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PICTURING THE FLUTE OF MAXIMILIAN I: A STUDY OF THE TRANSVERSE FLUTE AND ITS SYMBOLIC USE AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT IN THE MUMMERIES OF *FREYDAL*

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FORWARD

Why, I wondered, would the Holy Roman Emperor, who had dozens of instrumentalists at his disposal and splurged on his dances, choose to show the humble, ubiquitous flute and drum instead of the *alta capalla* on thirty-one folios of the *Freydal* mummeries? When I encountered Moritz Kelber's work which focused on the political presence instrumentalists exerted, it caused me to reflect on how the image of flute players could have served Maximilian's political reputation. Upon reading Nicole Schwindt's book, *Maximilians Lieder*, I learned that ladies at court, with their mixed backgrounds, practiced dancing constantly with the flute and drum; some princesses are even recorded as employing their own players. Something seemed to be missing in a narrative that tended to show the transverse flute before the advent of the flute consort as an instrument of poverty, shrill signals, rustic playing technique, and illiterate soldiers. To investigate the role flutes played in courtly dance music, *Freydal* became the focal point for my research, and I hope to show that it deserves to be considered as an important source along with Virdung and Arnt von Aich when discussing the birth of the Renaissance flute.

It has been a gift to be able to study at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, and I'll always treasure my years here. The collection of the Basel University Library continues to amaze me, and the librarians have been very kind in their help. Dr. Stefan Krause, whom I consider the *Freydal* expert, the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Dr. Helen Coffey, and Dr. Larry Silver all graciously responded to my queries, and I thank them for their time and assistance. I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors: Prof. Dr. Martin Kirnbauer, for guiding my reading and research and teaching me to question my assumptions; Prof. Johanna Bartz, for showing me the incredible range of expression possible on a Renaissance flute and encouraging me to explore music for the flute and drum; and Prof. Dr. Marc Lewon, for sharing his passion, knowledge, and commitment to getting things right. I also thank Liane Ehlich, who opened the world of medieval and Renaissance flutes to me and has worked to collect a significant database of flute iconography, Véronique Daniels for teaching me the beauty of Renaissance dance, and Mara Winter, whose discussions always refresh and inspire. My parents, Ted and Sue Debus, instilled in me a sense of optimism and an engagement with the arts. Thanks for showing me what life is about. And finally, I thank my husband, Chris Scarborough, and our children, Daisy, Declan, and Lucy, who not only accommodated but encouraged my deep, wild dive into studying medieval and Renaissance music.

ABSTRACT

The mummeries, or masked dances, of *Freydal* (1512–1515), one of Maximilian's allegorical autobiographies, are a realistic portrayal of a flamboyant form of courtly entertainment denounced by the Church, and its colorful miniatures reveal thirty-five transverse flutes with diverse sizes, bore-widths, and colors, reflecting a transitional decade in the history of the flute. Noble ladies hosted these mummeries in their *Frauenzimmer*, where flutes and drums were also important for dance practice. The flutes of *Freydal* appear mostly in ensemble with drum, but also with trombone, other flutes, and singers, and historical records list dance and military flutes separately, suggesting that the quality of Maximilian's flute-and-drum music was closer to the revered *alta capella* than the military duo. Flutists, who were likely multi-instrumentalists capable of doubling and reading notation, wear black silk masks and matching costumes with *Freydal's* dancers, indicating an elevated social standing. By attaching himself to transverse flutes in his paper propaganda, Maximilian evokes the glory of crusade, local German tradition, and sensual, humanist ideals, thus marketing himself as "the merriest king."

INTRODUCTION

Maximilian I As Image Maker

Barack Obama was the first world leader to open a Twitter account, and now many politicians recognize the power that social media offers in terms of boosting one's public image, building a national identity, and increasing local and global influence. Five hundred years ago, one powerful ruler's embrace of new media was similarly prescient; Maximilian I, who wore the titles of Archduke of Austria, King of the Romans, and Holy Roman Emperor until his death in 1519, was the first world leader to take advantage of the potential of the printing press. He used this wide-reaching communication technology often and well; because of his calculating drive to both craft his public image and unite his far-flung empire, Maximilian devoted himself to numerous, ambitious printing projects, such as the *Triumphal Procession* series (over one-hundred meters long), the *Triumphal Arch* (three-and-a-half meters high), and the allegorical autobiographies of *Weisskunig* (illustrated with 251 woodcuts), *Freydal,* and *Theuerdank.*[1] These works synthesized the contributions of accomplished artists, writers, and calligraphers in Maximilian's circle. As Larry Silver writes, he wanted his paper propaganda "to circulate throughout the breadth of his vast territories …. [he] embarked on a public relations campaign of his own, addressed to both his peer princes as well as to what was called the common man (*gmeiner man*). His goal, like all rhetoric, especially political rhetoric, was the formation of subjects."[2] It is with this appreciation of Maximilian as "image maker" that I would like to approach his tournament- and dance manuscript of *Freydal* and the transverse flutes it depicts.[3]

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[1] Of the autobiographies, *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank* are freely accessed online: Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, "Der Weisskunig," compiled by Marx Treitzsaurwein, edited by Alwin Schultz*. Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* 6 (1888), http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jbksak1888/0012; Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, *Theuerdank* (Nuremberg: Schönsperger, 1517), https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00013106?page=19; the complete Vienna *Freydal* miniatures can be found in large, color format in Stefan Krause, ed., *Freydal: Medieval Games; The Book of Tournaments of Emperor Maximilian I= Das Turnierbuch Kaiser Maximilians I. = Le Livre Des Tournois de L'empereur Maximilien Ier* (Cologne: Taschen, 2019).

[2] Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 235.

[3] Ibid., p. *x:* Silver shares the unique angle from which he wrote his book: "This book studies a ruler as image maker, not an agent of political history."

Tournament books were a popular way to preserve "the honourable memory of the German nobility and gentry," according to Georg Rüxner, who made his own tournament book in 1530.[4] *Freydal,* a fictionalized autobiography in which the knight Freydal represents Maximilian, echoes the tradition of medieval epics that Maximilian had recorded on parchment in the *Ambraser Heldenbuch*, such as the *Lay of the Nibelungs* and *Moriz von Craûn*. Like Moriz, who competes in tournaments to prove his love of a lady, Freydal embarks on a path of tournaments and dances that leads to marriage with his own lady. *Freydal* shows its hero visiting a series of sixty-four courts, at each one taking part in multi-day tournaments and dances. For Maximilian, these were not just the things of legends; he also participated in elaborate tournaments and dances himself. A critical chronicler condemned such a tournament in Nuremberg in 1491; he claimed that the whole indulgent event, full of knightly games, dancing, and a banquet with 240 types of food, cost more than 1,000 Gulden.[5] (An average house at that time cost 150 Gulden; an experienced solider earned eight Gulden per month.)[6] *Freydal* reflects the joy and light-heartedness that comes with knightly adventure, sumptuous entertainment, and the pursuit of love. It positions itself as the first half of a two-part volume; its free-spirited "*comedi*" is the counterpart to the serious "tragedy" of the subsequent *Theuerdank*.[7]

Freydal contains one specific, recurring dance scene within it: the mummery.[8] In the first chapter of this thesis, "Approaching *Freydal*," I will define mummeries and describe how Maximilian depicted them in this work. This is an important part of understanding the role of the flute within these scenes. Uta Henning, in her 1987 investigation of the instruments in the

[4] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games; The Book of Tournaments of Emperor Maximilian I* (Cologne: Taschen, 2019), p. 14.
[5] Monika Fink, "Turnier- und Tanzveranstaltungen am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I," in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I: Bericht über die am 21. und 22. Oktober 1989 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung*, ed. Walter Salmen, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 15 (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1992), p. 41.
[6] Rainer Gstrein, "Stadtpfeifer und fahrende Spielleute in Nördlingen und Ravensburg in maximilianischer Zeit," in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I: Bericht über die am 21. und 22. Oktober 1989 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung*, ed. Walter Salmen, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 15 (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1992), p. 72; soldiers' earnings are presented in Douglas Miller and Gerry A. Embleton, *The Landsknechts* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1976), p. 6.
[7] L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2008, p. 7.
[8] The word *mumerey* could also be translated as "masquerade" or "masked ball." I will use the term mummery since it maintains similarity with the original word and demarcates Maximilian's mummeries from other, later masked dances.

artistic output of Maximilian, calculated that fifty-two transverse flutes appear in his combined works.[9] This is relative to thirty-eight trumpets, twenty-seven shawms, seventeen trombones, sixteen fiddles, and fifteen lutes. The only instruments that exceed the number of flutes are drums (sixty-four) and horns (sixty-two). It would be easy to mistakenly infer from this tally that flutes were an extremely popular instrument of the time or region, or perhaps one of Maximilian's personal favorite instruments. Such simple addition would be misleading, however, since the numbers are hopelessly skewed; more than two-thirds of the total transverse flutes belong to a single work: *Freydal.*[10] Without this source, the total representations of the flute would be equal to those of the lute. Furthermore, the *Freydal* flutes solely appear in the context of the mummery. Therefore, a summary of mummeries begins this thesis.

In Chapter 2, "Musical Scenes in *Freydal's* Mummeries," I will analyze the iconography of the flutes and their players. The apparent sizes and colors of flutes are summarized here, along with which side of the body the flutes are held on. In addition, the wearing of costumes and masks by musicians is documented and analyzed in terms of what it reveals about social status. Then, the various positions of musicians and evidence of movement are noted, contributing to a broader understanding of the performance practice of dance musicians. Finally, I will explore the connection between women and the flute in a study of the setting of the mummeries, the *Frauenzimmer*.[11]

Chapter 3, "Dance Music: Functional or Artistic?," examines the flute's various performance contexts, the question of whether or not it could participate in artistic ensembles is revisited. *Freydal* was created between 1512 and 1515, a particularly dynamic period in the history of the flute; the theorist Sebastian Virdung in Basel had only recently depicted the *Zwerchpfeiff* and described it as a military flute to be played with the drum,[12] and Martin Agricola in

[9] For a list of instruments depicted in *Genealogy*, *Saints*, *Prayer Books*, *Triumphal Arch*, *Freydal*, *Weisskunig*, *Theuerdank*, and *Triumphal Procession*, see Uta Henning, *Musica Maximiliana: die Musikgraphiken in den bibliophilen Unternehmungen Kaiser Maximilian I* (Neu-Ulm: Stegmillen, 1987), pp. 49–53.

[10] Thirty-five transverse flutes are in Vienna *Freydal,* or 67% of all Maximilian's total depicted transverse flutes.

[11] For a full description of *Frauenzimmer,* see Nicole Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder: Weltliche Musik in deutschen Landen um 1500* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2018), pp. 69–79. Literally "women's room," this term refers to a dedicated ladies wing at court, managed by the noblewoman of the court. I will use the German word.

[12] Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und auszgezoge[n] durch Sebastianus virdung Priesters von Amberg vnd alles gesang auß den noten in die tabulaturen dieser benanten dryer Instrumenten der Orgeln: der Lauten: und*

Wittenberg had yet to document the flute consort of four *Schweizerpfeiffen.*[13] Meanwhile, around 1515 in Cologne, a collection of music is printed which is the first to specify the transverse flute as an instrument capable of participating in polyphonic art music.[14] A copperplate engraving by Andrea Previtali from the same time period is the clearest early representation of a 3-flute consort, even showing a part book.[15] This cluster of documentation of the instrument in the second decade of the sixteenth century is all the more remarkable given its scarcity in the fifteenth century. Keith Polk writes,

> "One of the inexplicable mysteries of late medieval instrumental music was the disappearance of the transverse flute from conventional practice, among both professionals and amateurs. The instrument had been known in the earlier middle ages, but vanished from iconographical sources through almost the entire fifteenth century… One kind of transverse flute was coupled with the field drum and became associated with the dreaded Swiss infantry…but [it] seems to have been linked to a tradition of martial, functional music that had little connection, apparently, with more artistic ensembles… In any case, while the transverse instrument regained a more musical role in the early sixteenth century it seems to have had little place in late medieval musical practice."[16]

Thus, the flutes shown in *Freydal* emerge at a key moment in the history of the flute: they straddle the traditional categories of functional and artistic, medieval and renaissance, and they herald an upcoming century of popularity after a century of invisibility.

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der Flöten transferieren zu lernen. […] Basel: [Michael Furter], 1511), fols. Biii(v) and Civ(v), https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-8661.

[13] Anne Smith, "The Renaissance Flute," in *The Early Flute*, ed. John Solum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 17; for the first mention of the flute consort, see Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1529), fols. Xii(r)–xivv(r), https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10187561.

[14] The date is suggested by N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder,* 2018, pp. 526–527; [Liederbuch]: [bestehend aus vier Stimmbüchern], [Gedruckt yn Coeln]: [durch Arnt von Aich], [1518], Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Mscr F IX 63:1-4, https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-16454: the tenor partbook lists *"fleiten, schwegelen, vn*d *an deren Musicalisch Instrumenten*.

[15] Andrea Previtali [Berbenno c1470 – Bergamo 1528], *Drei Flötenspieler*, 1510/20 Bergamo (?), copperplate engraving (146 x 123 mm), British Museum; the image can be viewed at Albert Jan Becking and Liane Ehlich, "Ikonographie der Renaissanceflöte," last revised November, 2008, http://www.renaissanceflute.ch; the engraving is also discussed in Albert Jan Becking, "Pfeifen und Flöten, Pfeifen oder Flöten: Zur Entstehung des Flötenconsorts um 1520," *Glareana* 56, no. 1 (2007): p. 34, http://www.gefam.ch/en/glareana_en/?p=52.

[16] Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 41.

In Chapter 4, "Symbolism in *Freydal,"* I will reflect on what Maximilian's political motivation could have been for representing the transverse flute. In other words, what message was he transmitting about himself, his empire, and the German tradition by including this instrument's image next to his own?[17] Silver writes in *Marketing Maximilian*, his book about the emperor's cutting-edge public relations campaign,

> "As…cultural anthropologists have reminded us, much authority is consolidated, even engineered, through public manipulation of shared symbols and through appeals to common tradition. Even for the seventeenth-century kingship of Louis XIV, surely the most absolute of absolute rulers in the West, the presentation of both the king's own features and of the symbols of the nation he ruled remained paramount concerns."[18]

The purpose in writing this thesis is twofold: first, to present the diversity of flutes and flute performance practice around 1500; and second, to understand the extent to which the transverse flute was used by Maximilian as a political instrument, a "public manipulation" of a shared symbol, on the pages of *Freydal*.

1 APPROACHING *FREYDAL*

1.1 On Mummeries

Dancing was essential to court life in Germany; Polk emphasizes that by 1500 it had reached the level of "mania."[19] Mummeries, which are costumed dances, were popular in the countryside and cities, and they are the earliest costumed dances to appear at courts, remaining a fixture of evening celebrations through the entire sixteenth century. Their increasingly elaborate sequences of acts, instrumentation, and scenery eventually led to the

[17] For a full explanation of music being part of political practice, see Moritz Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Allitera Verlag, 2018), especially p. 391: "Zu fragen wäre in diesem Sinne nicht nach der Wechselwirkung von 'Musik' und 'Politik' als verschiedene Systeme, sondern nach Musik als Teil politischer Praxis."
[18] L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2008, p. *vii*.
[19] K. Polk, *German Instrumental Music,* 1992, p. 118.

ballet, the most popular dance in the Baroque era.[20] A variety of festive events such as baptisms and weddings featured mummeries, as detailed in the account the wedding of Margrave Kasimir of Brandenburg and Susanna von Bayern during the Augsburg Reichstag of 1518.[21] Mummeries were also popular during the festivities of Fasnacht, although they were by no means chiefly relegated to the season of Shrovetide. This is a distinction that is too often blurred today.[22] Maximilian reportedly hosted so many mummeries that describing all of them would take too long.[23] He also actively took part in the dancing, although he did not take after his father in this habit.[24] Before mummeries became popular in Germany, they can be traced to Burgundy in the 1470s or 1480s. According to Maximilian's *Weisskunig* autobiography, he

> "heard much in his youth about banquets and *mumereyen*, which other kings held. So he had the desire and informed himself with much effort in what manner and according to what custom such a king would arrange his banquets and masquerades. He spared no costs or efforts for them; for no one can invent such a thing by himself, he must have a procedure, instruction, and experience... These brought him prizes at tournaments and honor at festivals. Not that he was a

[20] For an extensive description of mummeries, see Claudia Schnitzer, *Höfische Maskeraden: Funktion und Ausstattung von Verkleidungsdivertissements an deutschen Höfen der Frühen Neuzeit*, reprint 2014 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2014), pp. 62–111.

[21] Walter Salmen, "Musik und Tanz bei Hochzeiten um 1500," in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I: Bericht über die am 21. und 22. Oktober 1989 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung*, ed. Walter Salmen, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 15 (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1992), p. 29. For an account of the mummery at Michael von Wolkenstein's wedding, see Quirin von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien* (Wien: Adolf Holzhausen, 1880–1882) p. vn2. For flutes and drums at weddings in general, 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 diss., The University of Leeds, 2010), pp. 105–106.

[22] This conflation of mummeries and Fasnacht appears, for example in Helen Coffey, "Musicians for Dance Music," in *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich,* accessed July 2, 2021, https://musical-life.net/kapitel/musicians-dance-music, in which a miniature from *Freydal* is labeled "A courtly Vasnacht dance." In addition, after translating the word *mummerej* to "masked dances," Lasocki adds the parenthetical "during Fasnacht." See D. Lasocki, "A listing of Inventories and Purchases of Flutes, Recorders, Flageolets, and Tabor Pipes, 1388-1630," in *Musicque de Joye: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Renaissance Flute and Recorder Consort, Utrecht 2003,* ed. David Lasocki (Utrecht: STIMU, 2005), pp. 475–477.

[23] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 112: "*mumereyen und die frewdenreich päß, die er gehalten hat […] beschriben,"* so wäre dies *"zu lang gewest."*

[24] M. Fink, "Turnier- und Tanzveranstaltungen," 1992, p. 41: "Im Gegensatz zu seinem Vater, der zu sagen pflegte, daß er lieber fieberkrank wäre, als daß er sich zum Tanzen nötigen ließ, nahm Kaiser Maximilian selbst auch an den Tänzen teil und erweiterte sie dann mit eigenen Inventionen, vor allem in den Mummereien."

