy by Wolfgang Strauch [op.1554-1572] which is Geisberg-Strauss no. 1066;

**Dances and Dancers:** [Ms drawing Zürich ZB] Anon. *The Zürich Sword Dance of 1578*, from the chronicle collection (1560-1587) of Johann Jakob Wick (Wickiana). Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Sign Ms F27, fol. 62. manuscript drawing. Includes figures playing flute and frame drum. The dancers have bells around their knees. (G. Duthaler et al. *Vom Trommeln und Pfeifen*. Basel 1986. p. 57 [ok reproduction]; MgB III/9, Abb. 26)


[Amman Pr] ________. *Scene of Courtly Life*. woodcut. Includes a man playing a lute (and a woman who may sing). There are also two couples dancing to the accompaniment of flute and pipe and tabor. (Hollstein [German] I, p. 18; Hirth no. 1067)

[J II Breu Dr] Breu, Jörg II (ca.1510-1547). *Dance on a Garden Terrace*. Darmstadt HLM. drawing. Five couples promenade/dance, accompanied by figures playing flute and frame drum. (exh Paris Louvre, 1971: *Dessins du Musée de Darmstadt*. no. 33, pl. XI; MgB III/9, p. 110 [small reproduction])

[J II Breu Dr] ________. *Figures on a Terrace* (1534). private collection. Dancers are accompanied by players of flute and large frame drum in a gallery above. There is a bell in a tower. (loan exh 1969-70: *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*. no. 106; Vis. Coll. 373d.B76.91[a])


**Processions:** See also Scenes of Everyday Life -- Outdoor, Views.

[CI Dresden 1574] Daniel Brecht (ca.1550-p.1625) after Friedrich Bercht (doc.1570-m.1585).  *A Group of Musicians Dressed as Wild Men and Women*. One of them (a man) plays a flute.  (Bowles *Musical Ensembles*. fig. 34)


[Dr Nuremberg GNM] Anon, third quarter, 16th century.  *The "Burgerzug" of Augsburg, 12 August 1545*. Nuremberg GNM Sign. HB 2587.  drawing.  A column of militia sets off on maneuvers, with four units of players of two flutes and two two large frame drums accompanying the standards.  (MgB III/9, Abb. 47 [fair reproduction])


[H S Beham Pr] Beham, Hans Sebald (1500-1550), attr.  *Sleigh Ride*, from a series of horse-drawn sleighs.  woodcut.  Includes figures playing flute and frame drum.  (Geisberg-Strauss G.240, as ca.1530;  Hirth no. 374;  MgB III/9, Abb. 51)


[CI Zwickau 1573] Anon. (Monogrammist R).  *Shooting Match in Zwickau, 1573*. woodcut.  "Stattpfeiffer" play one or two shawms, cornett and two trombones.  Outside the shooting arena there are players of 11 trumpets and a pair of kettledrums; inside, mocking musicians play shawm, curved horn and small frame drum.  Two groups of peasants are accompanied each by a flutist (perhaps only in one group) and drummer.  (Hirth no. 1115 [ok reproduction];  Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen, 12: Zwickau.  Dresden 1889.  opp. p. 76 [fine reproduction, but folded];  MgB III/9, Abb. 24)

[Lang Dr] Lang, Hieronymus (1541-1582).  *Shooting Match*. Karlsruhe SKH.  drawing (Scheibenriss).  Includes figures playing flute and large frame drum.  (Salmen *Spielmann*. Abb. 112)

**Street Scenes:**  [BI Strasbourg 1549] Anon.  *Street Serenade*, from Sebastian Brant,

[Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). Nocturnal Serenade. woodcut (oval). Well-dressed figures serenade with a little violin (three strings), lute and flute -- and get doused with a chamber pot for their efforts. A player of a plucked stringed instrument (three strings -- colascione?) who was probably part of the serenade, flees. (Strauss The German Single-Leaf Woodcut. vol. I, p. 67 [fine reproduction])

Tournaments: See also Allegory, Vice/Virtue.

[BI Simmern 1532] Anon. Tournament in a City Square, from Georg Rüxner. Anfang, Ursprung und Herkommen des Thurniers inn Teutscher Nation ... Siemern, Hieronymus Rodler, 1532. woodcut. Includes two mounted trumpeters and, across the street, a flutist and drummer on foot. (Hirth no. 707; Naylor Trumpet and Trombone. no. 129 [after Hirth?])

