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Image 1



Maximilian I. (1459–1519) und Musik – Reale Präsenz vs. virtuelle Kommunikation.

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The Troja Renaissance Musik devoted its entire 2019 edition to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the death of Emperor Maximilian I. As exposed by Nicole Schwindt in the issue's Introduction, Maximilian I was a dazzling figure as a ruler, undertaking reforms of the administrative and legal system in the empire, a long-term project looking for territorial consolidation of administrative units, as well the bundling of authorities and legal institutions aiming to ensure future-oriented efficiency; he also regularly hit the ground running his centralization efforts, including making some crucial adjustments in the social structure of the empire.

For him it had become more important to make administrative and legislative acts comprehensible; written skills and specialization of the staff in court service therefore indispensable, a competent new civil service seemed to him to be more reliable than traditional privileges of the nobility and ecclesiastical dignities. He had high hopes from the participating in early capitalist value creation processes, especially in mining, even more from expanding banking and credit, without actually being up to the task of this new business world, says Schwindt. While his father, Emperor Friedrich III did not maintain an itinerating court, Maximilian continued this tradition, which existed primarily in the empire already as a young king.

Travelling was an ideal strategy in the Middle Ages: the travelling regent embodies meaningfully the idea of the state since he'd exercise his power in a way that is perceptible to the senses. He would interact with his "entourage" which comprises closer and further confidants, distant courtiers and non-courtiers, which would, in turn, to become concrete human mediators of the idea to the outside world. Under the pseudonym of *Weisskönig* Maximilian allowed himself to be shown with such an entourage, at work with his secretaries, in ritual acts such the baptism of his son in front of representatives of the clergy and the secular, as well in banquets among officials and ladies-in-waitings etc.

All these performative acts were intensified at the celebrations: the entry into the city, procession, tournament, banquet, mummary, and dance – this is the "enlargement mode" of the present society, here is not only assumed but staged. In his lifetime, as the



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first ruler who exploited the propaganda potential of the printing press, he attempted to control his own depictions, although various projects (*Gedechnus*) that he commissioned and partially authored were only finished after his death. Various authors² refer to the emperor's image-building as "unprecedented". Historian Thomas Brady Jr. remarks that Maximilian's humanists, artists, and printers "created for him a virtual royal self of hitherto unimagined quality and intensity. They half-captured and half-invented a rich past, which progressed from ancient Rome through the line of Charlemagne to the glory of the house of Habsburg and culminated in Maximilian's own high presidency of the Christian brotherhood of warrior-kings³.

The Troja Renaissance Musik 2019 edition comprehends 14 revised cases studies that go beyond the musicological perspective, since the music-related circumstances are reflected in the circumstances, which are illuminated from the perspective of other disciplines, being consequently a multidisciplinary issue.

The first lecture by Jan-Friedrich Missfelder – *Social listening knowledge and sound action around 1500* – deals about hearing as a sensory activity constitutive for the pre-modern presence society, which leads to hearing-knowledge. The lecture focuses partially Maximiliano's relationship with humanist and theologian Sebastian Brant, author of the famous satiric book *Ship of Fools* (*Das Narrenschiff*) written in 1494. Missfelder's basis and starting point of his reflections is the sound action: the vocal making audible and also speech in its most diverse manifestations and its perception in the form of listening are diagnosed in a differentiated way as a social practice. For example, during a long time, Brant had almost systematically written to Maximilian.

² For references see: ASCH, Ronald G. *Princes, patronages, and the nobility: the court at the beginning of the modern age. c. 1450-1650*. German Historical Institute London. p. 6, 1991; HAYTON, Darin. *The crown and the cosmos: astrology and the politics of Maximilian I*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015; MUNCK, Bert de; ROMANO, Antonella. *Knowledge and the early modern city: a history of entanglements*. Routledge, p. 114, 2019.

³ BRADY, Thomas A. *German histories in the age of reformations, 1400-1650*. Cambridge University Press, p. 128, 2009.