> spectator, but rather to the joy of his people and to the honor of the foreign guests he took part in every way and was particularly glad to masquerade, where he had his own pleasures and each time thought up a special mask and shape."[25]

Moritz Kelber, while acknowledging that such praise is exaggerated, nevertheless identifies the high importance that Maximilian places on festive dance events as part of his public relations strategy.[26]

One effect of his mummeries was that the ladies loved him for them. *Historia Friderici et Maximiliani* maintains that Maximilian enjoyed "dancing before everyone wearing a mask and sporting the national costume of some randomly picked people. This affability and lack of arrogance made him extremely popular, especially with women, both noble ladies and those of the common people."[27] Additionally, the mummeries cultivated a feeling of unification; they were no mere bacchanalian revelry nor a play put on by actors, but a high-society event in which the members of the court were both the dancers and spectators.[28] The matching costumes that were worn symbolized a shared status, a signal that each one carried a personal invitation to be there and to participate. Through the uniformity of outward appearance, with no indication of rank or social position, the varying statuses of vying nobility were erased and their similarities highlighted.[29] Furthermore, because dancing was a tremendously valued activity, dancing became political. For example, having one's name on the register to attend civic dances could function as the deciding criteria for whether or not one was allowed to vote, as in Nuremberg in 1521.[30] In addition, Maximilian's mummeries at court partially relaxed the usual regulations of courtly life; paths of communication and opportunities for political strategizing emerged for those attending. An example of the type

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[25] English translation of *Weisskunig* chapter 34 by L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2008, pp. 186–187.
[26] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen*, 2018, p. 123: "Die wichtige Rolle festlicher Tanzfeste am Hof Maximilians wird aus den Repräsentationsschriften des Kaisers deutlich…Diese Überhöhung ist wohl als gängiger Lobestopos zu lesen, sie veranschaulicht dennoch die enge Einschreibung von Tanz in ein Gesamtprogramm höfischer Repräsentation."
[27] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 298.
[28] Stefan Matter, "Der Textentwurf zum Freydal im Codex 2831* der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," in *Freydal: Zu einem unvollendeten Gedächtniswerk,* ed. Stefen Krause, special issue, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 21 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019), p. 73. He also points to earlier instances of costumed courtiers and ladies dancing in the "*Bal des Ardents*" of 1393 and the *Fasanenbankett* of 1454.
[29] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 374.
[30] K. Polk, *German Instrumental* Music, 1992, p. 118.

of business relationship these dancers shared can be imagined from the list names on the dance register; on Vienna fol. 44, Anton vom Ross, who was both in charge of a mine at Schwaz and administered Tyrolean finances, is listed.[31]

Such elaborate mummeries, beloved by the ladies and offering opportunities of political gains to all, conclude each tournament sequence in *Freydal.*[32] No choreographies for mummeries remain if they were ever recorded. Men would often perform a complex choreographed dance and then invite ladies to dance with them.[33] However, women sometimes performed a mummery as well.[34] The category of mummery could include dances with different moods and steps, such as moresque, pair, and circle dances, and a variety appear in *Freydal* (with only one moresque dance). Torches appear in most of *Freydal's* mummery scenes, carried by Freydal himself; some scenes could well fall into the category of "torch dances."[35] Besides being categorized by dance type, mummeries can also be defined by their costumes, either with a national theme (e.g., Turkish, Burgundian, Italian, or Spanish) or a character theme (giants, soldiers, mythological gods).[36] Ill. 1 shows a detail of Vienna fol. 92, with dancers wearing what Krause labels "Hungarian-inspired costumes with bird-like masks." These costumes reinforced Maximilian's political propaganda; for instance, Turkish costumes could conjure plans of crusade.[37] Unique, thematic costumes made with luxurious fabrics (produced in Italy and the Netherlands) were commissioned by the presenter of the mummery or a

[31] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, 118.
[32] In the written text draft, Maximilian describes each of the sixty-four events as being mummeries. In the Vienna Miniatures, folio 52 stands out instead for its depiction of an outdoor prize-giving ceremony, in which circular flower wreaths are distributed.
[33] See Vienna fol. 128.
[34] See Vienna fol. 152 for women wearing costumes.
[35] L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2008, p. 277 relates an excerpt from the 1481 *Tournament Book of Rüxner* about a torch dance in Heidelberg: "When the emperor danced, two counts with torches danced before him, four counts followed with torches, then the emperor and a further four counts with torches. Each of them had to perform a *Vordantz* with the women or girls, who would thank him." About the flute and drum's association with the torch dance, see N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 106: "The earliest torch dance depicting the Swiss pair is from a Flemish Book of Hours, *ca.* 1500."
[36] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 190.
[37] M. Fink, "Turnier- und Tanzveranstaltungen," 1992, p. 42: "Die Tänzer trugen bei Mummereien Narrenmasken oder Charaktermasken, welche bestimmte Stände oder Nationalitäten darstellten; manchmal dienten selbst Mummereien der politischen Propaganda. So erschien etwa der Kaiser, wenn gerade ein Kreuzzug im Mittelpunkt der politischen Werbung stand, mit dem ganzen Hofstaat in türkischer Tracht."

participant who incurred the heavy costs.[38] Receipts for the mummeries also itemize cloth-of-gold, cloth-of-silver, fur, precious stones, and costumes that mimic nudity.[39] Costumes could also simply be themed according to one's heraldic colors; for example, Maximilian's (and Freydal's) colors were white, red, and black, as seen in Ill.2.[40] In *Freydal*, some mummeries are shown in which men wear women's clothes.[41] Like many of the mummeries pictured, written records exist which confirm this actually occurring: at a mummery in Innsbruck in 1498, Weickhart von Polheim was "*in frawen cleider gecleydet*."[42]

Although the pressure to perform according to the rules of courtly etiquette was indeed lower at a dance compared to a jousting tournament, a noble code of conduct was nevertheless demanded at such an exclusive event. This can most clearly be seen in the use of face masks at mummeries, either of black silk or of papier-mâché, to hide the identities of the costumed dancers and thereby protect their dignity. Both types of masks, as well as dancers without masks, can be viewed in Appendix 6, "Illustrations." Only *Berufstänzer*, who danced for payment, would dance without masks.[43] Naturally, this layer of protection could be circumvented; the Duke of Orléans once intentionally set fire to dancers disguised as wild men so he could learn their identities. Hilariously, one dancer escaped recognition by hiding under the skirts of the Duchess of Berry.[44] The shame arising from ill-concealed facial features was a concern of the nobility; a certain Philipp von Hirschborn's make-up painter was bribed once to use a "watery tincture [*anziehendem leimwasser*] as a practical joke while at a mummery hosted by Margrave Christoph von Baden.[45] Wearing a mask symbolized one's status and respectability and gave one the protection of anonymity. In the registers of *Freydal*, Maximilian records the names of masked men who participated in the mummeries. Most of

[38] Q. von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien*, 1880, vn2. For a full treatment of the costumes in *Freydal*, see Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur, "*gulden stuck geclait uff welsch:* Zum Stellenwert von Textilien in den Mummereien des Wiener *Freydal*," in *Freydal: Zu einem unvollendeten Gedächtniswerk,* ed. Stefen Krause, special issue, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 21 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019), pp. 115–131.
[39] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 350.
[40] Ibid., p. 368.
[41] Vienna fols. 64, 207.
[42] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 362.
[43] C. Schnitzer, *Höfische Maskeraden,* 1999, p. 100.
[44] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 386.
[45] Ibid., p. 380.

the names listed are the boyhood friends of Maximilian's and ruling nobility in the neighboring lands of his empire. Revealing their identities after the fact way was a form of bestowing honor and privilege by association with the emperor in this elite pastime.

Courtly mummeries were indoor, private events, unlike the tournaments, which accommodated broad public audiences.[46] Mummeries were often either mentioned very briefly or not at all in contemporary literature. In the end, *Freydal* serves as the most important source of mummeries we have. Krause explains this absence of data by highlighting the hard stance the Church consistently took against mummeries, calling them depraved and blasphemous.[47] He writes, "This is another reason why *Freydal* is such a seminal document. It offers unrivalled, and in many cases unique, insights into the world of courtly masquerades in the early modern era."[48] *Freydal's* mummeries, a sort of underground, blacklisted courtly entertainment, renders scores of musical scenes that I will spend the next chapter of this thesis investigating.

1.2 On Accuracy

From the start, the question of the accuracy of the depictions of *Freydal's* instruments and the visual and textual accounts of mummeries should be addressed. The first clue that survives about *Freydal*, a 1502 entry in Maximilian's *Gedenkbuch* that he used for bookkeeping asserts that the motivation for creating a book of mummeries was the preservation of historic events: "*Maister Martin sol all mummery so k. Mt ye gebraucht hat in ain buch mallen lassen*."[49] Master Martin Trummer, actually not a typical artist but the *Hofschneider*, the court tailor, was deputized to make a book of illustrations of all Maximilian's mummeries, presumably because he would know better than anyone the variety of costumes and fabrics that were used. In addition to the presumably authentic costumes portrayed, real places are alluded to in *Freydal*: the scene of combat on horseback depicted on Vienna fol. 204 is labeled as an event from the *Augsburger Reichstag* ("*sol das perlen Rennen sein zu*

[46] C. Schnitzer, *Höfische Maskeraden,* 1999, p. 75.
[47] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 410.
[48] Ibid., p. 416.
[49] Q. von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien*, 1880, p. V.

Augspurg").[50] Schwindt argues that the whole work contains a high degree of realism, given that the names of real men and women from the empire are listed on the registers, even if their timelines are adjusted.[51] One can see that on a list of dancers, the name of Trautmansdorffer attached to the mummery on Vienna fol. 28 was crossed out, and he was instead assigned to that on fol. 32.[52] The fact that corrections were made implies that the details in *Freydal* were not random fantasy. Furthermore, the emperor himself made minute corrections in *Freydal*. For instance, on Treitzsaurwein's original register of ladies' names, Maximilian added more precise titles to the names of the daughters of Albrecht IV. They initially all ended with "from Bayern," ("*von Payrn*"), but he changed Sidonia to "*von "berpaern*" (which was actually doubly adjusted from his initial correction of "niderpaern"), Sibylla became "*phalczgrauin pey Rein*," and to Sabina was added "*herczogin Wierte(n)berg.*"[53] Beyond the text, his personal touch in the tournament scenes is also evident. Stefan Krause credits Maximilian's familiarity with the equipment and habits of combat to be the basis for images such as the knight's lifted hand on Vienna fol. 106 (which is raised in order to protect it from recoil) and small straps used to attach hidden padding on helmets, like on Vienna fol. 90. He concludes, "These and other precise observations are the result of the Emperor's personal involvement and his interventions because, unlike the artists who executed the miniatures, Maximilian was deeply familiar with jousting and everything connected with it."[54] One could wonder at the artist's relative familiarity with courtly mummeries and what that reveals about Maximilian's involvement with their depictions. Nicole Schwindt suggests that all these illustrations of *Kurzweil,* or courtly leisure, are more similar to reality than to fantasy.[55] If the costumes, locations, names of men and women participating, and armor reflect a high degree of accuracy in *Freyda*l, then it is possible that

[50] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games*, 2019, p. 359. The Pearls' Joust occurred on May 15, 1510 at the *Augsburger Reichstag.*
[51] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians* Lieder, 2018, p. 81.
[52] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games*, 2019, p. 94, 100.
[53] A. Zajic, "Rex idiographus – Bausteine zu einer Analyse der Autografen Maximilians I," in *Freydal: Zu einem unvollendeten Gedächtniswerk,* ed. Stefen Krause, special issue, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 21 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019), pp. 154–155. His analysis Maximilian's handwriting includes a color facsimile of the register in question.
[54] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games*, 2019, p. 19.
[55] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 123.

the depictions of its mummeries can contribute to a realistic understanding of instruments, musicians, and performance practice.

Of course, even if Maximilian's hand brought every word and image to his liking, an underlying motivation to promote himself through his paper propaganda could mean that the actual situation was glossed to improve his image. Müller's classic conclusion about all Maximilian's commemorative (*Gedechtnus*) projects, that none of the texts are fictional but neither are they factual reports, must also hold true in this current study.[56] Since music, as Kelber insists, is a political practice, the musical scenes as represented in *Freydal* communicate a meaningful element of Maximilian's political ideology.[57] Knowledge that the mummery depictions are probably idealized in no way detracts from their value when they are considered as purposeful representations of Maximilian's political persona in that the musical instruments depicted are actually instruments of stately representation.[58]

1.3 Five Parts of The Freydal Book Plan

Maximilian had once envisioned a book of mummeries as a stand-alone work, and this was eventually combined with a tournament book, resulting in the *Freydal* concept.[59] Though begun relatively early, the *Freydal* book plan, like many of Maximilian's *Gedechtnus* projects that he planned simultaneously, was never completed.[60] A set of five components remain which together create an idea of what the finished product was meant to be. Below are the elements of *Freydal*, with a summary of each source and how it specifically pertains to the mummeries and the transverse flute. The mummery pictures are all similar in size, 22–24 cm square.

[56] Ibid., 102.
[57] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen,* 2018, p. 7.
[58] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen*, 2018, p. 34: "Musikpraxis und Musikmedien dienten Maximilian keineswegs zum bloßen Zeitvertreib, sie waren Repräsentationsinstrumente und Teile eines groß angelegten Programms herrschaftlicher Selbstinszenierung."
[59] C. Schnitzer, *Höfische Maskeraden*, 1999, p. 88.
[60] U. Henning, *Musica Maximiliana,* 1987, p. 37.

1. Rome Sketches

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 8570, fols. 103v–114v.

There are twenty-seven ink sketches belonging to the Rome *Freydal*, twenty-two of which are mummeries. They seem to be based on other, lost sketches and most correspond to the Vienna miniatures.[61] Fifteen Rome sketches of mummeries depict flutes, as seen in Appendix 1. Details from the Rome *Freydal* can be seen in Ills. 3 and 4.

2. Washington Watercolors

Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, Inv.-Nrn. 1943.3.4382–1943.3.4398, 1943.3.4407, 1964.8.1760–1964.8.1769 [mummeries].

Twenty-eight watercolor mummeries survive, all traced in pen and ink from other drawings.[62] Six Washington mummeries correspond to Rome sketches, and in each one the pen lines follow the figures and architecture in the sketches almost exactly, suggesting that the older Rome sketches were used as templates. The fine Italian paper used for the mummeries of the Washington watercolors shows the same watermark that is visible in the Vienna miniatures.[63] At least three different painting styles can be discerned in the mummery images, and the artists were skilled in watercolor technique. The watercolors were an intermediary step between sketch and miniature, to test colors and design. Fourteen Washington watercolors depict transverse flutes (see Appendix 2). A detail can be seen in Ill. 5.

3. Vienna Miniatures

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073.

There are 255 paper miniatures of the Vienna *Freydal*, and 64 of them are mummeries. Fourteen pages of names begin the book, starting with the ladies before whom Freydal

[61] S. Krause, "*Freydal*, das Turnierbuch Kaiser Maximilians I. – Werkbeschreibungen," in *Freydal: Zu einem unvollendeten Gedächtniswerk,* ed. Stefen Krause, special issue, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 21 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019), p. 189.
[62] K. Schenck, "Jousting and Jubilation: A Technical Investigation of the Washington *Freydal*," in *Freydal: Zu einem unvollendeten Gedächtniswerk,* ed. Stefen Krause, special issue, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 21 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019), p. 159–167.
[63] S. Krause, "Freydal, das Turnierbuch Kaiser Maximilians I. – Werkbeschreibungen," 2019, pp. 196-315. See also Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath, *Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Kunst der Dürerzeit* (München: Prestel, 2012) p. 284.

presented tournaments and dances and finishing with the names of the men who participated.[64] The pictures are attached to each verso side (the recto side is blank) and are made with tempera, watercolor, and gold and silver leaf. The goal was to transform these miniatures into distributable prints by making woodcuts; this collection now in Vienna, then, was Maximilian's personal copy, of which some images are finished miniatures while others remain more like sketches. Thirty-four mummeries show transverse flutes (see Appendix 3).[65]

4. Woodcuts

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv.-Nr. D428. [Printing block for mummery woodcut, Meder 250]

There are a total of five *Freydal* woodcuts; just one is a mummery, and this does not depict any instruments. (This corresponds to Vienna fol. 88, which also does not show instruments.) The woodcuts are attributed to Albrecht Dürer.[66] The final *Freydal* print was to consist of colored woodcuts and text and probably would have been similar in style to *Theuerdank*, which Maximilian published in 1517.[67]

5. Text Draft

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2831*.[68]

Ritter Freydalb

Nun wer von kurtzweil lesen wil

und lustbarlichen dingen,

der nem fur sich die ritterspil,

da ainr nach Eer thut ringen,

als ritter Freydalb hat gethon

aus ritterlichem gmute.

[64] S. Krause, "Freydal, das Turnierbuch Kaiser Maximilians I. – Werkbeschreibungen," 2019, p. 181–188.
[65] Details from the Vienna *Freydal* can be seen in Ills. 1, 2, and 6–10.
[66] E. Michel and M.L. Sternath, *Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Kunst der Dürerzeit*, 2012, p. 284.
[67] Maximilian I, *Theuerdank,* 1517, https://www.digitalesammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00013106?page=19.
[68] Transcribed by Q. von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien*, 1880, pp. XV–XXXVI.

So begins the text draft of *Ritter Freydalb*; the rhyming introduction invites anyone interested in *kurtzweil* and festive things to read about the noble knight. *Kurtzweil* has been defined by Schwindt as an often-used contemporary term that includes both planned entertainment and casual leisure time.[69] Dating from 1512, this text was dictated from Maximilian to his secretary, Marx Treitzsaurwein. The story, an episodic account of tournaments and mummeries, describes Freydal's journey to sixty-four multi-day tournaments at the same number of courts scattered across the Holy Roman Empire, and it follows a formula in which Freydal arrives at the court of a noble lady and first participates in three days of knightly games (often competing against the lady's brother or father). The first two competitions are always combats on horseback and the third one is combat on foot. On the fourth day, he brings an entertaining mummery to the noble lady. Finally, he bids adieu to the court on the fifth day and moves on to a new court. In the Vienna miniatures, these events are shown in a fourfold rotation of folios in the order of two combats on horseback, one combat on foot, and one mummery.[70] The text draft does not numerically coordinate with the Vienna miniatures, and the descriptions of the mummeries are free of identifying associations with particular people, which must have been intentional to facilitate an unproblematic pairing of word and image.[71] Various adjectives are used to describe the mummeries: ridiculous, adventurous, clever, heavenly, or unspeakably wild (*ganz lächerlich*, *abenteuerlich, klug, paradiesisch, unaussprechlich wild).*[72] The text never mentions any flutes.