[Lautensack Pr] Lautensack, Hans (ca.1520-ca.1565). "Primus martialium ludorum pedestris conflictus 1560”/Tournament on Foot (Barriers). engraving. Includes two groups of players of two flutes and frame drum. (Hollstein [German] XXI, no. 78, p. 117 [small reproduction]; exh Rotterdam BvB Prentenkabinet, 1973: Duitse grafiek 1470-1700. no. not recorded [miserable, useless reproduction], as a tournament in Vienna)


[Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). The Departure of The Doge, Venice. woodcut (fourteen blocks). Includes figures sitting very casually in a gondola, playing viol, flute, shawm and cornett. There is also a flute case. (IB vol. 20/2, no. 27, pp. 824-25; Strauss The German Single-Leaf Woodcut. vol. I, no. 5, pp. 34-35 [the area with the gondola is not clearly impressed, as based on a woodcut by Giovanni Andrea di Vassore after Titian [B.27]; Salmen Spielmann. Abb. 83 [clear detail of the group in the gondola])


**XIV: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Indoor**

**Balls:** [CI Munich 1568] Solis, Nicolaus (op. 1567-70). *Ball on the Evening of the Wedding Day of Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria to Princess Renée of Lorraine, Munich, 12. February, 1568*, from Hans Wagner, *Kurtze, doch gegründete Beschreibung...* Munich 1568. etching. The dancers are accompanied by an ensemble of pipe and tabor, string drum (?), and two woodwind instruments. There are also a number of musicians in a gallery, including players of two flutes and a frame drum. (Bowles *Musical Ensembles*, figs. 27 and 27a [blurred detail]; *Schönes altes München*. Munich 1965. p. 207; *Early Music* 10 [1982] April front and back covers [color reproduction of a hand-colored print])

[CI Vienna 1560] Monogrammist FA/AF. *Grand Ball in the Hofburg, Vienna, 1560* (1561). etching. Four trumpeters lead promenading dancers around the floor, while four shawmists (one pausing) and two slide trumpeters also play. A flutist and a drummer wait, the flutist with a case of flutes on his back. There is also a man carrying two instrument cases and two conical instruments (probably shawms). (Hammerstein *Tanz*. Abb. 134 [cropped]. Identifies the promenading dancers as dancing a pavane; Hirth no. 1028 [fine reproduction, but the shawms are in the page crease, alas]; Kinsky p. 117 [useless reproduction]; Naylor *Trumpet and Trombone*. no. 17 [fine reproduction, but the shawms are in the page crease, after Hirth?], as "Grand Ball" at a residence in Vienna in the year 1566; MgB III/9, Abb. 112 [fuzzy reproduction])

[Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). *Tournament Ball*, from his *Turnierbuch*. Frankfurt am Main 1566. Promenading dancers are led by four trumpeters, while three shawmists and two (slide?) trumpeters play. A flutist and drummer also play and a figure has a case of flutes (?) under his arm. Compare the Viennese ball above [CI
Banquets: [Ms Vienna OeNB 10116] Flexel, Leonhard (op. mid-16th century).
Banquet in the Rathaus, Graz from his Schützenbuch. Vienna OeNB, Ms 10116, fol. 58v-59r. manuscript drawing. Music is provided by a flute and drum pair and by two trumpeters. (Salmen Katalog. p. 47)

[CI Munich 1568] Solis, Nicolaus (op.1567-1570), attr. The Bavarian Court Chapel under Orlando di Lasso at the Wedding of Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria with Renata of Lorraine, Munich, St. Georgs-Saal der Münchner Neuveste, 22 February 1568. engraving. Players of two large violas (da braccio), two tenor viols and two double basses tune up to a pitch given by the player of a positive organ. There are several unplayed wind instruments on a chest in the center foreground, including at least one flute. (Besseler Musik. p. 230, after Hirth; Bowles Musical Ensembles. figs. 25, 25a [detail, both unclear of the instruments on the chest], as Anon.; Hirth no. 1089, as by Nicolaus Solis; exh Munich SgS 1999: O Musica du edle Kunst … no. 33, pp. 82-83 [ok, but in page crease]; Naylor Trumpet and Trombone. no. 50, after Hirth?; MGG I, cols. 1435/36 [poor reproduction, but at least isn't't cropped]; MGG IX, col. 890 [poor detail], as by Nikolaus Solis)