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As early as 1492, he had understood a meteorite fall in Ensisheim, Alsace, as a prodigy of imperial politics and, in an elaborately produced pamphlet, interpreted it as an omen that “great things will happen.” “May it,” writes Brant, “come as a calamity upon the enemies”. This was easily related to the smoldering conflict between the empire and King Louis XII's France and was aimed at Maximilian's foreign policy program before he had even been elected Roman king. The pamphlet of the “astropolitical journalist” was soon flanked by a multitude of political, historical, and panegyric pamphlets, all of which were intended to legitimize and support Maximilian’s policy not only toward France, but increasingly toward the Ottoman Empire as well. Brant, currently still a law professor at the University of Basel, obviously shared Maximilian’s views on imperial politics and rule, which was not entirely unproblematic in view of the latent and manifest tensions between the empire and the Confederation.

However, Maximilian appears as an ideal ruler not only in these casual texts of Brant, but also – as the only contemporary personality mentioned by name at all – in Brant’s literary magnum opus, the *Ship of Fools* of 1494.

Brant’s *Ship of Fools* is in many ways a key text of communicative culture around 1500. First of all, it is a media experiment at the height of its time. Brant was an early adopter of the exciting new media technology of letterpress printing, worked in Basel at the innovation center of printing technology and aesthetics, and even in his works constantly reflected on its possibilities and reach. The *Ship of Fools* pushes the boundaries of print-based communicative culture around 1500 to the limit. Even its austere form bears witness to this. All 112 chapters have the same structure: motto, illustration, and proverbial poem in (at least in the first 73 chapters) either 34 or 94 verses form semantic and medial units, refer to each other, and illuminate each other reciprocally.

The pictorial elements⁴ are designed at the very highest level and with immense technical effort. This structure points ahead to the medial form of the pamphlet, which Brant used

⁴ “As the fifteenth century turned into the sixteenth, publishers and printers – and jobbing writers and translators – clamored to cash in on the phenomenal success that was Sebastian Brant’s *Narrenschiff* (1494), better known outside of German-speaking lands, in Jakob Locher’s Latin translation, as the



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so virtuously, so that it is also conceivable that Brant had already thrown individual chapters *gesamlet zuo Basell* (collected in Basel) onto the market as a pamphlet, only to compile and formally unify them later. Most importantly, the book itself reflects on its own medial status and on the communication situation in which it is situated and into which it intervenes.

Brant not only describes the printers' craft on the "journeyman ship", but in the very first chapter he also criticizes the bookworm with glasses and donkey ears as a ridiculous educational poser and thus laments the "gap between the now enormous presence of the book as a medium on the one hand and the simultaneous disregard of the informational side" – in short, the "information overkill" that was already setting in half a century after the invention of the technology in Europe.

Brant's universal satire of fools always remains reflexive here, always including its own medial enabling condition. In addition, the Ship of Fools also opens up the medial and

Stultifera navis (1497): the Ship of Fools. In France Jodocus Badius Ascensius, who was both a printer and a writer, as well as an entrepreneur with an eye for the main chance, produced two sequels. His *Stultiferae naves* (1501) and *Navis stultifera* (1505) represent a rather more modest success than Brant's original, but they serve as an excellent illustration of the dynamism, adaptability, and internationalism of print culture in Northern Europe in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Although nowhere near as numerous as Brant's, Badius's ships traveled well: Parisian printers, including Badius himself, found a market for them, but they also quickly reached printers in Strasbourg, Basel, Caen, and even Burgos in northern Spain. They were printed in different languages, with different authorial attributions, in different formats and different presentations for different readerships. They demonstrate the extent to which printed texts could be converted and adapted to different uses – and the ways in which networks connecting printers and scholars in diverse geographical locations enabled this. They also give us a sense of the complex ways translations were produced and marketed in the early era of print. Badius's texts are not translations at all, but one of them, the *Navis stultifera*, often masqueraded as one, and the other, the *Stultiferae naves*, had been, he claimed, written in order to be translated. The concept of translation could be mobilized as a marketing strategy, and the making of translated texts was more often the initiative of printers than of authors. Printer-publishers might commission translations, but they might also commission a text to serve as the source for a translation". In: WHITE, Paul. [Marketing adaptations of the ship of fools: the stultiferae naves \(1501\) and navis stultifera \(1505\) of Jodocus Badius Ascensius](#). La Trobe University, 2019 pp. 22-39.