2 MUSICAL SCENES IN *FREYDAL'S* MUMMERIES

2.1 Investigating Artistic Differences

More than two dozen artists contributed to the Vienna miniatures of *Freydal*, sixteen of whom executed the mummeries; their techniques indicate a range of origins, including Austria, Bavaria, Augsburg, and the Netherlands.[73] In addition, a letter from Maximilian reveals that

[69] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 67.
[70] The event which once followed Vienna fol. 173 is missing, so fol. 174 was assigned to the next surviving image.
[71] S. Matter, "Der Textentwurf zum Freydal," 2019, p. 77.
[72] C. Schnizter, *Höfische Maskeraden*, 1999, p. 89.
[73] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 14.

either text-writers or painters based in Cologne were involved.[74] The possibility that the Emperor's own hand executed some parts of the paintings should also be considered, since the Vienna miniatures were in his personal possession and he is known to have made adjustments himself.[75] When Quirin von Leitner studied the artwork of the miniatures in 1881, he recognized that, while each painting exhibited traditional medieval painting techniques, it was possible to categorize the works according to a particular skill level, mastery of specific techniques, or degrees of realism or mannerism, and he assigned each of the anonymous masters a number.[76] He also added his own reflections on the merits of the artists, for example, calling Artist 22 the most skilled. As Erwin Pokorny recently undertook his own assessment of the painters, he further refined Leitner's basic categorization.[77] It is Pokorny's modern numbering system that is used in this study and referenced in Appendices 3 and 4.

Some artists included a flute in every miniature they made; for example, see Artists 17, 20, 20-A, and 25-A. For these artists, the flute was apparently essential to include in paintings of mummeries. On the other hand, artists often specialized in representing certain items, and maybe these artists were simply adept at representing flutes.[78] Four artists never included a single flute in their miniatures: Artist 18-A (four folios without any instruments, and one folio featuring three shawms), and 18-C, 20-B, and 21-B, who make one miniature each, none of which show a flute. Another discovery from my investigation is that Artist 18-A and Artist 23 produced the bulk of their miniatures without any instruments at all. These two artists account for nine folios which do not show any musicians. It is unclear which circumstances, regional or otherwise, led to these artistic differences. Appendix 4, "Artists of the Vienna

[74] Q. von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien*, 1880, p. 5: From Maximilian I to Sigmund von Dietrichstein, 14. October 1512: "der Freydal ist auch wol halb aussgemacht vnnd den maisten tail an solchem allen haben wier zu Cöln gemacht." Maximilian was living in or near Cologne from July 12, 1512 – March 7, 1513.

[75] See the later addition by another hand of the dance musicians and stairs on fol. 148.

[76] Q. von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien*, 1880, p. 6. The painters are anonymous, but fol. 116 shows an artist's monogram (NP) and the year 1515. Leitner suggests that this could stand for the Innsbruck painter, Nicolaus Pfaundler.

[77] Erwin Pokorny, "Die Maler der Wiener *Freydal*-Miniaturen" in *Freydal: Zu einem unvollendeten Gedächtniswerk,* ed. Stefen Krause, special issue, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 21 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019), pp. 49–77.

[78] Personal communication, Martin Kirnbauer, January 17, 2022.

Freydal and Instrumentation," lists the artists next to their mummeries, with a chart of their distribution of flutes compared to other instruments.

It is noteworthy that Artist 23, who left five out of nine folios without instruments, was responsible for folio 148; in this miniature, a set of stairs with a small flute player and drummer are added to the front left corner, later and by another hand. Stephen Krause suggests that Maximilian could have added these musicians himself. If that is the case, then it would be clear that seeing the flute and drum on the mummery picture was important to Maximilian, something that he wanted included on the final woodcut version. It is true that instruments carried a visual power, on paper as well as in real life. Kelber writes of court trumpeters and *Stadtpfeifer* (city wind-players) of the time that their symbolic power lay not only in their sounded signals but also in their majestic, representative visibility.[79] The flute and drum's visibility on the page, then, communicated something about Maximilian to his intended audience. The fourth chapter of this thesis will delve into these possible layers of meaning for himself and his subjects.

2.2 Analysis: Flute Color and Size

In the mummeries of the Vienna *Freydal*, thirty-five transverse flutes are illustrated by twelve artists, offering an opportunity to compare a diverse collection of instrumental representations.[80] First, although the side of the body flutes are played on is irrelevant in terms of playing technique and sound quality, I will include this data to give a thorough report.[81] In all, twenty-five Vienna *Freydal* flutes are held to the right side of the musician's body, constituting a clear majority. (This is also the case in the other versions. In the Washington *Freydal*, eight out of thirteen flutes are held to the right. In the Rome *Freydal*, eleven out of fifteen are also held to the right.) Some artists purely show flutes on the right

[79] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen,* 2018, p. 345: "Die Platzierung von Hoftrompetern oder Stadtpfeifern an exponierten Orten, etwa auf Emporen und Balkonen, oder in Fenstern von Hauserkern unterstreicht einen zentralen Aspekt ihrer Rolle im symbolischen Kommunikationssystem des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Als Insignien weltlicher Macht war nicht nur die Hörbarkeit ihrer Signale, sondern auch ihre Sichtbarkeit eine repräsentative Notwendigkeit."

[80] Charts of the flutes and their characteristics in *Freydal* sources can be found in Appendix 1 (Rome), Appendix 2 (Washington), and Appendix 3 (Vienna).

[81] Liane Ehlich, "Zur lkonographie der Querflote im Mittelalter," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis,* no. 8 (1984): p. 206.

(see each of Artist 20's three flutes and Artist 20-A's five flutes). Other artists showed more of a mix, such as Artist 17, who made two folios with flutes on the left and two folios with flutes on the right. A reason for showing flutes held to the left side may be visual harmony; for example, Artist 19, who depicted four flutes, has all of them on the right except for one, folio 211, which shows two flutes played on opposite sides, making the duo appear symmetrical (see Ill. 2).[82] There are a few folios which depict an instrument held in a grasp reversed from the modern hand position, in which the arm on the flute side of the body covers the holes of the flute closest to the face, and the opposite arm must extend to the far side of the instrument (folios 92, 175, 179). This is shown by three different artists. For an example, see a detail of fol. 175 in Ill. 6.

A survey of the *Freydal* flutes reveals that a single artist could show the transverse flute with varying thickness, length, and colors. The details are all viable, especially since the flute in the early sixteenth century was an instrument in transition. In research investigating the differences between medieval and renaissance flutes, certain conclusions have been reached regarding design.[83] For example, one hypothesis is that medieval transverse flutes had a wider bore than later flutes. The width of the flute determines in which register it sounds best. For renaissance flutes, "the slenderer the better for octave tuning and a good high register."[84] In *Freydal*, flutes that look wider would probably be played in a lower register than flutes that are more slim (compare, for example, the flutes in Ill. 1 and Ill. 2). In Appendix 3, "Catalogue of Flutes in the Vienna Miniatures of *Freydal*," I have charted how slim, average, or wide the flute appears to be in comparison to tenor renaissance flutes from around 1580, which serve as models for modern replicas. With this information, the tessitura and tunings of the flutes, as well as indications about its polyphonic playing capabilities, could be inferred. Additionally, I have attempted to put each Vienna flute into the category of discant or tenor (or long tenor), which would inform what range it was played in. The metric I use for calling a flute "discant" is by discerning if the hands are held closer to the player's face, often involving

[82] Herbert Myers makes the same argument for the flutists of the *Triumphzug*. H. W. Myers, "The musical miniatures of the 'Triumphzug' of Maximilian I," *The Galpin Society Journal*, no. 60 (2007): p. 11.
[83] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, pp. 2–16.
[84] Ibid., p. 8.

greater elbow-bend, or if the flute rather seems shorter than arms-length.[85] None of the longer flutes appear to be wide enough to sound as bass flutes.[86] The apparent width and length of the Rome and Washington flutes are also noted in Appendices 1 and 2. Based on my observations, the majority of flutes across all the *Freydal* mummeries appear to be average tenors, that is, a flute size that is roughly equivalent to the renaissance flute copies we are familiar with today. In addition, there is a substantial proportion of flutes that fall into the shorter category of discant flutes and flutes that look slim.

A chart showing my interpretation of the Vienna, Washington, and Rome flute sizes is below:

Size of 35 Vienna Flutes

Length	14 discant (40%)	18 tenor (51%)	3 long (9%)
Width	11 slim (31%)	15 average (43%)	9 wide (26%)
Total	5 slim discant,[87] 4 average discant,[88] 5 wide discant,[89] 5 slim tenor,[90] 9 average tenor,[91] 4 wide tenor,[92] 1 slim long,[93] 2 average long.[94]		

[85] See, for example, Ill. 6 and 7 (discant) compared to Ill. 5 and 8 (long).
[86] This supports Hadden's claim that there is no evidence of bass flute before 1520. N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 16.
[87] Vienna fols. 120, 148, 175, 231, 255
[88] Vienna fols. 36, 48, 179, 247
[89] Vienna fols. 92, 168, 191, 215, 227
[90] Vienna fols. 8, 44, 108, 187, 243
[91] Vienna fols. 4, 16, 32, 80, 164, 199, 211 (2 flutes), 223
[92] Vienna fols. 60, 156, 160, 172
[93] Vienna fol. 104
[94] Vienna fols. 124, 195

Size of 13 [12] Washington Flutes[95]

Length	1 discant flute (8%)	8 tenor flutes (67%)	3 long flutes (25%)
Width	4 slim (33%)	8 average (67%)	0 wide
Total	1 average discant,[96] 3 slim tenor,[97] 5 average tenor,[98] 1 slim long ,[99] 2 average long.[100]		

Size of 15 Rome Flutes

Length	4 discant flutes (27%)	10 tenor flutes (67%)	1 long flute (7%)
Width	1 slim (7%)	14 average (93%)	0 wide
Total	1 slim discant,[101] 3 average discant,[102] 10 average tenor,[103] 1 average long.[104]		

The materials out of which flutes were historically made have been well-summarized.[105] In short, flutes were made of boxwood (the most common wood in surviving renaissance flutes), maple (this wood has unfortunately attracted woodworms, resulting in many fewer surviving flutes), the wood of fruit trees, ebony, bone, glass, ivory. Any of the above could also be decorated with silver, or perhaps even made entirely of silver.[106] Different materials produce

[95] See Appendix 2. There are 13 flutes in the Washington Watercolors; Number 1943.3.4389 shows a flute but determining its size is impossible.
[96] No. 1964.8.1764
[97] Nos. 1964.8.1768, 1943.3.4394, 1943.3.4407
[98] Nos. 1943.3.4395, 1943.3.4387, 1943.2.4384, 1964.8.1766, 1943.3.4385
[99] No. 1943.3.4391
[100] Nos. 1964.8.1760, 1943.3.4398
[101] Rome fol. 109r
[102] Rome fols. 110v, 112v, 104r
[103] Rome fols. 105v, 104v, 109v, 110r, 114r, 108v, 108r, 105r, 107v, 113v
[104] Rome fol. 112r
[105] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 15. See also L. Ehlich, "Zur lkonographie der Querflote im Mittelalter," 1984, pp. 202–205. For a listing of inventories in which flutes sometimes appear with material qualifiers, see D. Lasocki,. "A listing of Inventories," 2005, pp. 419–512.
[106] Although a metallic flute would become quite heavy, it is not out of the question. See Jeremy Montagu, "Medieval Woodwind Instruments of Silver," *The Galpin Society Journal,* no. 60 (2007): 224-228.

different timbres for the flute.[107] To contribute to understanding the way dance music of *Freydal* sounded, I have compiled the colors of the flutes in the Vienna Miniatures.[108]

Color of Vienna Flutes

18 Brown[109] (51%)
10 Yellow[110] (29%)
4 White[111] (11%)
3 Gold[112] (9%)

As a starting point, I used the color categories of yellow and brown. Brown flutes from the Vienna *Freydal* are shown in Ills. 2, 6, 7, and 9. Yellow flutes can be seen in Ills. 1 and 10. The basis for this distinction comes from a Stuttgart court inventory from 1589, which lists this item: "In a case, eight brown and eight yellow flutes, tuned together, and are to be used for instrumental music."[113] Liane Ehlich suggests that the darker wood in fifteenth-century iconography could represent walnut, while earlier pictures with their yellow or golden coloring could stand for boxwood, bamboo, elder, or maple.[114] Beyond yellow and brown, a third color, white, appears on four flutes of *Freydal* (including the three that Artist 22 painted, the artist that Leitner deemed the most skilled). This color is different than the wood of the drumsticks on the same folios and could suggest a non-wood material is contrasted. As a comparison, there are three slide trumpets on folio 96 that were originally shawms yet were painted over when they became different instruments (Artist 18-B). These trumpets have the same whitewashed look to them, and they are presumably meant to look metallic, raising the

[107] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 9.
[108] See Appendix 1. Note: the flutes of the Washington Watercolors (Appendix 2) are all the same neutral shade, and the Rome sketches (Appendix 3) use no color. Therefore, the colors of these flutes are absent from the catalogues.
[109] Vienna fols, 4, 8, 48, 80, 120, 124, 148, 160, 164, 172, 175, 187, 191, 211 (2 flutes), 215, 243, 255
[110] Vienna fols. 44, 60, 92, 156, 168, 179, 195, 223, 227, 231
[111] Vienna fols. 16, 32, 36, 108
[112] Vienna fols. 104, 199, 247
[113] D. Lasocki. "A listing of Inventories," 2005, p. 475: "In einem fuether, acht braune vnnd acht gelbe zwerch pfeiffen, accordieren, unnd seindt zu der instrumental music zugebrauchen." English translation on p. 477.
[114] L. Ehlich, "Zur Ikonographie der Querflote im Mittelalter," 1984, p. 204.

question of if the same could be said of the three white flutes. The flute on folio 108 appears white, the same color as the skin of the drum, which would match the color of ivory. In addition, three flutes look gold, including the one seen in in Ill. 8. Such color choices could evoke a metallic material or a painted decoration. In addition, Marc Lewon observes the medieval artistic practice of representing heraldic colors by using white for silver and yellow for gold.[115] It could be that the artist's choice of color for instruments was rooted in color symbolism

2.3 Costumed and Masked Musicians

Out of the fifty mummery scenes in the Vienna *Freydal* that depict musicians, forty show the musicians wearing costumes that match either entirely or mostly with the dancers.[116] The musicians in *Freydal* do not wear masks as a rule. This is not surprising, since dance musicians could be hired from the ranks of city *Stadtpfeifer*, who would belong to a more humble social class than either the dancing nobility or the court musicians, such as those in the *Hofkapelle*. Nobility shunned playing wind instruments, given the physical side-effect from wind-playing: faces become distorted and song and speech become blocked.[117] This prejudice traces its roots to the story of poor Marsyas in Greek mythology and the goddess Pallas Athena, who experienced the shame of such facial distortion:

> "One day Jupiter invited all the gods for dinner. The goddess Pallas, to please her father, took her pipes and began to play; and while she thus played, her cheeks became greatly puffed up and her eyes became so red that all the gods began to laugh so hard…Thereupon Pallas grew embarrassed and left; and she went down from heaven to the swamp of the Triton and, watching herself in the water, began to play. Then she saw that her cheeks became puffed up and she realized it was

[115] Personal communication, Marc Lewon, March 8, 2022.
[116] See Appendices for costumes. For how to interpret the key, some examples can be seen in the Illustrations. Ills. 5 and 8 match exactly (shown by X). The musicians in Ill. 7 match except for the chunky golden chain (shown by X*). The musicians in Ills. 6 and 9 match each other and are related to the dancers in some way (M).
[117] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, pp. 256–258.

this that had made the gods laugh. For this reason she threw away her pipes and did not want to play anymore."[118]

Henning explains, "Instrumentation…depended, among other things, upon the social status of the player."[119] Schwindt declares that, because of the nature of wind instruments, wind players could not possibly have come from court.[120] There was a strong preference amongst most nobility for playing stringed instruments because of this bias. Two fiddle players are depicted in the *Freydal* mummeries; both are wearing masks (fols. 136 and 251).

The question of the social class of wind players arises because there are six Vienna folios which also portray other musicians wearing black silk face masks, and five of them show, surprisingly, flute players.[121] The practicality of playing through silk masks must be negotiated. Although the fiddle players and drummers could play very well behind a mask, the transverse flute players may have cut a small slit for the mouth. One could consider that perhaps the instrumentalists wearing masks is an oversight on the part of the artists. Such an error could have been later corrected in the woodcuts. However, an investigation into these miniatures reveals that four different artists were responsible for the five depictions of masked transverse flute players.[122] In addition, four flute players in the Washington *Freydal* appear masked such as the one seen in Ill. 6.[123] As outlined in Chapter 1.1, forgoing claims to status and creating a unifying atmosphere were part of mummeries. Granting some flute players a mask could signify that they had a temporarily equal social standing with the nobility, adding to the jollity and light-heartedness of the event.[124]

[118] Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), pp. 164–165.
[119] U. Henning. *Musica Maximiliana,* 1987, p. 49.
[120] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 89.
[121] Vienna fols. 104, 112, 156, 175, 191, 199.
[122] Artists 18-B, 25-B, 20-A (two) and 20-C. Folios with mask wearing-musicians are charted in Appendices 1–3.
[123] In the Rome *Freydal*, there are no masked flute players visible, although the one facing backwards, shown in in Ill. 3, could theoretically be masked.
[124] A second hypothesis is that the instrumentalists, similar to dancers, went unmasked when paid and wore masks when they had a reputation to protect. The idea that the flute players pictured in *Freydal* were of such high social status would require more research to prove.