[Danc and Dancers: [Ms drawing Zürich ZB] Anon. The Zürich Sword Dance of 1578, from the chronicle collection (1560-1587) of Johann Jakob Wick (Wickiana). Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Sign Ms F27, fol. 62. manuscript drawing. Includes figures playing flute and frame drum. The dancers have bells around their knees. (G. Duthaler et al. Vom Trommeln und Pfeifen. Basel 1986. p. 57 [ok reproduction]; MgB III/9, Abb. 26)

Music Lessons: [Dr Erlangen] Anon, 1579. Organist and Musicians/"Pavlvs Lautensack/Anno 1579." Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek, Sign. B 534. drawing. There are an organist, a cornett player (straight cornett) and a boy singer. Hanging on the wall: two viols, a lute and a very partly visible case of/flutes. Paul III Lautensack (m. 1598) was an organist at St. Sebald in Nuremberg from 1571. (E. Bock, ed. Die Zeichnungen in der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. Frankfurt am Main 1929. no. not recorded [ok reproduction]; MgB III/9, Abb. 137 [ok reproduction]; MGG XVI, Taf. 66 [ok reproduction])


[Stimmer Pr] _______. *Fencing with Swords*. as above. In the background players of flute (case on his back) and frame drum depart (not playing) (insignificant figures). (Hirth no. 1334)

XV: Miscellaneous Figures

Angels: See also Miscellaneous Figures, Musicians (amateur and professional).


includes players of flute and frame drum. unimp. (exh Bern, Kunstmuseum, 1979: *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch* ... no. 16, p. 164)


[Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). *Two Little Boys*, from his *Kunstbuchlin* ... Frankfurt am Main 1599. woodcut. One plays a flute (poorly depicted) and the other a pot and ladle. (*IB* vol. 20/2, no. 4.6, p. 413)


[Gl Schwyz] Swiss, 16th century. Armorial stained-glass panel (the *Entlebuch-Scheibe*) (1562). Schwyz, Schmiedgasse, Redinghaus. stained glass. Includes figures in the upper corners playing flute and large frame drum. (*Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz, 2:*)
Kanton Schwyz II. Basel 1930. p. 606)


[Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). Flute Player and Drummer, from Lienhart Fronsperger, Kriegsbuch. Frankfurt am Main 1555. woodcut. The flute player has a prominent case for/of flutes at his back. The drum is huge. (Hirth no. 1005)

[Amman Pr] ______. Blank Escutcheon, from his Kunstbuchlin. Frankfurt am Main 1599. woodcut. Flanking the escutcheon are a military figure playing a flute (left) and a Leierin playing a hurdy-gurdy (right). (IB vol. 20/2, no. 4.290, p. 555; M. Bröcker. Die Drehleier, Ihr Bau und ihre Geschichte. Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1977. fig. 139)

[Amman Pr] ______. Drummer and Flute Player, from the Latin edition (Panoplia …) of his Ständebuch. Frankfurt am Main, S. Feyerabent, 1568. woodcut. The flute player has a flute case on his back. The drum is huge. The flute case is much too fat for an instrument of the small, narrow bore of the flute that is being played. (IB vol. 20/2, no.
Trumpeter, as above. He has a case for/of flutes (?) beside him. The case compartments are rather short and wide. (IB vol. 20/2, no. 8.130, p. 700; Hirth no. 1273; Naylor Trumpet and Trombone. no. 58 [after Hirth?])


Binck, Jakob (ca.1500-1569). Flute Player, from a series of sixteen plates of officers and soldiers (1555). engraving. He has a flute case (barely visible) on his back. There is also a drummer in the series. (Hollstein [German] IV, pp. 82-83; IB vol. 16, no. 71, p. 52)

Binck Pr] Standard-Bearer, Drummer and Flutist. engraving. The drummer is back to the viewer, plumed hat. The flute player is barely visible. unimp. (Hollstein [German] IV, no. 158, p. 74. Copy by J. Wierix)

Binck Pr] Standard-Bearer, Drummer and Flutist. engraving. The drummer faces the viewer, bare headed, with moustache. (Hollstein [German] IV, p. 81, as perhaps a copy after Barthel Beham.)