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communicative contexts of print technology in contemporary media society. It should be noted that the Ship of Fools does not, of course, provide a realistic depiction of society around 1500 – neither in Basel nor in Strasbourg. Rather, Brant's great metaphor of the ship of fools serves to circumscribe social problem areas with a morally didactic intent, in which man, who in principle has the power to act, can show himself to be a wise man or a fool – from politics to religion to gender relations. As a rule, deviation from the norm is documented, for example in court sources.

From this, the state of a society can only be read insofar as the norm from which the deviation was made first appears as such. The moral satire of the Ship of Fools performs a similar function. It does not provide a neutral picture of its time, but rather a polemical one – which, precisely because of this, can be processed as material from the history of society, mentality, or media. The media analyses of the Ship of Fools must also be judged against this background. Like all other problem areas, they are always relative to the overall polemical structure of the book, but they allow the relationships between the various media forms and communicative practices to emerge all the more strongly.

The second lecture by Michail A. Bojcov – *The Chancery Harmony of King Maximilian* – deals with the organization and work processes of Maximilian's chancery. The author recognizes a general striving for order, which aims at more than just an instrument of execution in the communicative daily business. The achievement of a courtly 'order' wants to establish a (ultimately admittedly utopian) state of harmony between all participants. Bojcov sees an analogy to musical harmony as it is ideally realized in an orchestra or musical ensemble, including the one in Maximilian's triumphal procession.

The 'Triumphal Procession' (*Triumphzug* in German), also known as "Triumphs of Maximilian" is a monumental 16th-century series of woodcut prints by several artists, commissioned by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and designed to be pasted to the walls in the city halls or the palaces of princes to create a decorative frieze, an expression of the Emperor's power and magnificence. It was one of several works of propaganda in literary and print form commissioned by Maximilian, who was always drastically short of money, and lacked the funds to actually stage such a ceremony, unlike



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his Habsburg descendants. It could also be bound as a book, and its copies treated this way which have survived, as well as those from later reprints⁵.

In comparing Maximilian's chancellor bureaucracy with the operation of an orchestra, Bojcov brings an interesting point of view juxtaposing the political weight of music that, for him, according to its nature, it fundamentally resembles the very essence of domination. The whole *raison d'être* of both – of music as well as of domination – consists precisely in generating – from universal chaos, from nothing – the equally universal – order, supporting and confirming it anew every moment on the one hand, but on the other hand renewing and varying it at the same time. In this respect, the instrumental music of the Triumphal Procession is most closely related to the *musica mundana* from Boetius⁶ (without enumerating its numerous predecessors here), i.e. to the world music, the cosmic music. Even if scholastic scholars in the 13th century mostly

⁵ DÜRER, Albrecht. *Complete woodcuts – 1st ed.* Edited by Dr. Willi Kurth. Dover Publications, 1963.

⁶ “Emanating from a cosmos ordered according to Pythagorean and Neoplatonic principles, the Boethian *musica mundana* is the type of music that ‘is discernible especially in those things which are observed in heaven itself or in the combination of elements or the diversity of seasons’. At the core of this recurring medieval topos stands ‘a fixed sequence of modulation [that] cannot be separated from this celestial revolution’, one most often rendered in medieval writings as the ‘music of the spheres’ (*musica spherarum*). In the Pythagorean and Neoplatonic cosmological traditions, long established by the time Boetius wrote his *De institutione musica*, the music of the spheres is just one possible manifestation of the concept of world harmony. It pertains to a universe in which musical and cosmic structures express the same mathematical ratios, each of the planets produces a distinctive sound in its revolution and the combination of these sounds themselves most often forms a well-defined musical scale. Although the Neoplatonic world harmony continued to function in medieval cosmology as the fundamental conceptual premise, the notion of the music of the spheres, despite its popularity among medieval writers, was generally treated neither at any significant length nor in an innovative fashion. Quite exceptional in this respect is the treatise that forms the subject of the present study, a text beginning *Desiderio tuo fili carissime gratuito condescenderem* and attributed to an anonymous bishop in the late thirteenth-century manuscript miscellany now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Barb. lat. 283, fols. 37r-42v) but probably coming from a Franciscan convent in Siena. This seldom considered work affords a remarkable and special insight into the ways in which old and new ideas converged, intermingled and coexisted in the dynamic and sometimes volatile cross-currents of medieval scholarship”. In: ILNITCHI, Gabriela. *Musica mundana, aristotelian natural philosophy and Ptolemaic astronomy. Early Music History, Volume 21*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.