2.4 Musicians in Motion

Forty-one Vienna folios show musicians sharing the floor with dancers, whether in the center of the room, the back corner, or taking part in a procession of couples. On four other folios, the musicians are instead standing on a raised platform, stairs, or a pedestal.[125] This could show a division in status between the courtly dancers and the musicians or it could be for visual or acoustic reasons. Lastly, there are five folios which show the musicians in a balcony overhead, four of which are exclusively for the musicians (one time, the balcony is shared with men and women). Large dance halls of the time featured balconies for musicians as well as a *Frauenstrade*, a viewing gallery for the ladies.[126] Such viewing galleries can be seen in Ills. 1 and 2.Of course, the musicians' movements would be restricted while in a balcony, and they would probably have stayed stationary. Many of the folios featuring musicians on the dance floor, in all the *Freydal* works but especially the Rome sketches, reveal that movement, interaction, and contact amongst fellow musicians, dancers, and the viewing ladies were part of performing dance music.

While many musicians' movements are illustrated by showing their stepping legs or ribbons from their arms waving in the air, there are two images I would like to highlight because of the way they especially capture flute players in motion. The first is Washington watercolor 1964.8.1760 (see Ill. 5). The flute and drum players seem to be leading Freydal and a group of dancers when it appears that the flutist turns to step in the alternate direction. He continues looking over his shoulder, towards where the drummer is still headed. The second scene involves the flutist in Rome Sketch fol. 104r, who is completely facing the back of the room, the opposite direction of the drummer (see Ill. 3). Variations of this theme, in which the musicians are facing and stepping, leading, or turning in different directions, are found in all three collections of the visual art of *Freydal's* mummeries. Neither the flute or the drum are directional instruments, and an elastic performance practice would add drama physically and visually, functioning without problem aurally. Today, bringing an element of dynamic movement into the performance of dance music could help shed the constraints of a modern

[125] The position and movement of the represented musicians in the Rome, Washington, and Vienna *Freydal* are charted in Appendices 1–3.
[126] W. Salmen, "Musik und Tanz bei Hochzeiten um 1500," 1992, p. 24.

concert tradition that is sometimes too static to make sense when paired with early music performance.

Physical contact and communication between musicians appear frequently in the miniatures. For example, the flute player and drummer are often looking at each other while playing.[127] Ills. 1 and 9 have flutists and drummers who seem to be attentive to each other. Some musicians' bodies are shown extremely close, and sometimes their feet even appear to be overlapping.[128] Rome fol. 105r shows a flute player looking intently at the drummer as they both take lunging steps, their legs appearing to be interlocking in their intensity. In other images, the musicians seem to be interacting with the courtly dancers and viewers. Moritz Kelber emphasizes that courtly dances were often extremely complicated, which required a professional dance master and plenty of training for the dancers.[129] The musicians would have needed to follow along with the choreography to know what to play. This would account for the great number of folios which show eye contact between the musicians and dancers (Vienna fol. 48) and their contact with Freydal (Vienna fol. 175).[130] In addition, a musician is shown leaning back to play especially for a noble lady watching from the balcony (Vienna fol. 203). Far from providing simple background music, it appears that a musician's presence at a mummery was active, participatory, and full of motion.

2.5 Flutes in the Frauenzimmer

The settings for *Freydal's* mummeries revolve around the world of women. Recent scholarship has begun exposing the important political roles royal women performed. In the Vienna *Freydal*, many queens or princesses wearing crowns are pictured. Kelber explains that there was a practical obsession with young ladies; the litmus test for a good dance event was if the organizer had arranged for the presence of plenty of young and attractive women there.[131]

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[127] Vienna fols. 108, 160.
[128] Vienna fols. 104, 255.
[129] Moritz Kelber, "Mit den pangeten und mumereyen wunder verpracht," in *Maximilian I (1459-1519): Kaiser. Ritter. Bürger zu Augsburg,* ed. Heidrun Lange-Krach (Augsburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019), pp. 61.
[130] See detail from Vienna fol. 48 in Ill. 7.
[131] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen,* 2018, p. 125: "Es galt als Qualitätsmerkmal eines Banketts oder eines Balls, wenn der Veranstalter für die Anwesenheit zahlreicher junger und schöner Frauen gesorgt hatte." See also M. Kelber, "Mit den pangeten und mumereyen wunder verpracht," 2019, pp. 65–66.

Twenty-one Vienna folios show these young maidens (*Jungfrauen*).[132] They can be recognized by their tell-tale long, flowing hair, symbolizing sexual availability.[133] In addition, seventeen Vienna folios spotlight a special woman of honor, either enthroned or standing behind a luxurious brocade.[134] (See Ills. 6 and 9 for an enthroned woman and Ills. 1 and 2 for a royal woman behind a brocade.) On folio 8, the only lady wearing a crown is dancing with a masked dancer. Her act of dancing should be understood as bestowing honor on the dancer, perhaps as a reward for a special achievement.[135]

All but one of the dance scenes in the Vienna *Freydal* occur indoors, a fact clearly indicated by architectural details such as tiled floors, ceilings, arched doorways, windows, and pillars.[136] Scenes of combat on foot also occur on tiled floors, indicating that they are also indoor events; mummeries following tournaments would typically be held in these same rooms that same evening.[137] The location of the *Freydal* mummeries is described in the text draft. As an example, below is an excerpt from the text draft's description of the twenty-fifth court:

> "Sodann des vierden tags ist er mit frolichem hertzen zu der eerlichen gräfin mit ainer gar lustigen mumerey kumen in ir zymer vnd mit schonem hofieren genedig vrlaub erlangt, schid damit des funften tags von dannen." [138]
>
> "Then on the fourth day, he came with merriness to the honorable countess and brought an extremely amusing masquerade into her room. He enjoyed a gracious holiday with wonderful courtly pastimes, and with that took leave of them on the fifth day." (My translation.)

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[132] Vienna fols. 4, 16, 20, 24, 28, 32, 36, 60, 64, 72, 76, 112, 124, 144, 148, 156, 187, 211, 219, 247, 251. See Appendix 1.

[133] Hanna Hopwood Griffiths, "Self and Society," in *A Cultural History of Hair in the Middle Ages,* ed. Roberta Milliken (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), p. 43: "…the conventions involving hair were inextricably linked to a woman's identity. Long, free-flowing hair was the symbolic marker of maidenhood and virginity and, therefore, a woman's sexual availability. Thus, it could be seen as a marker of youth. However, because of its sexual connotations, visible long hair could simultaneously also distinguish the temptress or other 'fallen' women."

[134] Vienna fols. 80, 88, 92, 112, 116, 132, 160, 164, 175, 183, 203, 207, 211, 215, 239, 243, 255

[135] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen,* 2018, p. 127: "Der Tanz mit einer hochrangigen Frau – etwa der Frau des Königs – galt als Auszeichnung und war mitunter sogar ein Preis für besondere Leistungen, beispielsweise bei einem Turnier."

[136] Fol. 132 depicts an outdoor dance

[137] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 428.

[138] Q. von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien*, 1880, pp. 25–26.

It states that the mummery is brought into the countess's room: "*in ir zymer*." At the third court, the mummery occurs in a princess's hall, "zu der furstin in irn sal." In every mummery scene of *Freydal*, the hero is presenting elaborate mummeries for the purpose of entertaining noble ladies in the location of their rooms. Another clue about the location of the mummeries is found in the text of the twentieth court:

> "Also des vierden tags ist der edel jungling [mit lieplicher] jubilierung zu der konigin in ir frauenzimer geschollen mit ainer gantz wol clugenden mumerey vnd mit hoflichen gebaerden, sich dann zymbt, hat er vrlaub empfanngen, ist damit des funfften tags aber von dannen geschaiden."[139]
>
> "Then on the fourth day, the noble youth went jingling in with sweet rejoicing to the queen in her *Frauenzimmer* with quite a clever masquerade and with courtly gestures to suit it. With that successful visit, he left on the fifth day." *(H.S.)*

This is the only time a woman's room in *Freydal* is specifically labelled a *Frauenzimmer.* Although it is the single occurrence of the term in this source, it is elsewhere clearly documented that *Frauenzimmer* were common locations for dances. For example, Princesses Anna and Maria reportedly hosted men for dances in their *Frauenzimmer* in Innsbruck three times a week. In addition, Maximilian would visit foreign *Frauenzimmer* for dancing while he was away on business.[140] It appears that the sixty-two indoor mummery scenes of *Freydal* present a visual grand tour of *Frauenzimmer* of noble ladies in the early sixteenth century.

What were the *Frauenzimmer* of these women like? Schwindt provides a picture of court life in the *Frauenzimmer* of Bianca Maria Sforza, Holy Roman Empress and second wife to Maximilian.[141] Archival and architectural evidence remains today at the *Hofburg* in

[139] Ibid., p. 24.
[140] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, pp. 72–73. The dancing sessions in *Frauenzimmer* could last hours, as revealed by Anna and Maria's dances: "Diese Besuche haben in der Zeit zwischen 10 Uhr morgens (einer Stunde nach dem Frühmal) und 15 Uhr (einer Stunde vor dem Nachtmahl) stattzufinden…" "1504 schob der König selbst während eines Aufenthalts in München nach Tisch eine kleine Tanzeinlage im Frauenzimmer ein."
[141] Ibid., 69–81.

Innsbruck.[142] In Bianca Maria's *Frauenzimmer*, a group of about thirty women spent their days doing embroidery, playing cards, and dancing. There was also a chest of books to read.[143] Their personal love lives and intimate emotions were shared.[144] There was probably also a lot of flute and drum music in the *Frauenzimmer*. Schwindt illustrates the necessity of continuous dance training, especially given the mixed national backgrounds of the ladies at court, and comments that it made sense to practice the dance in the same way it would later occur in public: with the flute and drum. Princesses Maria and Anna supported their own flute player and drummer.[145] They were regular patronesses of flute players because of the instrument's integral role in dancing. An integral part of understanding the music of the mummeries of *Freydal* is an appreciation of the setting; if the combination of flute and drum was the *de facto* instrument of the *Frauenzimmer,* a reason for the burst of thirty-five flutes on the pages of mummeries in their rooms begins to crystallize.

Whose *Frauenzimmer* were they? In the text draft of *Freydal*, the sixty-four courts that Freydal visits are described as belonging to the following ranks of women: queens (15), princesses (13), countesses (12), baronesses (12), and noblewomen (12).[146] This is somewhat

[142] Nicole Riegel, "Bausteine eine Residenzprojekts: Kaiser Maximilian I in Innsbruck." In *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400–1700: Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism,* eds. Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulisová, and Bernardo J. García García [Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2016 (2014) /(PALATIUM e-Publications, Band 1)], pp. 28–45.

[143] Ibid., p. 73: "Eine eigene Bibliothek besaß die Königin vermutlich nicht. Dazu mag beigetragen haben, dass sie nie eine feste Residenz hatte und ihr Budget wenig Spielraum für solch kostspielige Ausgaben zuließ. Allerdings traf Maximilian am 30. Dezember 1500 Verfügungen unter anderem über Bücher, die im Innsbrucker Frauenzimmer in einer Truhe aufbewahrt wurden."

[144] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 72: "Bestätigt wird die omnipräsente Liebessehnsucht, die das Denken der oft unterbeschäftigten Hofdamen bestimmte, von einem lateinischen Gedicht Pietro Bonomos…In einer dichterischen Adresse an Matthäus Lang schildert er die Eintönigkeit des Alltags im Frauenzimmer… "In eine Ecke drücken sich zwei Mädchen, in eine andere drei. Den ganzen Tag verbringen sie mit viel Gejammer, alle schmachten nach ihren abwesenden Liebhabern, oft sind ihre keuschen Gesichter von Tränen feucht." (My translation: In one corner two girls are huddled together, in another corner there are three. They spend the entire day moaning, all pining for their absent lovers, and their chaste cheeks are often wet with tears.)

[145] Ibid., 73: "Es steht zu vermuten, dass die regelmäßige Schulung im Tanzen musikalisch so realisiert wurde, wie der Tanz dann auch später stattfand. Indirekten Zeugnissen kann man entnehmen, dass Tanzmelodie und Rhythmus wie üblich von der Standardbesetzung Schwegel und Trommel gewährleistet wurden, zu der aber wahrscheinlich nicht die identischen Musiker herangezogen worden sind, wie sie den zahlreichen Bildzeugnissen gemäß bei den öffentlicheren Tänzen aufwarteten; zumindest der Nebenstaat von Maria und Anna alimentierte eigenes Tanzmusikerpersonal: 'der Kaiserin vnnd kunigin trumenschlacher vnnd pfeiffer,' zwen Erbar frumb gesellen.'"

[146] Manfred Hollegger and Stefan Krause, "Anhang B: Die im *Freydal* erwähnten Namen," in *Freydal: Zu einem unvollendeten Gedächtniswerk Kaiser Maximilians*, ed. Stefan Krause, special issue, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 21 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019), p. 351.

inflated compared to the register of names of "junckfrawen und frawen namen in Germanien" that Maximilian includes in the Vienna *Freydal*, which begins with Kunigunde, his sister; Mary of Burgundy, his first wife; his mother, Eleonore of Portugal, and so on. By tracing the sixty-four names on his list, the categories of female nobility are spread as follows: queens (5), princesses (13), countesses (9), baronesses (9), and noblewomen (28). In the end, the ladies listed are not exclusively from "Germanien," but rather include France, Burgundy, Portugal, England, Italy, and Poland.[147] The names were important to Maximilian; he corrected the details of their names in the register with his own hand. In the corresponding register of men he jousted with, there are no evidence of his personal corrections.[148]

By hosting elite guests for midweek dancing and special evening entertainment, *Frauenzimmer* functioned not only as a social center but also as a context for political diplomacy. Kelber states that women had the means of exercising political influence, citing a 1518 letter complaining that pretty daughters obtained easier access to the imperial court than sons.[149] Further research can be conducted on the women whose names are documented in *Freydal*, whose rooms could be portrayed in the miniatures, and who may have provided patronage for flute players.

3 DANCE MUSIC: FUNCTIONAL OR ARTISTIC?

3.1 Flute and Drum

Four arenas in which the medieval flute-and-drum appeared have been reported by Dagmar Hoffman-Axthelm: dancing, dining, as part of the *Stadtpfeifer*, and as part of the military.[150]

[147] For a complete transcription of the ladies' names, identities, and rankings, see Ibid., pp. 334–351.
[148] A. Zalic, "Rex idiographus," 2019, pp. 154–155. Neither are there any corrections in his own hand in the numerous sketches, miniatures, or the text of *Freydal.*
[149] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen,* 2018, p. 125: "Frauen wurden offenbar zum Mittel politischer Einflussnahme. So beklagt sich ein Regensburger Gesandter in einem Brief vom Reichstag 1518 an den Rat seiner Stadt, dass hübsche Töchter am Kaiserhof leichteren Zugang hätten als die Knaben und dass man sich durch die Schönheit der eigenen Töchter bei den höfischen Instanzen spielerisch Gehör verschaffen könne."
[150] Dagmar Hoffman-Axthelm, "Zu Ikonographie und Bedeutungsgeschichte von Flöte und Trommel in Mittelalter und Renaissance," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis,* no. 7 (1983): p. 86: "Querflöte und Trommel begegnen im 15. und vermehrt noch im 16. Jahrhundert in unterschiedlichem sozialem Rahmen; so beim Tanz, bei der Tafel, als Instrumentarium der Stadtpfeifer (sowie beim Militär in den Händen der Landsknechte."

The military duo of flute and drum, memorably coined "the Swiss Pair" by Polk, has been well-researched and I need not recount it here.[151] Partly because of this association with the of *Landsknechte*, foot soldiers on the battlefield, the flute and drum have been called instruments of the poor.[152] The flute was indeed an affordable instrument compared to others; it appears that at least three flutes could be bought for the price of one shawm.[153] However, the flute and drum provided festive music for a variety of public occasions that transcended the boundaries of class. They played at baptisms and weddings, and to celebrate the New Year, and there are accounts of their appearance at spontaneous celebrations, such as one very cold winter day when the Rhine river froze and people danced on the ice to the flute and drum.[154] One must be curious about the reasons why the Holy Roman Emperor would choose to show himself with the ensemble of flute and drum on thirty-one folios of *Freydal* if it was associated with poverty.[155] Maximilian was known both as a great patron of music and as someone who spared no costs when it came to his elaborate mummeries, and he had options when it came to instrumentation, obviously on his painted miniatures, but also in real life. Keith Polk summarizes that in 1500, Maximilian had not only his *Kantorei* but also around two dozen instrumentalists at his disposal: organists, lutenists, four fiddlers, a wind band, around twelve trumpeters, and a flute-and-drum ensemble.[156] It is in that context of luxurious choice that the instrumentation depictions are to be understood. Given the abundance of court musicians and composers and the variety of instrumentalists in Maximilian's court, it would have certainly been an unnecessary undermining of his musical taste had the flute-and-drum ensemble communicated a second-class status.

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[151] For theories about how the flute traveled from Switzerland to the courts via the exportation of the Swiss Pair, see N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, Chapter 2, pp. 54–113.

[152] M. Fink, "Turnier- und Tanzveranstaltungen," 1992, p. 42. Fink calls them *Armeninstrumente*, while also allowing for their use at both poor weddings and royal ones. See also D. Hoffman-Axthelm, "Zu Ikonographie und Bedeutungsgeschichte von Flöte und Trommel," 1983, p. 96.

[153] Othmar Wessely, "Archivalische Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des maximilianischen Hofes," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, no. 23 (1956): p. 127: "pfeyffen: ij guld[en]… ain schalmey: vj buld[en]."

[154] Georg Duthaler, *Trommeln und Pfeifen in Basel* (Basel: Christoph Merian, 1985), p. 17: In Basel it happened "dasz man doruff danzet und mit pfiffen und drumen usz der grosen stat in die kleine zoch uber dasz ysz." See also pp. 12–17.

[155] The flute and drum is referred to as the *Normbesetzung* for mummeries. See N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 81.

[156] K. Polk, *German Instrumental Music,* 1992, p. 92.