Solis, Virgil (1514-1562). Flute Player. engraving. He plays a long, narrow-
bore flute and has a prominent flute case on his back. A pair with IB no. 252. (IB vol. 19/1, no. 247; Early Music 23 [1955] 121)


[Solis Copy Dr] Solis, Virgil (1514-1562), copy after? Drummer and Flute Player. Oxford Ashmolean. drawing. The flute player has a huge case and the drum is also huge. (Nuremberg GNM Anzeiger 1974. p. 51. Notes is the same drummer as the one by Monogrammist AM [Erlangen])


Musicians (Amateur and Professional): [Ms Berlin Kunstbibliothek] German (Nuremberg) ca.1560-80. Drummer and Flute Player, from the Heldt'schen Trachtenbuch. Berlin, Kunstbibliothek. manuscript drawing. They have the costume and badges of civic musicians. (Ott, fig. 37 [fine reproduction])


[BI Munich 1573] Nel, Johann. Title-page vignette the Munich publisher Adam Berg. woodcut. At the bottom of the page two boys sing and men play clavichord or virginal, bass viol, viola da braccio, lute, flute, two cornetts and two trombones. In a little vignette at the top of the page angels ("Laudate Dominiun omnes gentes") sing and play flute and three straight trumpets. Two figures of Fame each have two straight trumpets (one played, one held). There are two small trophies of crossed cornetts. A passe-partout illustration. There are two versions. In one (A), the line of the table top bisects the left center bouts (incurving) of the bass viol; in the other (B, a rather crude copy), the center bouts are completely below the table top. (Hollstein [German] XXX, no. 5, p. 21 [A], title page of Lassus, Cantionum quas motetas vocant opus novus. Munich, Adam Berg, 1573; Dufourcq Musique vol. I, p. 189 [A]; Fraenkel no. 44 [A]; R. M. Haas. Aufführungspraxis der Musik. Potsdam 1931, R/1949. p. 140 [A]; MGG I, col. 789-90 [A], title page of Lassus, Patrocinium musices. Munich, A. Berg, 1573; MGG VIII, col. 274 [A]; Mg B III/9, p. 158 [A, detail]; Naylor Trumpet and Trombone. nos. 67, 68 [A, detail], title page of Lassus, Missae aliquot qvinqve vocvm. Munich, A. Berg, 1589; Fraenkel no. 45 [B, title page of Lassus, Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales. Munich, A. Berg, 1584]; MGG I, col. 1679-80 [poor reproduction], [B, title page of G. G. da Immola, Sdegnosi ardori. Munich, A. Berg, 1585]; MGG IX, cols. 137-38 [fair reproduction] [B, title page of Jacob Regnart, Teutsche Lieder. Munich, A. Berg, 1583])


[Stammbuch Munich] German, ca.1572. Men Making Music beside a Tree, from the Stammbuch of the Augsburg Domorganist Abel Prasch (ca.1540-1592). Munich BNM
Bibl. 245, fol. 136b recto. Stammbuch illustration. Amateurs (a collegium musicum?)
sing and play a small triangular spinet, lute, flute, shawm and cornett. (exh Munich SgS
1999: O Musica du edle Kunst … no. 34, p. 85)

Nuremberg GNM. drawing. They are a lively lot. A woman plays a lute. There is a
man dancing to his lute, and a duo of lute and singer. On the fourth line from the
bottom there is a row of figures playing violin, double bass, harp, lute, flute, pipe and
tabor, shawm, and one more. A flute player serenades his lady friend. (Anzeiger des
Germanischen Nationalmuseums 1968. p. 177)

[Amman Pr] _______. The Two of "Bumpers" Suit from Künstliche und wolgerissene
Figuren, in ein new Kartenspiel/Charta Lvsoria. Nurembeg, Leonhard & Heussler,
1588. woodcut playing card. Three figures play double bass, harp and flute. (Hollstein
[German], p. 50)