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adopted Aristotle's negative view of the music of the spheres, hardly anyone in the late Middle Ages could really doubt at least the a cappella singing of the angels, which sounds stronger and more beautiful the closer we can rise to God in heaven.

But not only the music. The Maximilian triumphal procession as such is itself to be understood as an expression of the emperor's ability to give the amorphous human coexistence the form – but, according to the magister, the content and the meaning – to successfully order the world of the social, to have it structured according to clear guidelines.

The musicians undoubtedly contributed significantly to the proper functioning of Maximilian's power as an earthly reflection of God's power. After all, they consisted of 13 timpanists and trumpeters, 19 singers and about 20 boys as discantists as well as an “organista”. They are numerically quite comparable to the cohort of musicians in the triumphal procession. Maximilian's achievement in building up his “musical representation” becomes more apparent when one compares these details with the somewhat earlier ones from his family circle.

At the court of his uncle, Archduke Sigmund of Tyrol, the court orders for each specific year usually fix only seven (but once eight) trumpeters, timpanists, pipers and trombonists in total, in addition to an organist. In other words: where Sigmund was quite content to provide seven or eight musicians with court fees, his nephew used to entertain 52 musicians. It should be remembered here in parentheses that Sigmund, as is well known, can by no means be counted among those princes who would have liked to save on the expenses for their court and their own representation.

As in any orchestra, the productivity of the chancellery, its success or failure, ultimately depended on each of its approximately two dozen members (not counting service personnel). Therefore, all chancellors – like the councilors – must first swear not only to remain loyal to the king, but also to fulfill their official duties properly. Everyone was also required to keep quiet about what was going on in the chancellery “until his death”.



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However, the author paid the most attention not to the risks of chattiness but to the potential danger of bribery, at all possible levels.

The “chancery orchestra” is assembled, technically trained to play together smoothly, and furthermore armed for high moral standards with the help of oath formulas and didactic aphorisms in the court orders. But how does the court chancellery function as the unified acting body – for instance, can its members play together at all?

The third lecture by Gisela Naegle – *Communication among those who are absent – information, trust and conflicts in Maximilian I’s correspondence with Margarete of Austria (1507-1519)* – deals about the written communication between Maximilian and his daughter, the regent of the Habsburg, Netherlands. The correspondence is not only from the tension between human or family closeness and spatial distance, but also by the friction between two cultures, as represented by the Burgundian and the German. Naegle analyzes the media specifics of the long-lasting exchange under the methodological premise that communication between the absent correspondents must also integrate structures of communication between those present if it is to be successful.

From 1507 to 1519, Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519) maintained an intensive correspondence with his daughter Margarete (1480-1530), who in the course of her life twice exercised the function of a governor-general or (since 1509) a regent of the Netherlands: from 1507 to 1515 and again, during the coming of age of her nephew, the later Emperor Charles V from 1517 the departure of Charles until her death in 1530. The correspondence between Margarete and Maximilian took place under special conditions, which, due to their different cultural background, clearly differed from the conditions of a high-ranking father-daughter correspondence within the German-speaking parts of the empire. The first and second part of the essay deal with these general conditions: What did this correspondence look like, how has it been handed down, and what are its peculiarities?