The flutists and drummers shown in *Freydal*, while uniformly engaged in the broad category functional music like the military Swiss Pair, served a different function: playing dance music, which was performed indoors, not outdoors, and they were likely playing familiar, recognizable melodies.[157] Was this music necessarily so dissimilar from that of artistic ensembles? The fact that the musicians are not reading from written music does not mean that the music they played was improvised; Strohm summarizes the difference between written and unwritten music as "a difference of practices, not of repertories."[158] Instrumentalists could very well play borrowed vocal music that was "formally strict, premeditated and composed in the mind."[159]

The preference for the flute and drum in *Freydal* stands in contrast to the ensemble one would normally expect to see providing courtly dance music: the *alta capella*.[160] Although *Freydal* does show shawms and trombones a handful of times, Schwindt notes that it was not the standard ensemble and raises the possibility that this could simply be a projection of Burgundian practice.[161] Instrumentalists of the *alta capella* were certainly present at court and did provide dance music. For example, the visiting Flemish courtier Antoine de Lalaing once recorded that trumpets and Swiss drums played music at Maximilian's court after a banquet for Maximilian's son, Philip the Fair, accompanying dances which were "*à la mode d'Allemaigne*."[162] Any instrumental combination could have been offered for the dancers:

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[157] Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 357–367. See also K. Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 1992, p. 119.
[158] R. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, 1993, p. 7.
[159] Ibid., p. 359.
[160] Daniel Heartz, 'Hoftantz and Basse Dance," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1966): p. 16: "It would be misleading to claim the *alta capella* as the only ensemble for high society's affairs, but no less so to ignore that it was by far the most prominent. As such its most important function seems to have been to provide music for what John Stevens so rightly calls the 'supreme courtly pastime'-the art of dancing.'"
[161]N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, pp. 82–83.
[162] H. Coffey, "Jousts and Dances for Philip," *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*, accessed February 14, 2022. https://musical-life.net/kapitel/jousts-and-dances-philip. For example, a banquet in September concluded with a dance: "Là se firent les danses à la mode d'Allemaigne, aux tambourins de Suysses et trompettes, et mena le roy danser une des dames de la royne, où IIII ducs portoient les torses. Celle danse faillie, Monseigneur mena la royne danser, où IIII aultres grands maistres portoient les torses." Translation in English by Coffey: "There they danced in the German fashion, with Swiss tambourins and trumpets, and the King led one of the ladies of the Queen to the dance, while four dukes carried the torches. When this dance had ended, his Lordship led the Queen to the dance, and four other great lords carried the torches."

Keith Polk reasons that "the range of doubling by professional wind players had expanded to such a degree [1450–1520] that the civic ensembles were probably able to provide whatever timbres their audiences would have desired."[163] The *Weisskunig* mummery woodcut (see Ill. 12) also shows that the flute and drum players could have been the sorts of multi-instrumentalists who were capable of such doubling and yet they were choosing to play the flute and drum.[164]

What could account for the high proportion of the flute and drum in the dance music of *Freydal*? One hypothesis to consider is that the instrumental combination was the preferred instrumentation for the specific dance of the mummery, the timbre of choice, and it would not have appeared so frequently for every dance. An inventory from 1589 in Stuttgart contains a long list of various flutes and itemizes "*Vier gefüderte zwerch pfieffen so zu der mummerej zugebrauchen*," or "four transverse flutes in a case to be used for mummeries."[165] Although this is more than seventy years after *Freydal*, it is noteworthy for still associating transverse flutes with mummeries. This record shows that flutes played at mummeries were somehow different from other flutes, either in decoration, tuning, or design and therefore tone and polyphonic playing possibilities. However, since the flute and drum were known to accompany other dances such as the *basse dances* and *branles*, it is clear that the flute and drum were actually used for a variety of dances.[166] Exactly how the mummeries looked and sounded, on the other hand, remains unclear.

[163] K. Polk, *German Instrumental Music,* 1992, p. 113.
[164] For references of *Stadtpfeifer* playing flute and drum, see N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, pp. 110–113. For a discussion on the *Stadtpfeifer* fresco on the Nürnberger Rathaus from 1520, see D. Hoffman-Axthelm, "Zu Ikonographie und Bedeutungsgeschichte von Flöte und Trommel," 1983, p. 96.
[165] D. Lasocki, "A listing of Inventories," 2005, p. 475.
[166] "Arbeau, Thoinot" [Jehan Tabourot], *Orchésographie: Et traicte en forme de dialogue, par leqvel tovtes personnes pevvent facilement apprendre & practiquer l'honneste exercice des dances* (Lengres: Iehan des Preyz, 1589). Although Arbeau writes from a different region and almost eighty years after Maximilian, Arbeau's clarity in recording the importance of the flute and drum in dance music Is worth noting here.

3.2 More than Military: Types of Flutes

Not all transverse flutes were made the same way. In a 1566 inventory from the Fugger family in Augsburg, flutes of all sorts of materials are listed (olive, ebony, ivory, black wood) and, in addition, five flutes from a military fifer.[167] Military flutes were different from other flutes. Boaz Berney has demonstrated, for example, that military flutes had a wider bore, a very thin wall and normally lacked the external tapering common on renaissance flutes.[168] They are not easy to recognize, however, since "military fifes… [were] built in multiple sizes and housed in cases resembling those used for the 'civilian' instrument."[169] One key to understanding military flutes is assessing whether more than one were meant to be played together; the surviving military flutes in Graz, though stored together in a single case, seem unlikely to have been played at the same time because of their conflicting pitches.[170] One hundred years after Maximilian, Praetorius and Mersenne also mention the distinction of military flutes in terms of pitch and fingering. Nancy Hadden proposes that, in order to have been heard above the din of battle, military flutes would have needed to have been played in a different way from consort flutes:

> "Swiss flute playing was very different and required different playing techniques from consort playing. The music which soldiers played was monophonic – battle signals, marching music, dances, all performed from memory, with a large and very loud drum. For the flute to be heard in all of these situations surely necessitated playing in the highest octave, where the sound is loudest and most piercing. The need for being heard, coupled with the need for keeping in strict time for marching or dancing, or for imparting life-or-death signals on the field, points to a style of playing which was neither subtle nor complicated.

[167] D. Lasocki, "A listing of Inventories," 2005, p. 454.
[168] Boaz Berney, "Renaissance Transverse Flutes: A Re-examination of the Surviving Instruments," in *Musicque de Joye: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Renaissance Flute and Recorder Consort, Utrecht 2003,* ed. David Lasocki (Utrecht: STIMU, 2005), p. 65. See also N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 6.
[169] H. Myers, "The musical miniatures of the 'Triumphzug,'" 2007, p. 9.
[170] B. Berney, "Renaissance Transverse Flutes," 2005, p. 65.

> "Consort playing is the exact antithesis of this style. It requires playing of a subtle and delicate nature, by a group of two, three or four flautists, probably reading from notation, with an educated attention to the details of blend, tuning, applying the correct chromatic inflections, and musical phrasing."[171]

This detailed distinction between playing the military flute and flutes used for art music reveals differences in technique, repertoire, education, and performance practice, and one can agree that soldiers produced a different musical result than professional musicians did.

The underlying question here is which category dance music fits into. In other words, could there be a courtly flute-and-drum ensemble that played with different instruments, techniques, and repertoire than they did on the battlefield? In the end, what separates functional music from art music? Grouping all military and dance music together under the broad category of functional music may leave out any delicacy, nuance, tuning, and phrasing that characterized some courtly dance music. Schwindt asserts that although there was generally no overlap of either personnel or music between the areas of war music and art music, for the genre of festive music, that is, music for dance, performance, or banquets, a mixed category emerged.[172] The categories laid out by Hadden are fused in Maximilian's mummery music: the music is undoubtedly memorized, but played indoors, sometimes by groups of two or three flutists, if not more.

Further evidence of a separate category for dance music is found in an instrument list drawn up by the *Stadtpfeifer* of Munich in 1544. It lists seven transverse flutes, one of which is called a *Feldpfeife* (military flute) and one a *Tanzpfeife* (dance flute). The others are listed without qualifiers.[173] A payment record from as early as 1483 offers another hint noticed by Gstrein, which lists "*Herzog Sigmund von mönchen ii pfeiffern und tantz pfeiffer."*[174] This listing of two "regular" *Pfeiffer* next two one specified dance *Pfeiffer* does not clarify what the differences are and yet implies a separate category for dance music. (See also the mention of "*Vier gefüderte zwerch pfieffen so zu der mummerej zugebrauchen*" in Chapter 3.1.) As much as it

[171] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 133.
[172] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 81.
[173] A. J. Becking, "Pfeifen und Flöten, Pfeifen oder Flöten," 2007, p. 27.
[174] R. Gstrein, "Stadtpfeifer und fahrende Spielleute," 1992, p. 75.

would be nice to define exactly how a dance flute sounded, a look at the instruments in the iconography yields few clues. Bore size has been discussed in Chapter 2.2 insofar as how medieval flutes and renaissance flutes differed, but details about wall thickness and tapering are difficult to ascertain from iconography and many mysteries must remain about the type of instruments that the flute players in *Freydal* used.

A few examples from other documents could shed light on the quality of music that was delivered. Considering that the musicians in *Freydal* are given the honor of wearing matching costumes and masks at the mummeries, coming from the ranks of *Stadtpfeifer* and *Hofpfeifer*, their quality of playing need not mimic that of normal soldiers. In Maximilian's *Triumphzug*, a group transverse flute players ride up front on horseback, indicating a higher level of social standing than what flute players normally received on the battlefield, a group of marching flute players that appear later in the procession.[175] Schwindt argues that while their courtly aesthetic function was tied up in "*groß spectakel*," their fanfares lent an important and necessary dramatic framework to the "*sües Meledey*" of the official court singers and instrumentalists presented at secular festivities.[176] She goes on to say that transverse flutes exist in both groups (loud and soft music), but it is not certain whether they were the same types of instruments.[177] In a different court of the same time, that of Francis I, there were two divisions of *fiffres et tabourins*. One group was established in the *Musicque da la Chambre* along with harpsichordists and lutenists in 1516. An earlier group of flutes and drums belonged to the military *Ecurie*. This is noteworthy because it highlights two performance contexts of the flute and drum, one of which was made up of "soft," indoor instruments. When Martin Agricola codified the method of playing the transverse flute in 1529, he made sure to give a final tip to players: don't blow like peasants.[178] Apparently, the technique the players used, if not the instruments themselves, determined the musical result.

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[175] A.J. Becking, and L. Ehlich, "Ikonographie der Renaissanceflöte," accessed July 2, 2021, http://www.renaissanceflute.ch.

[176] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 80.

[177] Ibid.: " …Querpfeifen existieren in beiden Gruppen, obwohl man nicht mit Sicherheit davon ausgehen kann, dass es sich tatsächlich um identische Instrumententypen handelte."

[178] G. Mössmer, "Funktion und Bedeutung des *Feldspils* der Landsknechte zur Zeit Maximilians I," in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I: Bericht über die am 21. und 22. Oktober 1989 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung,* ed. Walter Salmen, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 15 (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1992),

3.3 Documented Pfeifer

Unlike the names of the distinguished men and women participating in the tournaments and dances, the names of the depicted musicians are not listed on the registers of *Freydal.* Surviving court and city documents itemize payments to certain musicians and ensembles, but identifying specific players of the transverse flute is difficult, since the contemporary terminology for transverse flute player, *Pfeifer*, could denote a player of a variety of wind instruments, e.g. shawm, transverse flute, recorder, tabor pipe, and bagpipes.[179] It is no surprise that the term is all-encompassing, since the traditional core group of *Stadtpfeifer,* who had steady jobs in the city wind band playing shawm, bombard, and trombone, eventually began doubling on other instruments, such as crumhorn, recorder, zink, and flute.[180] Augsburg *Stadtpfeifer* records reveal that the band played transverse flutes and drums in 1506 and 1514.[181] *Stadtpfeifer* could go *hofieren* at courts in addition to their civic duties.[182] The dance music was mostly performed at court by musicians who were hired to come to court on an as-needed basis for dances and who could play more than one instrument. One iconographical scene which supports this practice of doubling is Maximilian's mummery in *Weisskunig*, which shows two flute players and a drummer playing with a table full of other instruments in front of them, including crumhorns, recorders, and a lute. The final woodcut also keeps the table full of available instruments. See both versions in Ills. 11 and 12.

Who were these *Pfeifer* who played the transverse flute for the emperor? Below are the names of flute players and drummers who can be traced definitively to the festive flute music of Maximilian. Further research could be done on the lives of these men and untangle the roles they played as instrumentalists.

p. 51: "Zum letzten soltu vleissig drauff lauren/ Das du die pfeff nicht blest wie die Pauren." Thanks to Mark Lewon for the translation of the word "Pauren."

[179] See a helpful *Names of Transverse Flutes* table: N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, pp. 47–53.

[180] K. Polk, *German Instrumental Music,* 1992, pp. 112–113.

[181] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 110.

[182] See N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 84 for more on *hofieren* and the musicians who played at court in no official capacity.

Chart of Maximilian's Documented *Pfeifer*

Year	**Flute player**	**Drummer**	**Note**
1491	Hans [Hertlin]	Matheus	Performed at a courtly dance during Fasnacht[183]
1496	Conrad	Härtly	Played at a courtly dance[184]
1498, 1500, 1501, 1503	Anthony Dornstetter and Anndres Wellner	Jorgel Trumelslager / Jägkhl. Also Jörg Ruedi/ Jorglin Trumelslacher	Records reveal that Anthony and Anndres played with a drummer both together and individually.[185]
1506, 1507, 1508, 1509	Veit Ruger, Hofpheiffer	Frantzen kienp(er)g(er) Trumenslag(er)	*"kö. Mayt, pfeiffern und trummenschlahern."* The Augsburg Baumeisterbücher group these names together with a third name, Conrad Werd.[186]
1513, 1514, 1516	Jacob and Caspar Schad	Georg von Salzburg	Also listed with a fourth name, Thoman von Augspurg.[187]

In my search for names, I have needed to refine my analysis of the meaning of the word "*Pfeifer,"* and I ultimately found it most useful to consider what type of instrumentalist was listed with the *Pfeifer.* For example, if a *Pfeifer* appears with a trumpeter (*pfeiffern und trumettern*), I would argue that this was most likely a shawm player.[188] Relatedly, if a *Pfeifer* is linked with a drummer (*trumelslager*), I could propose that the *Pfeifer* in question was playing a transverse flute because of the popularity of this duo. Often, there were two named

[183] H. Coffey, "Musicians for Dance Music*," Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich.* Accessed July 2, 2021, *https://musical-life.net/kapitel/musicians-dance-music.*
[184] Ibid.
[185] O. Wessely, "Archivalische Beiträge," 1956, p. 85, 96–98, 127.
[186]Ibid., pp. 113–114; see also N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 82; see also K. Polk, *"Patronage, Imperial Image, and the Emperors Musical Retenue"* 1992, p. 86.
[187] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 82.
[188] Keith Polk, *"Patronage, Imperial Image, and the Emperors Musical Retenue: On the Road with Maximilian I,"* in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I: Bericht über die am 21. und 22. Oktober 1989 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung*, ed. Walter Salmen, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 15 (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1992), p. 85.

flute players and one named drummer who functioned as an ensemble, and this is another way of isolating who was a flute player and who was a shawm player, assuming it was not one and the same person. This strategy of selecting *Pfeifer* only in connection with drummers underestimates the actual appearance of the transverse flute, since there are many records which must remain unclear.[189]

In addition, I have charted the dates and amounts of court payments in *Gulden* made to the most well-known flute player of Maximilian's, Anthony Dornstetter, and his colleague Anndres Wellner over the course of the year 1500 as recorded in Maximilian's *Gedenkbuch* (see Appendix 5).[190] It is difficult to ascertain what services were rendered for each payment, since the listed payments could also include reimbursements for travel expenses, which could be quite expensive. However, it seems that a reward of one or two *Gulden* was typical when entertaining the emperor for an evening, and that was considered generous.[191] Anthony appears as the honored leader of the *Triumphzug*, having played the flute for Maximilian both on the battlefield and courtly entertainment.[192] Anndres, besides receiving payments for playing the flute, was in June responsible for purchasing new flutes (*pfeyffen*) and in August was enlisted to buy a shawm (*ain schalmey.*) Payments to one or both of them occur at least once per month from January until October. Their busiest months were March, June, July, and August. On seven occasions, they were each paid on the same day. Two of those dates prove to be of special import: April 10, 1500 was the opening of the Augsburg Reichstag, and the two flute players were paid on April 9 in Augsburg; they were also both paid on May 1, which was a significant holiday at the time. It was also the chosen day for Maximilian's first Festival of the Golden Fleece that he provided as Duke of Burgundy.[193] Rainer Gstrein reports that the

[189] O. Wessely, "Archivalische Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des maximilianischen Hofes," 1956, p. 130. For example, the "*vier knaben, so vor ku[niglicher] M[ajestä]t auff den fleyten gepfiffen haben*" (four lads that played flutes for Kaiser Maximilian) on March 5, 1500 in Augsburg. It is unclear if these instruments are flutes or recorders based on the vocabulary.

[190] O. Wessely, "Archivalische Beiträge," 1956: items 102–115, 187, 280–288: these amounts are taken from Maximilian's *Gedenkbuch*.

[191] R. Gstrein, "Stadtpfeifer und fahrende Spielleute," 1992, p. 72.

[192] A.J. Becking, and L. Ehlich, "Ikonographie der Renaissanceflöte," accessed July 2, 2021, http://www.renaissanceflute.ch.

[193] May 1, 1478; described by Elisabeth Scheicher, "Quellen zu den Festen Kaiser Maximilians I," in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I: Bericht über die am 21. und 22. Oktober 1989 in Innsbruck abgehaltene*

average yearly income of a *Stadtpfeifer* was at least thirty *Gulden* around 1470; meanwhile, an entry-level flute player for the military would earn four Gulden per month, and the minimum contract was normally six months.[194]

3.4 Flutes in Other Ensembles

Because the flute is shown so frequently with the drum and the instrument's capability of playing polyphony in mixed ensembles before the advent of the flute consort is questioned,[195] I would like to pay special attention to the three folios of Freydal which show the flute playing in other ensembles than flute-and-drum. These three folios represent ensemble playing in a non-military context that could allow for polyphonic playing if the players were skilled and the instrument was in tune.

One folio of *Freydal* shows a flute being played with a trombone.[196] The trombone was a "loud" instrument of the *alta capella*, whose "performance skills were legendary, particularly their ability to improvise polyphonically…some were able to read music."[197] The flute and trombone combination would have been well-suited to improvised or composed basse dance diminutions over a slow-moving tenor line. There are other references to these two instruments being played together. For example, at the famous meeting at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, "trombones and flutes of the King, with the singers" performed a beautiful Credo in a Mass.[198] An Italian play with *intermedi* describes a singer accompanied by two spinets, four trombones, and four transverse flutes.[199] Later, in 1569 in Paris, musicians were hired with the condition of bringing cornets and violins if the weather was fair but transverse

Fachtagung, ed. Walter Salmen, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 15 (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1992), p. 14.