[Amman Pr] _______. "Drey Pfeiffer," from Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände
auf Erden … Frankfurt am Main, Sigmund Feyerabent, 1568. woodcut. They play
crumhorn, flute and straight cornett (?). (IB vol. 20/2, no. 8.105, p. 694; Hirth no. 1264;
Kinsky p. 81 [tiny reproduction]; Early Music 27 [1999] 228)

[H S Beham Pr] Beham, Hans Sebald (1500-1550). Musicians, from Gassenhawer vnd
Reutterliedlin. woodcut. One group consists of players of fiddle, cello or small double
bass and two lutes. Another has two flute players. There are also groups of three
woodwind (recorder?) players and a cornett and trombone pair. Elsewhere a fool (? --
fool's cap, costume completely different from the other figures), has a large case of/for
flutes (?) under his arm. (G. Pauli. Hans Sebald Beham. Nachträge … Strasbourg
1911 [SdK, 134] pl. VI [small, fuzzy reproduction])

[Dorndorf Fr] Dorndorf, Jobst. Flute Player. Pirna, Stadtkirche. fresco. Includes
figures playing harp and flute. (Imago musicae 9-12 [1992-95] 273, Heise no. 62, as
1544-46)

[Stillhart Gl] Stillhart (Stillhart), Caspar (doc.1531-m.1547). Musicians (1542). ex
Berlin, Schlossmuseum. stained glass (fragment). Musicians play tenor viol, large bass
viol and three flutes. They may or may not be the entire original ensemble.
(Oberrheinische Kunst I/1 [1925] pl. XV)

Museum. stained glass. Includes four groups of musicians: three curved woodwinds
(crumhorns ?); three singers; an ensemble of harp, lute and one more (?); and three
flutes. (Oberrheinische Kunst I/1 [1925] pl. XV, Abb. 9)

[Stimmer Pr] Stimmer, Tobias (1539-1584). Flute Player, from a series of Lady
Musicians. woodcut. (Strauss The German Single-Leaf Woodcut. vol. III, no. 1025
Putti: [Ms St Gallen 542] Härtli, Kasper. *Putto Playing a Flute*, from the Barberini Codices. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 542, p. 11. manuscript illumination. It plays a large flute, almost as tall as it is. (*Ikonographische Zeugnisse zu Musikinstrumenten in Mitteleuropa*. Michaelstein 2000. p. 94, as 1561-65. This putto spears in the bass part. There are apparently four flute-playing putti, one for each part, with a flute of appropriate size.)

[Ms St Gallen 542] _______. *Putti with Military Instruments*, from the Barberini Codices. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod.542, pp.262-263. manuscript illumination. P. 262: putti play flute (standing, below) and S-shaped trumpet (seated, above). P. 263: putti play frame drum (standing, below) and kettledrums (seated, above). (*Ikonographische Zeugnisse zu Musikinstrumenten in Mitteleuropa*. Michaelstein 2000. p. 98, as 1561-65)


Other: [Amman Pr] Amman, Jost (1539-1591). *Der Holtzdrechssler*, from *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden ...* Frankfurt am Main, Sigmund Feyerabent, 1568. woodcut. With a little imagination one might discern a flute on his workbench. At least there seems to be a recorder. (Hirth no. 1247)

XVI: Treatise/Tutor Illustrations

[EP] SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE ARTISTS

II: New Testament


XV: Miscellaneous Figures


[I] ITALIAN ARTISTS

II: New Testament


Nativity: [Mazzola Fr] Mazzola, Girolamo (Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli) (ca.1500-ca.1569). Nativity. Parma, S. Maria della Steccata. Shepherds play recorder (pausing) and bagpipe. Three other figures (nude to the waist) play flutes of various sizes. One of them has a flute case at his waist. (Tesori d’arte cristiana, IV: Il rinascimento. Bologna 1966-68. p. 347; Contributi dell’istituto di storia dell’arte medioevale e moderna. Milan 1972. pl. CXXVIII, as ca.1553-ca.1568 [small reproduction]; exh Viadana, Sodalizio Amici dell'Arte, 1971: Disgeni di Girolamo Bedoli. no. 50 [useless reproduction]; Vis. Coll. 372.M4597.22N[a], as 1553-1567)

IV: Saints

St. Cecilia: [Campi Circle Dr] Campi, Giulio (1502-1572), Circle (after Raphael). St. Cecilia with Four Saints. Venice Correr. drawing. St. Cecilia holds her portative organ upside down. She seems to have her foot on a flute. Angels above play a bowed stringed instrument, a harp, and perhaps more. (Bolletino dei Musei Civici Veneziani 1971/1-2, p. 21, no. 59 [poor reproduction]) Another, perhaps related, drawing attributed (optimistically??) to Raphael (1483-1520) is in Paris, Musée du Petit Palais.
(The angel clearly plays a renaissance fiddle.) (Mirimonde Ste. Cécile. P. 90) (In the painting in Bologna there is nothing but earth beneath her feet.)