What were the consequences of the spatial distance, the foreign language (in Maximilian’s case), and the necessity to take special precautions for secrecy? How can the



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correspondence be described methodically as communication among absentees? The third part deals with the aspects of the correspondence, which was characterized not only by a lively exchange of information on a wide variety of topics, but also, despite occasional conflicts and misunderstandings, by a special relationship of trust and a common commitment to the continuation and success of the dynasty. How did Margarete and Maximilian address each other? What did they exchange and how did they strive to secure the interests of their dynasty?

The fourth lecture by Saskia Limbach – *Let it be known – New Perspectives on Broadsheets and Political Communication at the Time of Maximilian I* – investigates the special source group of broadsheets launched in Maximilian's name. As a ruler fascinated by the print medium in general, he used them preferentially and on a scale that was new for his time as a political and administrative instrument that facilitated his communication with the outside world. Surprisingly, however, these seemingly ephemeral proclamations turn out to be also turn out to be products suitable for memoria, which were often printed only after a considerable time delay compared to the original order.

Maximilian's loving for prints gave life for his ambitious projects, such as the *Triumphal Arch* – a monumental woodcut print made entirely out of paper – one of the largest prints ever produced and was intended to be pasted to walls in city halls or the palaces of princes. The 'Triumphal Arch' is a part of a serie of three huge prints created for Maximilian, the others being a *Triumphal Procession* (1516-1518) which is led by a *Large Triumphal Carriage* (1522). Only the 'Triumphal Arch' was completed in Maximilian's lifetime and distributed as propaganda, as he intended. Art historian Hyatt Mayor described this serie as "Maximilian's program of paper grandeur".

Besides the use of printing for art and propaganda purposes, Maximilian also supported the productions of books, giving many privileges to printers for certain publications. Although less studied, an important area is Maximilian's use of print for administrative purposes making him the first emperor to use every advantage of the printing press for his governance. He began to publish documents as early as 1478, although it's a mistake to assume that all documents were printed immediately after they had been issued. In



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some cases, years or even decades could pass until a document under Maximilian's name actually appeared in print. Even so, for the extensive use of the press, some scholars have suggested that Maximilian could be seen as "his own public relations manager". Transmitted-light photography found a watermark on the paper of the "Triumphal Arc": a dual-headed eagle wearing the imperial crown, the Holy Roman Emperor's coat of arms, which underscores how personally connected Maximilian I was to the project.

Next, Matthias Müller – *Enraptured presence in images. Maximilian's I media presence and his staging as an enigmatic ruler – a contradiction?* – relativizes Maximilian's supposed urge to create and distribute his portraits to create a media presence. Rather, the portraits follow traditional *topoi* that place rulers in rather unapproachable spheres. Approaches to "humanization" were even received with reservations. Despite the technical medium of reproduction his graphic projects served more to mystify than to popularize. In no way they are to be understood as iconographic substitute media for actual presence.

There is consensus among Maximilian's contemporaries and in historiography he was regarded as an affable, even popular ruler. It is undeniable that all this was due to his massive propaganda, spreading his portrait to the public from prints and medals, which were still little used for such purposes at the time, to paintings and small sculptures. In short, the extraordinary media presence of the king and emperor was a novelty for the circumstances of the time around 1500.

Especially from the perspective of today's society, which is characterized by a variety of mass media, it must seem tempting to compare the media campaigns developed around Maximilian with the conditions of our time and to recognize in the image politics of 400 years ago, as it were, an anticipation of the media presence of today's politicians and rulers. Only on closer inspection does it become clear that this view falls short and misses the historical circumstances in essential points. This begins with the relatively low circulation figures even of the print media, continues with the very limited circle of recipients (which was limited primarily to a small court and urban elite), and ends with an iconographic concept that had little interest in a representation of Maximilian that was close to the people, but on the contrary enigmatically removed the ruler's person.



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Thus, the extraordinary and at the same time very elitist media concept for Maximilian stands in remarkable contradiction to his popular closeness, which has been handed down in the sources, and to the form of the “presence society” that had been handed down for centuries and which Maximilian also maintained, with the physical presence required of the actors. Or, to put it the other way around: even in the emerging age of print media, the “presence society”, it should be noted at this point, has by no means become obsolete. Although – as the concept paper for the conference rightly points out – with the help of the new media communication and interaction without the simultaneous physical presence of the participants is fundamentally facilitated and practiced in new dimensions.