[194] D. Miller, D. Embleton, and G.A. Embleton, *The Landsknechts* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1976), p. 6.

[195] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 114: "In spite of the increasing presence of the Swiss pair as musicians at court functions and dances during the first decades of the sixteenth century, there is no evidence that they played in mixed ensembles of 'art' music."

[196] Vienna fol. 255. For a discussion of the differences between slide trumpet and trombone, see Herbert W. Myers, "The rise of the 'family principle' of instrument building," in *Gross Geigen Um 1500; Orazio Michi Und Die Harfe Um 1600*, ed. Martina Papiro, Basler Beiträge zur historischen Musikpraxis 39. (Basel: Schwabe, 2020), 135.

[197] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts: History, Music and Playing Techniques of the Transverse Flute in Switzerland, Germany and France ca. 1470-1640," 2010, pp. 93–94.

[198] Ibid., p. 97.

[199] Ibid., p. 170.

flutes and trombones if it was raining.[200] Clearly, the flute and trombone was an established ensemble.

Two flutes playing together is another hint at the instrument's capability of polyphonic playing.[201] Because the *Freydal* miniatures most often show a single flutist and drummer, it is easy to take this number at face value and assume the music was always performed by one flute and one drum. However, the single flute and drum depicted on most of the folios of *Freydal* might be representational; that is, more flutes playing together were possibly the norm, but for the sake of not overcrowding the miniature, a visual reduction of a somewhat larger ensemble was employed. We do have written records of three or four people playing together in a flute and drum ensemble. Chapter 3.3 charts Maximilian's flute and drum ensembles with more than two players. In the *Weisskunig* woodcut (*Die schicklichait des jungen weyßen kunigs der mumereyen und pancketirn*), it shows a mummery with two flute players and a drummer in the foreground, standing behind a table holding a lute, a crumhorn, and a recorder or two. There are many interesting points to consider about this image; one fascinating thing is that the prior sketch included an additional, third flute player who was edited out of the finalized woodcut, presumably for artistic reasons of balance.[202] This demonstrates an artistic practice in which the number of instrumentalists shown, far from revealing a photographic reality, is a flexible entity, only hinting at what timbre should be imagined by the viewer. In later years, further evidence of polyphonic flute dance music arises: for example, in 1540, a case of four *schwegeln* (transverse flutes, three tenors and one bass) is reported missing from an Augsburg dance hall.[203] Herbert Myers has commented that the flutes leading Maximilian's *Triumphzug* "may constitute the earliest pictorial evidence of the building of transverse flutes/fifes in sets (or 'consorts') for polyphonic playing," while carefully acknowledging that this is not a clear conclusion, since military flutes could resemble art instruments.[204] I suggest that the two images of multiple flutes playing together in

[200] Ibid., p. 34.
[201] See Ill. 2.
[202] See Ills. 11 and 12.
[203] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, pp. 109–110. See also D. Lasocki, "A listing of Inventories," 2005, p. 433.
[204] H. W. Myers, "The musical miniatures of the 'Triumphzug' of Maximilian I," 2007, p. 9.

Maximilian's mummeries, once in *Freydal* and once in *Weisskunig*, support Myer's hypothesis there was an early practice of multiple flutes playing together in Maximilian's court.

The third ensemble combination I would like to highlight is what appears to be flute, drum and two singers.[205] In the Vienna miniature, all four musicians are shown standing shoulder-to-shoulder, wearing matching costumes with the dancers. The Rome sketch is similar but shows increased singer activity: one singer appears to be showing the tactus, and the other singer's hand is on his shoulder (see Appendix). Schwindt, in her analysis of the outdoor dance musicians, including singers, in the *Tiroler Fischereibuch* (1504), explains that this is evidence of polyphonic singing by members of the courtly *Hofkapelle*.[206] These courtly singers also participated in secular festivities, possibly performing German song repertoire by Isaac, Senfl, or Hofhaimer.[207] Although there is a flute and drum near these singers, she suggests that these ensembles would not have performed synchronously and that the singers would have generally maintained an appropriate distance from wind players.[208] In the *Freydal* folio, this could also be the case. However, I would like to propose another connection between the scenes that could imply that they performed together. In the fishing book, three singers are reflecting the then still-common practice of three-voice polyphonic compositions.[209] The folio in Freydal could reflect the practice of substituting the cantus vocal line with a flute, something that would work well in German *Tenorlieder*, in which the recognizable, main melody is found in a lower voice, not the uppermost one. Instruments and vocalists

[205] Vienna fol. 187, Rome sketch fol. 108r. For another instance of flute and voice (and lute) together, see the Hennesy Book of Hours, ca. 1510, which shows a boat full of musicians playing the flute, the lute, and singing, as shown in N. Hadden, From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 115.

[206] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 87: "Das polyphone Singen im Ensemble ist…deutlich am Mensurieren eines Mitglieds und am typischen Umfassen zu erkennen." Schwindt continues on p. 125: "Das Mensurieren… zudem dessen Handkontakt zum Rücken des Nachbarn weisen die Vortragenden als Abordnung der Kapelle aus." See the Tiroler Fischereibuch: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7962, fol. 26r. https://digital.onb.ac.at/rep/osd/?10EDD864.

[207] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen,* 2018, p. 129: "Die Sänger Maximilians traten nicht »allein zu dem lob gottes«, sondern auch zu sehr weltlichen Anlässen in Erscheinung. Über das Repertoire, das die Hofkapelle Maximilians in Rahmen von Tanzfesten erklingen ließ, lässt sich freilich nur spekulieren. Vermutlich wurde zu solchen Gelegenheiten unter anderem das breite weltlich-höfische Repertoire der Kapelle, etwa die deutschen Lieder Isaacs, Senfls oder Hofhaimers musiziert."

[208] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder,* 2018, p. 89: "[Man muss] sich überhaupt ein professionelles Zwei-Mann-Ensemble in geringem, aber gebührendem Abstand zu den Singenden vorstellen."

[209] Ibid., p. 450.

performing *Lieder* together is a debated topic.[210] At dances, events at which normal courtly etiquette was relaxed, perhaps the regulations regarding musical ensembles were similarly relaxed enough to allow this sort of musical experimentation. Playing music for dancing emerges in this way as its own genre, straddling functional music and art music.

4 SYMBOLISM IN *FREYDAL*

4.1 Order of the Golden Fleece: The Crusading Flute

Portraits of Maximilian show him wearing a golden necklace which showcased his membership in the elite and exclusive Order of the Golden Fleece.[211] Each member knight received a chain upon joining the Order, was required to wear it daily, and then needed to have it returned to the Order upon his death.[212] The Order was founded by Philip the Good in Bruges in 1430 and was approved at the Council of Basel in 1433. It borrowed imagery from ancient mythology, Christianity and medieval chivalry and, partly to gather funds, encouraged religious crusades against the Turks.[213] Maximilian became sovereign of it and revitalized the Order after marrying Mary of Burgundy in 1478; thus, a Burgundian symbol became a Habsburg one. Its symbols were actually many: bracket-shaped fire irons, shooting flames, and the X-shaped cross of St. Andrew (the Burgundian banner) all pointed to the Burgundian dynasty and prominent knightly society, which in turn was incorporated by Maximilian into

[210] Schwindt declares an absence of evidence for this in the sources. See N. Schwindt, "Informelle Musikpraxis an Maximilians Hof: Spielräume für frühe Geigenensembles," in *Gross Geigen Um 1500; Orazio Michi Und Die Harfe Um 1600*, ed. Martina Papiro, 71 (Basel: Schwabe, 2020): "Weder die Bild- oder Textzeugnisse noch die Musikalien geben an irgendeiner Stelle einen eindeutigen Hinweis darauf, dass Lieder kombiniert vokal-instrumental dargeboten wurden."

[211] Photographs of a surviving chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, with its interlocking fire irons and hanging ram's fleece, can be viewed online. See Martin Mutschlechner, "The Golden Fleece," Die Welt der Habsburger, accessed February 13, 2022, https://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/golden-fleece.

[212] Pierre Terjanian, ed., *The Last Knight: The Art, Armor, and Ambition of Maximilian I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), published in conjunction with the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, p. 190.

[213] Barbara Haggh, "The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Music," *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 120, no. 1 (1995), p. 26: "…the Order of the Golden Fleece had been founded in part to avenge the capture of John the Fearless by the Turks at Nicopolis and the enormous ransom that Philip the Bold had been forced to pay."

his own political power symbols.[214] For example, in his broadsheet *Maximilian as Hercules Germanicus*, a banner with St. Andrew's Cross is carried at the same height as one with the Imperial eagle, and a chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece encircles the Imperial emblem at the bottom of the page, showing their equivalent levels of importance.[215] Symbols of the Order gained increasing importance and even began to be added to Maximilian's crown.[216]

St. Andrew's Cross and fire irons appear eight times on drums in the Vienna miniatures.[217] Four different artists are responsible for painting these. Seven depictions occur with the drum in combination with the transverse flute, and once it is on the drum of a pipe-and-tabor player, who is accompanied with a vielle (see Appendix 3). Since this Burgundian association appears with the flute and drum, and Maximilian's tradition of mummeries began in Burgundy, a connection between the two seems plausible. Fifteenth-century Burgundian court inventories do specify a collection of *flûtes d'ivoire* decorated with gold, emeralds, garnets, and rubies.[218] Perhaps flutes were used for mummeries in Burgundy, or even the older pipe-and-tabor, but the traditional *alta capella* of shawms and trombone would have been the more expected dance ensemble there.[219] In fact, two folios in *Freydal* with clear Burgundian costumes (which show hennins, peaked female headdresses) have no flutes at all, corroborating the hypothesis that the flute and drum was not exactly Burgundian in association.[220] Alternatively, it could be that the militant overtones of the flute and drum ensemble echoed the Order of the Golden Fleece's call for religious crusade against the Turks. Maximilian constantly called for Crusade, although it never occurred, and his mummeries

[214] R. Holzschuh-Hofer, "Feuereisen im Dienst politischer Propaganda von Burgund bis Habsburg. Zur Entwicklung der Symbolik des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies von Herzog Philipp dem Guten bis Kaiser Ferdinand I," in *RIHA Journal* 0006 (August 16, 2010), [40]. Accessed February 14, 2022. https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2010.0.68534. 2010.

[215] Ibid., [41]. (The image can be found in L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2008, p. 23.)

[216] Ibid., [49]: "Unter Maximilian wurden die Feuereisen auf die Rangebene der Reichsinsignien gehoben." Here is also a detail of an image of the Emperor wearing a crown decorated with fire irons.

[217] Vienna fols. 48, 60, 136, 148, 160, 164, 168, and 243; see Ills. 7, 9, and 10 in Appendix 6.

[218] D. Lasocki, "A listing of Inventories," p. 421–422: from a Burgundian Court inventory from, at the latest, 1467. It is unclear from the terminology if the ivory flutes are transverse flutes or recorders.

[219] D. Heartz, "Hoftantz and Basse Dance," 1966, p. 15: "As late as the Triumphzug of Maximilian I (1516), the shawm and trombone contingent receives the name *Burgundische Pfeiffer*."

[220] See Vienna fols. 72, 96.

could engage this political propaganda by showing the entire court in Turkish dress.[221] The pair of flute and drum served an important signaling function on the battlefield for Maximilian's *Landsknechte* and were used as representations of military power.[222] In *Weisskunig's* chapter called "How the Young White King Learned about Music and *Saytenspiel*," Maximilian's feelings when hearing the sound of the transverse flute and drum are expressed:

> "Although the great Alexander compelled wide lands and rejoiced in *saytenspiel* [instrumental music], so did the young White King first utilize the manly-joyous fifes and drum-beats. If he went off to battle, the drums and fifes uplifted not only the hearts of men, but their sound filled the air besides, so that the young King dominated many lands and smote his foes in every respect in battles."[223]

Similarly, the hero Alexander's musically-induced readiness for battle is also cited by Castiglione in *The Courtier:*

> "Thus it is written that Alexander was sometimes excited by [music] so passionately, that he was forced almost against his will to leave the banquet table and rush to arms; and when the musician changed the temper of the tune, he grew calm again, lay aside his arms, and returned to the banquet table."[224]

Coupled with the visual stamp of the fire irons or St. Andrew's Cross on the drum, the flute may be subtly defending the Christian faith and spurring the noblemen on to heroic deeds on the pages of *Freydal.*

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[221] M. Fink, "Turnier- und Tanzveranstaltungen," 1992, p. 42: "Manchmal dienten selbst Mummereien der politischen Propoganda. So erschien etwa der Kaiser, wenn gerade ein Kreuzzug im Mittelpunkt der politischen Werbung stand, mit dem ganzen Hofstaat in türkischer Tracht."

[222] The flute and drum represented military presence by marching through occupied cities, playing day and night. M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen,* 2018, p. 243: "Tag und Nacht, so Sastrow, patrouillierten Pfeifer und Trommler durch die Straßen der Stadt und repräsentierten so lautstark die militärische Präsenz der spanischen Truppen."

[223] Chapter 32 of *Weisskunig*, translated by L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, 2008, p. 193. For a discussion of proper translation of the term *saytenspiel*, see N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 84.

[224] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* translated by Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), p. 63. See also L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, 2008, pp. 193, 279.

A further connection between the Order and the flute could be suggested based on number symbolism. First, the ancient story of Jason's fleece was religiously adapted, comparing it to a fleece miraculously wet with dew, which then could be connected to Mary's immaculate conception. By adding references to other fleeces from the Bible, such as Gideon's, the Order of the Golden Fleece in fact referenced six fleeces altogether, which in turn stood for six virtues.[225] Through this complex layering of mythology, the Bible, and chivalric code, it is possible that the number six grew to have an intense meaning. The transverse flute has just six finger holes and no others, making it different from the recorder and the shawm, which have a thumb hole and a bottom key, respectively. In this way, the instrument could be interpreted as carrying more symbolic meaning for members of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

4.2 Imperial Eagle: The German Flute

The Holy Roman Empire stretched well beyond the borders of modern Germany into what is now Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, and Slovenia, not to mention parts of modern-day Poland, Hungary, France, Italy, and Denmark. It was a diverse empire made up of free and imperial cities, secular princes, and ecclesiastical authorities.[226] A widely-distributed woodcut image of Maximilian's displays the various shields of the Holy Roman Empire's members contained within the wings of a symbol of the all-encompassing empire: a double-headed black eagle.[227] There is a crucifix in the center, a symbol that is incidentally nowhere found in the mummeries, and the tips of the eagle's wings show the Order of the Golden Fleece's fire irons with radiating flames. Four mummery scenes in *Freydal* are emblazoned with this imperial double-headed eagle.[228] All

[225] B. Haggh,"The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Music," 1995, p. 17. The six fleeces of Jason, Gideon, Jacob, Mesa, Job, and David represent the six virtues of generosity, justice, prudence, loyalty, patience, and mercy.

[226] For an excellent map and description, see Thomas A. Brady, Jr. and Ellen Yutzy Glebe, "Germany (c. 1500)," German History in Documents and Images, Accessed January 29, 2022, https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/map.cfm?map_id03752.

[227] Thomas A. Brady, Jr. and and Ellen Yutzy Glebe, "The Imperial Eagle and the Imperial Estates (1510)," German History in Documents and Images, Accessed January 29, 2022, https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=3271.

[228] Vienna fols. 20, 24, 120, 207. There is a transition between the earlier single-headed eagle, as seen in the *Manesse Codex*, and the later double-headed eagle, the symbol of the Reich.

four were executed by Artist 19, who is responsible for nine images total (see Appendix 4). Only once does the eagle appear in coordination with the flute and drum.

German identity-building was one of Maximilian's goals, and *Freydal* was composed with this in mind; it was written in German instead of Latin,[229] and the names of influential people of the empire are included. Just as Maximilian collected old German epics like the *Lay of the Nibelungs* in the *Ambraser Heldenbuch*, the "last knight" was crafting his own modern German epic, starring himself. Other efforts were made to unify his empire; an image of an idyllic, identity-building event is portrayed in the *Tiroler Fischereibuch,*[230] in which a courtly daytrip to the lake is shown, filled with hunting, fishing, eating, and dancing to the music of the flute and drum. It appears that the flute and drum appealed to the ladies and men enough that it could be used as a tool to unite his empire, filling the pages of the mummeries of *Freydal* and leading the *Triumphzug*. For it to accomplish this goal, could it be that the flute was deep-seated symbol of the German nation?

The spread of the Swiss Pair on the battlefield between 1476 and 1500 is credited with the diffusion of the transverse flute into the courts throughout Europe, including Maximilian's.[231] It is true that transverse flutes are not strictly limited to German-speaking courts around 1500; both Francis I in France and Henry VIII in England knew the instrument well, as seen in court records and the account of the famous meeting at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. In Germany, it was sometimes called a Swiss flute.[232] In 1493, when Maximilian started incorporating the lessons of the successful Swiss pike in his army and, as Hadden suggests, the use of the flute and drum on the battlefield, I propose that it may not have been the first time the transverse flute was seen in the region. The presence of transverse flutes in German-speaking lands is seen much earlier, and quite apart from a military context, in the fourteenth-century Manesse Codex (1300–1340). It documents the early relationship of the transverse

[229] Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1982), pp. 74–79.
[230] N. Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder*, 2018, p. 125: "Hier geht um die Vergegenwärtigung eines der typischen Hofausflüge an einen See – Plansee als auch Heiterwanger See wurden ins Spiel gebracht --, die mit Jagen, Fischen, Essen, Tanzen und Gesprächen ihren für die Hofgesellschaft identitätsstärkenden Zweck erfüllten."
[231] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, p. 60.
[232] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, pp. 94–96. See also Jane Bowers, "'Flaüste traverseinne' and 'Flûte d'Allemagne:' The flute in France from the Late Middle Ages up through 1702," 1979, p. 18.

flute to German medieval courtly tournaments, and it even opens its pages with a portrait of a different German King and Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI. Allusions to old-fashioned *Minnedienst* are so prevalent in the literary frame of *Freydal* that Müller writes, "wherever Freydal fights, he does it for love (*er tut es der Minne wegen*)."[233] A similar *Manesse*-like romantic ideal is echoed in the wreath prize-giving ceremony in *Freydal*.[234] The transverse flute of the Manesse Codex seems to show a sweet function, played next to a string player and what appears to be a singer. On a similar note, it is tempting to think that transverse flutes are meant by Konrad of Megenberg when he describes *flatillas*, though it is unclear if recorders are instead meant. He was born and died in Regensburg, and in his mid-fourteenth-century princely-education treatise, *Yconomica*, he states that flutes "give sound with a little blowing of the breath of the mouth, but the noise is weak and feeble. Whence they sometimes play together with fiddles."[235] Fiddles are subsequently described as "sober," and flutes are said to stimulate love and sweet devotion. Rather than the flute, he associates trumpets and shawms with rousing military music.[236] The sweet, amorous German flute seems to have existed apart from any battle function that the Swiss Pair later performed.