V: Mythology


VI: Literary and Historical Subjects/ Figures


VII: Allegory

Fortuna: [Pr Anon.] Anon., 16th century "*Arboro di frvtti della fortvna"/The Tree of the Fruits of Fortune. woodcut. There are many objects in the branches of the tree (like Christmas presents), a very large proportion of them musical instruments, including perhaps a flute. A man below brandishes a lute. (Burlington 115 [1973] 212 [fair reproduction])

Life and Death: [Cimerlini Pr] Cimerlini, Giovanni Paolo (op. ca.1568). *The Aviary of Death*. engraving (two sheets). A figure has a long, tapered woodwind held like a flute.
Considering how badly Italians depicted flutes in the previous period, I suppose it is possible that he did indeed intend it to be a flute. (IB vol. 32, no. 36, p. 310, as by Giovanni Battista d'Angeli, but with the note "actually by G. P. Cimerlini"; *Burlington* 140 [1998] September ad p. v)


**Other:** [Frangipane Pa] Frangipane, Nicolò (op.1563-1597). *Satirical Group*. private collection. Includes figures with a bagpipe and a flute. There are also singers, one with the bass part of Lassus' "Bella guerriera mia" [pub. 1563]; another with the alto part of Lassus' "Dicesi che la morte." (Simiolus 6 [1972/73] 102, as a "satire on the performance of a madrigal." Notes that the one published in *Burlington* 88 [1946] 47 is a copy of this, and that there is another in Venice, Galleria Querini-Stampalia, which is closer to the *Burlington* version than this one is.) The copy in *Burlington* (only a suggestion of the bagpipe is visible) was sold, Christie's, 23.IV.1926, no. 107, as by "Aart Aertsen."

[Frangipane Pa] _______. *Five Figures*. location unknown. Two figures have woodwinds, perhaps flute and recorder. (Simiolus 6 [1972/73] 98)

[Micheli Pa] Micheli, Parrasio (a.1516-1578). *Allegorical Group*. Chicago AI. Women play organ and lute. A man plays a flute and a child sings (or at least looks at a music book). The lute player is quite naked from the waist up. (Vis. Coll. 372.M5868.90[a]; Vis. Coll. 372.B838.4M, as Domenico Brusasorci) Similar painting, but with a female organ player. Schwerin SM. Here the lute player's little finger is curved, in Chicago it is straight. (exh Vienna, Palais Harrach, 2001: *Dipingere la musica; Musik in der Malerei des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. S. Ferino-Pagden, ed. no.IV.13b, p. 253 [fine color reproduction], as ca.1560/70)

[Tintoretto Pa] Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti) (1518-1594). *Six Women Making Music*. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. They sing (or at least point to a page in a music book), play regal, bass viol, cittern and flute (? mute cornett?). The woodwind instrument is not convincing either as a flute or as a cornett; but, considering the
difficulty Italian artists had in depicting the flute in the early sixteenth century (see 15th-16th century index), it would seem not unreasonable to consider it a flute. (W. Balzer, ed. Dresdner Galerie. 120 Meisterwerke des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig 1956. pl. 42 [color reproduction]; Harrison and Rimmer, no. 98 [ok reproduction]; Kinsky, p. 113 [poor reproduction]; Komma, p. 105; Scherliess, pl. 25, 26 [details of the music]; C. Slim. "Tintoretto's 'Music-Making Women' at Dresden." Imago musicae 4 [1987] 45-76, this reproduced p. 46. As 1566 or later, based on Zarlino's diagram of Six Consonances. Identifies [p. 49] the wind instrument as a mute cornett. Notes a restoration by Pietro Palmaroli in 1826/27, which may account for various inaccuracies; Early Music 17 [1989] 161 [ok reproduction]; Vis. Coll. 372.T492.60[i])