Another reason why I believe that the transverse flute was established in German-speaking lands before the arrival of Swiss military techniques is the early reference abroad to the transverse flute's "Germanness." Even in the fourteenth century, Guillaume de Machaut's *Remède de Fortune* calls it the *flaüste brehaingne*.[237] Every time a flute is called a German flute, a practice that lasts into the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, it is certain that it is a transverse flute and not a recorder. The first mention of the term "German flute" (*certaines joueurs de flutes alemans*) appears in the court chapel records of Philip the Fair in 1504.[238] It should be considered that Philip is the son of Maximilian I and that it is

[233] J.-D. Müller, *Gedechtnus,* 1982, p. 108.
[234] Vienna fol. 52. Q. von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien*, 1880, p. 53: "… in ihrer Scenirung an die romantische Zeit des Minnedienstes gemahnt."
[235] Christopher Page, "German musicians and their instruments: A 14th-century account by Konrad of Megenberg," *Early Music* (April 1982): pp. 192–193.
[236] Ibid., pp. 194–195.
[237] In a similar list of instruments in a later work, *La Prise d'Alexandrie*, Machaut names the *flaüstes traversiennes* but not the Bohemian flutes, which Joscelyn Godwin has interpreted as meaning the same instruments. See Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 22–23.
[238] For a discussion of whether this means German flute players or players of German flutes, see N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, pp. 45–46.

particularly meaningful for Philip to use this term. The next record of the *fleuste dallemant* is the inventory of Charlotte d'Albret, Duchess of Valentinois, in 1514.[239] Further south, in Italy and Spain, the transverse flute was also known as being "German." The Este archives from 1530 in Florence show a request for *una cassa o sia coppia di Flauti alemani*, "a case or set of German flutes that are played in the middle of the flute and not in the head, as we play ours; but pay attention that they are good and that they can emit all the necessary notes."[240] This qualifier, that they be "good" flutes, reflects the varying qualities in the world of transverse flutes as described in Chapter 3.2. In 1559 in Madrid, the inventory of Queen Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, refers to cases of *Flautas de Alemania*.[241]

The instrument clearly developed ties to German-speaking lands, whether Swiss or German. I offer the idea that Maximilian also recognized that the transverse flute belonged to a popular, local tradition which evoked the heroic epics, and he included it on his various printing projects with that in mind in an effort to bind his unruly empire. "As we know," reminds Myers while discussing the appearance of families of instruments, "no major cultural shift in direction takes place overnight."[242] He goes on to cite Polk, who argues that, rather than a sudden appearance of the viol around 1500, there was actually "continuing traditions of performance" and "an indigenous presence."[243] I would argue the same for Maximilian's flute.

4.3 Sirens: The Seductive Flute

One mummery depiction in the Vienna miniatures, in which the flute and drum accompany dancing pairs on the floor while courtly ladies observe from a large balcony above, contains another symbol which hints at a further aspect of the music of the mummeries and potential association for Maximilian's flute: on the balcony wall, there are two battling creatures and a siren, who is holding high the two ends of her split, fish-like tail.[244] Sirens holding up their tails are an ancient symbol; they can be found, for example, carved on the sides of a second-

[239] Ibid., pp. 46, 52, 116–118.
[240] D. Lasocki, "A listing of Inventories," 2003, pp. 428–429.
[241] Ibid., pp. 448–450.
[242] H. W. Myers, "The rise of the 'family principle' of instrument building," 2020, pp. 125–145.
[243] Ibid., 143.
[244] Vienna fol. 80

century marble statue of Artemis Ephesia.[245] In iconography and bestiaries throughout the Middle Ages, sirens appear as part-bird and part-human while at other times they appear as part-snake or part-fish and part-human. Although their species mix varied depending on the place and time, the underlying meaning they carried remained constant.[246] Sirens often allude to pleasures that one should forsake, as when they try to lure Odysseus to a deadly fate with their beautiful singing. In Jerome's Latin translation of Isaiah's prophecy about Babylon's destruction, it is written, "But wild beasts shall rest there, and their houses shall be filled with serpents, and ostriches shall dwell there, and the hairy ones shall dance there: And owls shall answer one another there, in the houses thereof, and sirens in the temples of pleasure."[247] This intertwining of destruction, dancing, and sirens highlights the dangerous results of yielding to worldly temptations. Christina Weising summarizes the symbolism of part-fish, part-human sirens, also known as mermaids, in this way:

> "Mermaids are sexual creatures. They symbolize the sinning woman descending from original sin and are the incarnation of temptation since antiquity and Homer's Odyssey, but they are also common in Carolingian texts. Symbolizing vanity, lust, sexual display and seduction, mermaids lead to damnation. So mermaids are also a female version of the devil… the figuration of the mermaid with her tail vertically raised underlines her genitals. So the mermaid may symbolize prostitution as well as bestiality and personifies the image of temptation. Her nudity leads to a distraction from the spiritual path."[248]

The symbol of the siren makes explicit overtones that are actually implicit in the entire collection of mummery scenes of *Freydal*. Although images of costumed dancers seem whimsical and charming to modern tastes, medieval depictions of dancing are laden with the ideas of worldliness and immorality, since men and women dancing together was considered

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[245] "Statue of the Ephesian Artemis," The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Accessed February 13, 2022. https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/396727

[246]Anna Dorofeeva, "The siren: a medieval identity crisis," Mittelalter: Interdisziplinäre Forschung und Rezeptionsgeschichte, last revised November 1, 2014. http://mittelalter.hypotheses.org/3612.

[247] Isaiah 13: 21–22, *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims 1899 American Edition.*

[248] Christina Weising, "Vision of 'Sexuality,' 'Obscenity,' or 'Nudity'?," in *Sexuality in the middle ages and early modern times,* ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 337–338.

the work of the devil until the rise of humanism.[249] Like dancing, instrumental music was also emerging from a background in which it was categorized as immoral. Elizabeth Eva Leach writes about the view of instrumental music in the Middle Ages:

> "Musical instruments were traditionally denigrated or ignored in medieval musical writings. For the most part they were excluded from church performances, and their biblical occurrences – especially in the psalms – were read allegorically. In part this hostility stemmed from their association in the early centuries of the Christian era with pagan cultural elements – particularly female dancing – of which church fathers were morally suspicious. The perceived immorality of instruments, instrumental music, and its performers endured into the later Middle Ages, with urban preachers repeating a saying they ascribe to Saint Jerome that to give money to minstrels was to sacrifice to demons."[250]

If instrumental music had once been viewed with suspicion, the ensemble of transverse flute and drum was particularly prone to profane associations. Hoffman-Axthelm traces the ancestor to the flute and drum back to the pipe and tabor, with which a single person could play a one-hand-flute and drum at the same time. She summarizes her study of the iconography with a short list of the poor or godless who were often shown playing the pipe and tabor: minstrels, animal tamers, jugglers, and monsters, as well as those accompanying the dance of Salome. Minstrels, she explains, were understood to be "standing in the service of the devil, required to seduce the souls of the pious into fornication and vice with music and dance."[251] There is evidence of this devilish association continuing with the ensemble of the transverse flute and drum. Writing of the drum in 1511, Virdung remarks that the devil invented and made it.[252] In a 1568 chronicle from Zurich, the transverse flute and drum

[249] Q. von Leitner, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I: Turniere und Mummereien*, 1880, p. 52: "Die profanen Tänze, an welchen beiden Geschlechter Theil Auftritte, in Aufschwung kamen, als der in Italien aufblühende Humanismus den bis dahin Alles dominirended mönchischen Einfluss, welcher dem Tanze als einem Werke des Teufels entgegengetreten war, beseitigt hatte."

[250] Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 165–166.

[251] D. Hoffman-Axthelm, "Zu Ikonographie und Bedeutungsgeschichte von Flöte und Trommel," 1983, pp. 102–104: "Sie standen nach der herrschenden Anschauung im Dienste des Teufels, von ihm dazu verpflichtet, die Seelen der Frommen mit Musik und Tanz zu Unzucht und Laster zu verführen."

[252] G. Duthaler, *Trommeln und Pfeifen in Basel*, 1985, p. 20: "*der teufel hab die erdacht vnd gemacht*"

provide music for a wild outdoor dance of devils and witches.[253] The transverse flute, then, when represented on the pages of *Freydal*, could still retain these historical layers of the dark associations of the instrument.

Although the flute's presence can seem rather grim in these terms, associated with the *Totentanz* and the devil, the symbol of flute and drum often managed to strike more light-hearted tone when the misbehavior had to do with love. The medieval pipe and tabor has been suggested as a symbol of amorous relationships.[254] This symbolism can later be seen in a fifteenth-century Florentine song about the German military flute- and drum-players, in which puns about the flute punctuate the text.[255] Nancy Hadden, in her discussion of a twelfth-century manuscript from Alsace in which a (part-bird) siren plays the transverse flute, emphasizes that "both sirens and flutes have long been symbols of lasciviousness and seduction."[256] Seen in this light, *Freydal*, with its dozens of portrayals of couples dancing to the tunes of the transverse flute, seems risqué and bold.

Freydal, though written and illustrated, was ultimately never printed. Although this is probably due to Maximilian's death in 1519 and large debts, there might have been political consequences that would have ensued had the scandalous mummery scenes reached an unintended audience. Such incriminating information could have led to even greater consequences if one of Maximilian's plots for power had come to fruition: to try to become pope himself. This plan is evident in one of his letters to his daughter, Marguerite, in which he writes:

> "And tomorrow we shall send the Bishop of Gurk to the pope at Rome to find out how we can come to an agreement with him for me to become a coadjutor, so that, after his death, we can be assured of having the papacy and become a priest

[253] D. Hoffman-Axthelm, "Zu Ikonographie und Bedeutungsgeschichte von Flöte und Trommel," 1983, p. 97. Chronik des J.J.Wick (1568), Tanz von Hexen und Teufeln. (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. F 18, f. 145).
[254] Ibid., p. 107.
[255] N. Hadden, "From Swiss Flutes to Consorts," 2010, pp. 66–68. Hadden includes the full text of the 'Canto di lanzi tamburini,' highlighting the *double entendre.* See Timothy McGee with Sylvia E. Mittler, 'Information on Instruments in Florentine Carnival songs', *EM*, 10 (1982), 452-461. See also her discussion of soldiers' sexual "equipment" on p. 106.
[256] Ibid., pp. 40–41.

and afterward a saint, and you will have to adore me after my death, which I find glorious…*faet de la main de vostre bon pere Maximilianus, futur pape*."[257]

The scandalous mummery scenes of *Freydal*, containing within them men and women dancing together to the seductive music of the transverse flute, was a product of a new age of humanism, which allowed for this sensuality. For example, see Ill. 10, in which the flutist and drum player play watch a dancing couple touch more than just their hands. It is in this way that the reappearance of the flute in documentation from the end of the fifteenth century can be understood as its rebirth as "the humanist flute." In the first chapter of this thesis, the absence of other documents relating to the courtly mummeries was explained by clear papal disapproval. For example, in 1570 the Church distributed pamphlets attacking a particular devil-themed mummery in Waldenburg Castle, at which the costumes accidentally caught on fire yet did not burn because of an alleged magic spell, and the devil himself was said to have appeared.[258] In this light, Maximilian's decision to depict his mummeries seems flamboyant; perhaps in a different era, one without rumblings of the Reformation, the publication of *Freydal* would have set him at odds with Church leaders who consistently denounced these masked dances.

CONCLUSION

One reason I embarked on a study of the flutes of *Freydal* was to investigate the kinds of flutes and flute players it showed on its colorful folios in the years around 1512–1515. By noticing the differences of wide and slim flutes, comparing written records that describe flutes for dances that were different from military flutes, and seeing the various ensemble combinations depicted in *Freydal,* I am more certain that the flute was capable of joining soft chamber music before the advent of the four-part flute consort. I also made the following observations: discussions of the flute and drum in Freydal's dances should take into account the fact that they are all mummeries, which may have been different from other dances, and that these did not only occur around Fasnacht. Maximilian's preference for the flute and drum

[257] Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 88–89.
[258] S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 410.

combination in the mummeries of *Freydal* suggests artistic reasons for the instrumentation that was not based on cost or convenience. One should also allow for the fact that a flute-and-drum ensemble could have more than two flute players involved and that those players could be multi-instrumentalists capable of reading music and having art music memorized, thereby lending credence to Myers' hypothesis that signs of the artistic flute consort existed in Maximilian's court (see page 39). More recently, Myers makes a similar argument: he discusses the "prevailing attitude of the 1980s, when it was being questioned whether even skilled instrumentalists had the ability to play part-music before quite late in the 15th century." He then adds, "In the meantime a pushback has begun to take place, and we are discovering more and more evidence of the polyphonic sophistication of the 15th-century instrumentalists."[259] The flute and drum players at Maximilian's mummeries were probably multi-instrumentalists with a variety of playing techniques; one could call them artistic-functional musicians, ones who could play monophony as well as composed polyphony. Such a duo would have more in common with the revered *alta capella* than with the martial Swiss Pair. Beyond this important point, I would also add that the role that women played in maintaining flute players in their *Frauenzimmer* would be an exciting area to study further.

I also posed a second question at the beginning of my research: if transverse flutes dominated pages of propaganda which Maximilian planned on distributing to unruly peer princes and future generations of the empire, what did they mean? Throughout this thesis, a sequence of Maximilian's characteristic passions has been displayed: Burgundy, battles, *Kurzweil, Frauen*, and early German epics. Transverse flutes appear in connection with all these things. The effervescent atmosphere that instrumentalists provided in the service of the emperor was more than mere background music; it could deliver, as Kelber illustrates, a purifying, healing, and even magical effect.[260] Creating a spectacle that would impress was part of Maximilian's plan; the thirty-fourth chapter of *Weisskunig* expresses his motivation to create mummeries.:

> "To the joy of his people and to honor the foreign guests he took part in every way and was particularly glad to masquerade, where he had his own pleasures

[259] H. W. Myers, "The rise of the 'family principle' of instrument building," 2020, p. 143.
[260] M. Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen,* 2018, p. 244.

> and each time thought up a special mask and shape. Although he was the most warlike king [*streitperist kunig*], so may anyone see from my text that he was also the merriest king [*frölichst kunig*]."[261]

Mummeries communicate Maximilian's goal of being seen as chivalrous and likeable, ready to be a gracious benefactor. Fun, magical mummery music, captured in sketches, watercolors, and miniatures, is the essence of the flutes of *Freydal*. The sound they produced was happy, celebratory, and optimistic; for Emperor Maximilian I, attaching his mummeries and his personal identity to the sound of the flute was the perfect way to be seen as "the merriest king."

[261] L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2008, p. 187; S. Krause, *Freydal: Medieval Games,* 2019, p. 112.