XII: Decorative Elements

[Po London V&A] Italian (Venetian) (attr. workshop of Domenigo da Venezia), ca. 1550-60. Cupid and Plenty. London V & A. majolica dish. Decoration includes viol, lute and flutes, masks and military symbols. (1940 catalog of Italian majolica, no. 968, pl. 156 [tiny reproduction])

[Po London V&A] _______, Decoration. London V & A. majolica dish. The center and rim are a medley of weapons, musical instruments (viol, lutes, flutes, curved woodwind, frame drums, etc.), masks, books and globes. (1940 catalog of Italian majolica, no. 969, pl. 156 [tiny reproduction])

[Po London V&A] _______, ca. 1555-60. Decoration. London V & A. majolica plate. Includes a lute, pairs of flutes and a frame drum. (1940 catalog of Italian majolica, no. 976 [similar to no. 975], pl. 157 [tiny reproduction])

[Po London V&A] _______, 1557. Naked Boy. London V & A. majolica plate. The border includes a lute, several pairs of flutes, a drum and a tambourine. (1940 catalog of Italian majolica, no. 975, pl. 157 [tiny reproduction])

[Po London V&A] Italian (Castel Durante, lustred at Gubbio), 1537. Naked Boy. London V&A. majolica plate. Includes four flutes, four frame drums and two pairs of flutes. (1940 catalog of Italian majolica, no. 717, pl. 113 [tiny reproduction])

[Po London V&A] _______, ca.1535. Decoration. London V&A. majolica plate. The center medallion includes a prominent frame drum and two sets of three flutes. The border has numerous flutes (usually in pairs) and a frame drum. (1940 catalog of Italian majolica, no. 715, pl. 113 [tiny reproduction])


Includes in the border a music book and single, double and triple flutes. (sale, Sotheby's, London, 15.V.1979; Burlington 121 [1979] April ad p. xxxii)


XIII: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Outdoor

Banquets: [Veronese Imitator Dr] Veronese, Paolo (Paolo Caliari) (ca.1528-1588), Imitator. Wedding Feast. no location. drawing. Musicians play flute, cornett and trombone. There may be a singer. Players of large bass viol and treble viol listen. (Vis. Coll. 372d.V593.90[o])


XIV: Scenes of Everyday Life -- Indoor
Banquets: See also Literary and Historical Subjects/Figures.

XV: Miscellaneous Figures

Angels: [Farinato Dr] Farinato (Farinati), Paolo (1524-1606?). *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine.* Florence, Uffizi. drawing. There are five musical angels, including one who may play a flute. unimp. (Vis. Coll. 372d. F22F.38C[a])


[Poccetti Dr] Poccetti, Bernardino (1548-1612). *Angel Concert.* Florence, Palazzo Spini-Feroni, via Tornabuoni, capella. ceiling fresco. There are many, many musical angels, including perhaps one playing a flute. unimp (the instruments are rather crudely depicted). (M. Bucci. *Palazzi di Firenze, III.* Florence 1973. fig. 47 [fine reproduction])

[Pulzone Pa] Pulzone, Scipione (a.1550-1598). *Assumption of the Virgin.* Rome, S. Caterina dei Funari. There are at least eight musical angels, including one playing a flute or cornett. (Vis. Coll. 372.P965.31As)


Putti: [C Baschenis Fr] Baschenis, Cristoforo (il giovane) (doc. 1570-72). *Penitent Magdalene*. Bergamo, La Chiesa della Maddalena. fresco. There are numerous musical putti, including one perhaps playing a flute. (L. Angelini. *I Baschenis*. Bergamo 2/n.d. pl. XVII [poor reproduction])

[Raffaelle da Montelupo Dr] Raffaelle da Montelupo (ca.1505-ca.1566). *A Sleeping Nude Woman surrounded by Putti*. Amsterdam RM Rpk. drawing. One of the many musical putti seems to play a flute. He seems to read from the music of two singing putti. (exh Amsterdam RM Rpk, 1970: *Italiaanse Tekeningen*. cat. no. 33, p. 49 [fine reproduction])