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APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF FLUTES IN THE ROME SKETCHES OF *FREYDAL*

Rome Folio	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 8570. Only mummeries related to flutes are charted here
Vienna Folio	Corresponding folio in the Vienna Miniatures
Music	The instruments or singers shown
Side	R: flute is held to the musician's right side L: flute is held to the musician's left side An asterisk denotes that the modern hand position is reversed, so that the arm on the flute side of the body is also held closest to the face
Size	Apparent size of the transverse flute. Width of bore is estimated at *slim*, *average*, or *wide*. (Note: there is no color differentiation of the Rome flutes.) + Discant flute: indicates that the hands are close to the face and the flute seems shorter than arms-length ++ Tenor flute: indicates that the size is medium, similar to the renaissaince tenor flute +++ Long tenor: indicates that the arms are stretched out and the head is tilted over the shoulder, seeming to represent a longer flute
Costume	X indicates that the musicians' costumes match the costumes of the dancers exactly X* shows that the musicians' costumes, while essentially matching, exhibit small differences (e.g., different pattern on the cloth) M indicates that the musicians are either matching each other or somewhat coordinating with the dancers
Mask	*D*: drummer, *F:* flutist *X* indicates that he is wearing a mask -- indicates no mask
Differences from Vienna	The Rome sketches differ from the Vienna miniatures in that they demonstrate more extreme motion and consistently show more dancers, ladies and spectators
Position and Movement	Where the instrumentalists are standing in the room and observations about their movement

Rome Folio	Vienna Folio	Instruments	Side	Size	Costume	Mask	Differences from Vienna	Position and Movement
105v	36	Flute, drum	R	++ average	X*	--	Almost double number of viewing ladies. Moresque dancer appears upside down	Dance floor, side wall
104v	44	Flute, drum	L	++ average	X	D: X F: --	Three windows added with viewers	Dance floor, side wall **Stepping*
110v	48	Flute, drum	R	+ average	X	--	Flute player and drummer have traded places	Dance floor, in line of dancers
109v	108	Flute, drum	L	++ average	--	--	Extra lady sitting in back	Dance floor, back corner, near standing ladies
110r	160	Flute, drum	L	++ average	--	--	Five more sitting ladies. Musicians on the opposite side as Vienna	
114r	164	Flute, drum	R	++ average	X	--	On the opposite side as Vienna Flute player and drummer have traded places	Dance floor, back corner
108v	172	Flute, drum	L	++ average	X	--	--	Dance floor, leading Freydal and dancers. **Flute player is turning and playing over his shoulder*

Rome Folio	Vienna Folio	Instruments	Side	Size	Costume	Mask	Differences from Vienna	Position and Movement
109r	175	Flute, drum	R*	+ slim	M	--	--	Dance floor, leading Freydal and group of dancers **Stepping*
112v	179	Flute, drum	R	+ average	X	--	More male dancers Extra window full of spectators	Dance floor, leading Freydal and group of dancers **Stepping*
108r	187	Flute, drum, 2 singers	R	++ average	X	--	Increased contact compared to Vienna: one singer is touching another singer on the shoulder with his hand	Dance floor, back corner near sitting ladies
105r	191	Flute, drum	R	++ average	X	--	--	Dance floor, on the side **Interlocked legs, walking in-step with dancers*
112r	195	Flute, drum	R	+++ average	--	--	Flute player has crossed legs	Dance floor, back corner near sitting ladies
107v	199	Flute, drum	R	++ average	X	D: X F: --	Flute player and drummer have traded places and the drummer is now facing forward	Dance floor, back corner near sitting ladies.
104r	215	Flute, drum	R	+ average	X	D: X F: ?	Flute player is completely facing the back while the drummer is stepping forward	Dance floor, in line of dancers
113v	227	Flute, drum	R	++ average	--	--	Many more dancers and two more sitting ladies	Small platform, back corner near sitting ladies

APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF FLUTES IN THE WASHINGTON WATERCOLORS OF *FREYDAL*

Number	Accession number from the Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection. An *R* in superscript shows a Rome concordance
Vienna Folio	Corresponding folio, if any, in the Vienna Miniatures.
Music	The instruments or singers shown. (Only mummeries which show flutes are included in this catalogue.)
Side	R: flute is held to the musician's right side L: flute is held to the musician's left side *Asterisk denotes that the modern hand position is reversed, so that the arm on the flute side of the body is also held closest to the face
Size	Apparent size of the transverse flute. Width of bore is estimated at *slim*, *average*, or *wide*. (Note: all colors of Washington flutes are the same light brown) + Discant flute: indicates that the hands are close to the face and the flute seems shorter than arms-length ++ Tenor flute: indicates that the size is medium, similar to the renaissance tenor flute +++ Long tenor: indicates that the arms are stretched out and the head is tilted over the shoulder, seeming to represent a longer flute
Costume	X indicates that the musicians' costumes match the costumes of the dancers exactly X* shows that the musicians' costumes, while essentially matching, exhibit small differences (e.g., different pattern on the cloth) M indicates that the musicians are either matching each other or somewhat coordinating with the dancers
Mask	X indicates that the instrumentalists are wearing a mask
Position and Movement	Where the instrumentalists are standing in the room and observations about their movement

Number	Vienna Folio	Music	Side	Size	Costume	Mask	Position and Movement
1943.3.4395	44	Flute, drum	L	++ average	X	X	Dance floor, front of dance procession **Flutist is stepping while looking backwards over his shoulder*
1943.3.4387R	48	Flute, drum	R	++ average	X	X	Dance floor, in line of dancers
1943.2.4384	60	Flute, drum	R	++ average	--	--	Stairs, back corner near sitting ladies **Flutist's legs are tightly pressed together*
1964.8.1768	92	Flute, drum	L	++ slim	X	--	Dance floor, outside the circle dancers
1943.3.4391	104	Flute, drum	R	+++ slim	X	--	Dance floor, on the center of the side wall **Flute player's foot is overlapping the drummer's*
1943.3.4389R	108	Flute, drum	L	*Unclear*	--	--	Dance floor, back corner near sitting ladies **Musicians are leaning towards each other*
1964.8.1766	120	Flute, drum	R	++ average	X	X	Dance floor, side wall
1943.3.4394	160	Flute, drum	L	++ slim	--	--	Dance floor, back corner near sitting ladies
1964.8.1760R	172	Flute, drum	L	+++ average	X	X	Dance floor, leading Freydal and dancers **Flutist stepping while looking back over his shoulder*
1943.3.4407R	199	Flute, drum	R	++ slim	X*	--	Dance floor, outside procession of dancers

Number	Vienna Folio	Music	Side	Size	Costume	Mask	Position and Movement
1964.8.1764	231	Flute, drum	R	+ average	X	--	Stairs, back corner **Flutist and drummer facing each other*
1964.8.1763	247	No instrument *(c.f. Vienna)*	--	--	--	--	--
1943.3.4385	*No concordance*	Flute, drum	R	++ average	--	--	Dance floor, back of room near sitting ladies **Musicians standing close together*
1943.3.4398[R]	*Rome concordance only*	Flute, drum	R	+++ average	X	--	Dance floor, center of the room **Musicians standing close together with interlocking legs*

APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF FLUTES IN THE VIENNA MINIATURES OF *FREYDAL*

Folio	The folios of mummeries of the Vienna Miniatures of *Freydal*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073 In superscript, concordances are indicated for the *Rome Sketches* (R), *Washington Watercolors* (W), or the *Dürer* woodcut, Moser 250 (D)
Artist	The artist numbers correspond to the categorization by Pokorney, who has newly revised Leitner's analysis.
Music	The instruments or singers shown at the mummery
Side	R: flute is held to the musician's right side L: flute is held to the musician's left side *Asterisk denotes that the modern hand position is reversed, so that the arm on the flute side of the body is also held closest to the face
Color	Apparent color of the transverse flute: Brown, yellow, white, or gold
Size	Apparent size of the transverse flute. Width of bore is estimated at *slim*, *average*, or *wide* + Discant flute: indicates that the hands are close to the face and the flute seems shorter than arms-length ++ Tenor flute: indicates that the size is medium, similar to the renaissaince tenor flute +++ Long tenor: indicates that the arms are stretched out and the head is tilted over the shoulder, seeming to represent a longer flute
Costume	X indicates that the musicians' costumes match the costumes of the dancers exactly X* shows that the musicians' costumes, while essentially matching, exhibit small differences (e.g., different pattern on the cloth) M indicates that the musicians are either matching each other or somewhat coordinating with the dancers
Mask	X indicates that the instrumentalists are wearing a mask
Position and Movement	Where the instrumentalists are standing in the room and observations about their movement
Frauen	K: *Königin* (Queen) enthroned or woman of honor standing behind a special brocade J: *Jungfrau* (Maiden) appears with long flowing hair
Symbol	Visual symbols in the miniature

Folio	Artist	Music	Side	Color	Size	Costume	Mask	Position and Movement	*Frauen*	Symbol
4	19	Flute, drum	R	Brown	++ average	--	--	Separate balcony	J	--
8	19	Flute, drum	R	Brown	++ slim	--	--	Shared balcony with men and women	--	--
12	19	Pipe and tabor	--	--	--	X	--	Dance floor, outside circle dance **Stepping*	--	--
16	22	Flute, drum	L	White	++ average	X*	--	Dance floor, center of room **Stepping*	J	--
20	19	2 Bladder pipes	--	--	--	--	--	Separate balcony	J	Eagle
24 W	19	Shawm, drum	--	--	--	X	--	Dance floor, outside circle dance	J	Eagle
28 RW	22	Crumhorn	--	--	--	X*	--	Dance floor, side wall	J	--

Folio	Artist	Music	Side	Color	Size	Costume	Mask	Position and Movement	*Frauen*	Symbol
32	22	Flute, drum	R	White	++ average	--	--	Dance floor, side wall	J	--
36 R	22	Flute, drum	R	White	+ average	X*	--	Dance floor, side wall **Musicians standing close together*	J	Moresque
40 R	23	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
44 RW	25-A	Flute, drum	L	Yellow	++ slim	X*	--	Dance floor, side wall	--	--
48 RW	25-A	Flute, drum	L	Brown	+ average	X*	--	Dance floor, in line of dancers	--	St. Andrew's Cross
52 W	18-A	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Wreaths (Awards)
56 W	18-C	Pipe and tabor, Bladder pipe	--	--	--	X	--	Dance floor, center of room	--	--
60 W	25-B	Flute, drum	R	Yellow	++ wide	M	--	Dance floor, back corner **Lunging*	J	St. Andrew's Cross
64	25-B	Pipe and tabor	--	--	--	M	--	Dance floor, outside circle dance	J	--
68 W	18-B	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
72	18-B	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	J	--
76 W	18-A	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	J	--
80	25-A	Flute, drum	R	Brown	++ (?) average	X	--	Dance floor, rear of dance procession	K	Siren
84 R	23	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
88 D	21-A	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	K	--
92 W	21-A	Flute, drum	L*	Yellow	+ wide	X	--	Dance floor, outside circle dance **Leaning in towards each other*	K	--
96 W	18-B	3 slide trumpets (were shawms)	--	--	--	M	--	Dance floor, back corner near standing ladies	--	Burgundy
100	18-B	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
104 W	18-B	Flute, drum	R	Gold	+++ slim	X	X	Dance floor, side wall **Flute player's foot is overlapping the drummer's*	--	--
108 RW	23	Flute, drum	L	White	++ slim	M	--	Dance floor, back corner near standing ladies. **Leaning in towards each other*	--	--
112 W	18-B	Pipe and tabor	--	--	--	X	X	Dance floor, outside circle dance	K, J	--

Folio	Artist	Music	Side	Color	Size	Costume	Mask	Position and Movement	*Frauen*	Symbol
116	18-A	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	K	Soldiers
120 W	19	Flute, drum	R	Brown	+ slim	X	--	Dance floor, back corner	--	Eagle, Austrian arms
124	19	Flute, drum	R	Brown	+++ average	--	--	Separate balcony	J	--
128 W	21-A	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
132 W	25-B	Bladder pipe	--	--	--	X	--	Outdoors, rear of dance procession **Stepping while looking at Lady above*	K	--
136	23	Pipe and tabor, vielle	--	--	--	X	X	Dance floor, back corner near standing ladies. **Interlocking legs, ribbons waving in air*	--	Fire irons
140	23	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
144	23	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	J	--
148	23	Flute, drum (added later)	R	Brown	+ slim	--	--	On stairs (later additions)	J	Fire irons
152	21-B	Shawm	--	--	--	X	--	Dance floor, outside circle dance	--	--.
156	25-B	Flute, drum	R	Yellow	++ wide	X	X	Dance floor, outside circle dance **Ribbons waving in air*	J	--
160 RW	17	Flute, drum	R	Brown	++ wide	M	--	Dance floor, rear of dance procession	K	St. Andrew's Cross
164 R	17	Flute, drum	R	Brown	++ average	X*	--	Dance floor, back corner	K	St. Andrew's Cross
168	17	Flute, drum	L	Yellow	+ wide	X	--	Dance floor, center of room	--	St. Andrew's Cross.
172 RW	17	Flute, drum	L	Brown	++ wide	X*	--	Dance floor, leading Freydal and dancers **Flute player and drummer are facing each other*	--	--
175 R	20-A	Flute, drum	R*	Brown	+ slim	M	X	Dance floor, leading Freydal and dancers **Stepping*	K	--
179 R	20?	Flute, drum	R*	Yellow	+ average	X	--	Dance floor, leading Freydal and dancers **Stepping*	--	--

Folio	Artist	Music	Side	Color	Size	Costume	Mask	Position and Movement	*Frauen*	Symbol
183 R	20-B	Shawm, S-shaped trumpet	--	--	--	--	--	Dance floor, side wall	K	--
187 R	20-A	Flute, drum, and 2 singers	R	Brown	++ slim	X	--	Dance floor, back corner near sitting ladies	J	--
191 R	20-A	Flute, drum	R	Brown	+ wide	X	X	Dance floor, side wall **Musicians standing very close together*	--	--
195 R	20?	Flute, drum	R	Yellow	+++ average	--	--	Dance floor, back corner near sitting ladies. **Feet appear overlapping*	--	--
199 R,W	20-C	Flute, drum	R	Gold	++ average	X	X	Dance floor, back corner near sitting ladies. **Jauntily stepping to the side*	--	--
203 R,W	21-A	Bladder pipe	--	--	--	X	--	Dance floor, back corner **Playing to lady in balcony*	K	--
207 W	19	3 trumpets	--	(Gold)	--	M	--	Separate balcony	K	Eagle
211	19	2 Flutes	R, L	Brown	++ average	X	--	Dance floor, back corner	K, J	--
215 R	21-A	Flute, drum	L	Brown	+ wide	X	--	Dance floor, in line of dancers	K	--
219 W	18-A	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	J	--
223	20-A	Flute, drum	R	Yellow	++ average	--	--	Dance floor, back corner	--	--
227 R	20?	Flute, drum	R	Yellow	+ average	X*	--	Small platform, back corner near sitting ladies	--	--
231 W	20-A	Flute, drum	R	Yellow	+ slim	X	--	Stairs, back corner	--	--
235 W	18-A	3 shawms	--	--	--	M	--	On pedestal, center of room	--	--
239	23	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	K	--
243	23	Flute, drum	R	Brown	++ slim	--	--	Dance floor, side	K	St. Andrew's Cross
247 W	25-B	Flute	R	Gold	+ (?) average	X	--	Dance floor, rear of dance procession **Stepping*	J	--
251 W	25-B	Vielle	--	--	--	X	X	Dance floor, center of room	J	--
255	26	Flute, trombone	R	Brown	+ slim	X*	--	Dance floor, center of room **Flute player's foot overlapping trombonist's.*	K	--

APPENDIX 4: ARTISTS OF THE VIENNA *FREYDAL* AND INSTRUMENTATION

Artist	Total Folios	Folios	No. of Folios with Flute	No. of Folios with Other Instrument	No. of Folios with No Instrument
17	4	Fols. 160, 164, 168, 172	4	0	0
18-A	5	Fols. 52, 76, 116, 219, 235	0	1	4
18-B	6	Fols. 68, 72, 96, 100, 104, 112	1	2	3
18-C	1	Fol. 56	0	1	0
19	9	Fols. 4, 8, 12, 20, 24, 120, 124, 207, 211	5	4	0
20?	3	Fols. 179, 195, 227	3	0	0
20-A	5	Fols. 175, 187, 191, 215, 231	5	0	0
20-B	1	Fol. 183	0	1	0
20-C	1	Fol. 199	1	0	0
21-A	5	Fols. 88, 92, 128, 203, 215	2	1	2
21-B	1	Fol. 152	0	1	0
22	4	Fols. 16, 28, 32, 36	3	1	0
23	9	Fols. 40, 84, 108, 136, 140, 144, 148, 239, 243	3	1	5
25-A	3	Fols. 44, 48, 80	3	0	0
25-B	6	Fols. 60, 64, 132, 156, 247, 251	3	3	0
26	1	Fol. 255	1	0	0

APPENDIX 5: MAXIMILIAN'S PAYMENTS TO FLUTE PLAYERS IN 1500

Value of *Gulden*	R. Gstrein, "Stadtpfeifer und fahrende Spielleute in Nördlingen und Ravensburg in maximilianischer Zeit," p. 72 (Data from the imperial city of Nördlingen in 1470 unless otherwise noted): 1) A *Stadtpfeifer's* weekly income was 10 *Groschen* a week. 2) 1 *Gulden* = 16 *Groschen* = 120 *Pfennig*. 3) In Nuremberg, a pound of meat or a liter of beer cost three *Pfennig*. Players of other instruments received sums in October 1500 for playing for the emperor: organist: 2 *Gulden*; lutenist: 1 *Gulden*. G. Mössmer, "Funktion und Bedeutung des *Feldspils* der Landsknechte zur Zeit Maximilians I," p. 48: Experienced flute players in military regiments were paid 8 *Gulden* each month. If they were inexperienced, it was 4 *Gulden*.
**	If a payment was made to Anthony and a drummer together, I took only half the amount for Anthony but marked it with 2 asterisks. In reality, Anthony probably earned the bigger portion; for example, payments on March 7 and March 13 clearly specify that Anthony was paid double what the drummer and Andreas received.

Pfeiffer	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October
Anthony Dornstetter	*Jan 22* *Innsbruck* 32 Gulden	*Feb 23* *Innsbruck* 30 Gulden	*Mar 7* *Augsburg* 4 Gulden *Mar 13* *Schwäbische Wörth* 2 Gulden *Mar 24* *Munich* 1 Gulden	*Apr 9* *Augsburg* 12.5 Gulden**	*May 1* *Augsburg* 12.5 Gulden**	*Jun 10* *Augsburg* 12.5 Gulden**	*Jul 11* *Augsburg* 6 Gulden** *Jul 28* *Augsburg* 12 Gulden**	*Aug 22* *Augsburg* 29.5 Gulden**	*Sep 1* *Augsburg* 14 Gulden	*Oct 11* *Schwäbische Wörth* 2 Horses
Andreas Weldner	--	*Feb 26* *Innsbruck* 39 Gulden	*Mar 7* *Augsburg* 2 Gulden *Mar 13* *Schwäbische Wörth* 1 Gulden *Mar 24* *Munich* 1 Gulden	*Apr 9* *Augsburg* 5 Gulden	*May 1* *Augsburg* 5 Gulden	*Jun 10* *Augsburg* 5 Gulden *June 17* *Augsburg* 2 Gulden to buy *Pfeiffen*	*Jul 11* *Augsburg* 4 Gulden *Jul 29* *Augsburg* 8 Gulden	*Aug 10* *Augsburg* 6 Gulden to buy a shawm *Aug 21* *Augsburg* 29 Gulden	--	--

APPENDIX 6: ILLUSTRATIONS

ILL. 1

ILL. 2

ILL. 3

ILL. 4

ILL. 1 Detail from Vienna *Freydal*
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073, fol. 92.

ILL. 2 Detail from Vienna *Freydal*
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073, fol. 211.

ILL. 3 Detail from Rome *Freydal*
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 8570, fol. 104r.

ILL. 4 Detail from Rome *Freydal*
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 8570, fol. 108r.

ILL. 5

ILL. 6

ILL. 7

ILL. 8

ILL. 5 Detail from Washington *Freydal*
Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection,
Inv.-Nr. 1964.8.1760.

ILL. 6 Detail from Vienna *Freydal*
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073, fol. 175.

ILL. 7 Detail from Vienna *Freydal*
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073, fol. 48.

ILL. 8 Detail from Vienna *Freydal*
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073, fol. 104.

ILL. 9

ILL. 10

ILL. 11

ILL. 12

ILL. 9 Detail from Vienna *Freydal*
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073, fol. 160.

ILL. 10 Detail from Vienna *Freydal*
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. KK 5073, fol. 168.

ILL. 11 Detail from Rome *Weisskunig*
Rom, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 8570, fol. 107r.

ILL. 12 Detail from *Weisskunig*
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3033, fol. 147b.

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