Maximilian cultivates with his court a restless ambulant style of rule in a large geographic framework that is unparalleled in history. The need for presence, direct human exchange, real experience, and performance in real time seems to be inversely proportional to the possibilities offered by the change in communication technology.

Next, Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann in her *Iconographic-musical Politics of Representation – The Moorish Dancers at the Golden Roof* – evaluates the – stationery (!) – constellation of figures in the stone reliefs attached to the Innsbruck City Hall, which show Maximilian not only with his two wives, but also between a jester and a court official, certainly as a present posture of the king during his absence. The prima facie inappropriate framing by a *moresca* serves not only as a visual point of attraction but also as a proof of the festive culture underpinning the ruler’s claim to power.

It’s very intriguing Maximilian I showing himself surrounded by moriscan dancers on the balcony parapet of the Innsbruck Golden Roof? One could question also if the depiction of wildly jumping, contorting dancers, explicitly displaying their physicality and partial strangeness, as well as the visual evocation of low music and its noisy accompaniments on an architectural element that is so obviously highly official and serves the representation of Maximilian’s rule actually inappropriate? The answers to these questions are rather controversial among scholars and researchers. About the moriscan



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dancers, for example, the interpretations vary: Johanna Felmayer⁷ says the various dancers are symbolizations of different religions directions and their conflicts, seeing here a representation of church-political circumstances of the time.

Her identification is based on the headdresses and hairstyles of the dancers. On the other hand, Keith McGowan interprets the reliefs as a representation of a performance of professional dancers before the emperor and his circle by emphasizing the contrasts in posture between paid entertainers and the courtly audience: “the scene invites the observer to contrast the dishonorable sensuality of the professional entertainer with the ease and rationality of nobility”.⁸ Erwin Pokorny⁹ also tends toward a moralizing interpretation: taking up a type of moresca performed as a prize dance in competition for a woman's favor, he interprets the figures as satirical portrayals of men who make fools of themselves by wooing her. He then relates this to the double portrayal of Maximilian as a lover and a ruler. McGowan and Pokorny also lack a reference to the overall iconographic program of the oriel.

Franke and Welzel¹⁰ attempted to classify the iconographic element of the dancers in the context of the oriel as a central, public element of Maximilian's representational and memorial politics, and in doing so they also considered urbanistic contexts and the diversity of possible addressees. Overall, they see in the dance scene “the ideal image of Maximilian festive culture turned to stone,” that is, a largely realistic depiction of a typical, albeit particularly elaborate and sensational, courtly revelry. Since this was usually

⁷ FELMAYER, Johanna. *Das golden dachl in Innsbruck. Maximilians traum vom goldenen zeitalter*. Innsbruck, 1996, p. 47-55.

⁸ MCGOWAN, Keith. *The prince and the piper. 'haut', 'bas' and the whole body in early modern Europe*. In: *Early Music* 27. 1999, p. 211-232; p. 221.

⁹ POKORNY, Erwin, “Minne und torheit unter dem goldenen dachl. Zur ikonographie des prunkerers Maximilians I. in Innsbruck”. In: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 4/5 2002/03, p. 30-45: p. 43.

¹⁰ FRANKE, Birgit, WELZEL, Barbara. “Morisken für den Kaiser: Kulturtransfer?”. In: *Kulturtransfer am Fürstenhof. Höfische Austauschprozesse und ihre Medien im Zeitalter Kaiser Maximilians I.*, hrsg. von Matthias Müller, Karl-Heinz Spieß und Udo Friedrich, Berlin 2013 (Schriften zur Residenzkultur, 9), p. 15-51: p. 15 and 30.



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not accessible to people who did not belong to the court, the oriel reliefs here “put the hearsay into the picture”.

The Golden Roof is set in front of the front of the Neuhof building as a so-called oriel (see Figure 1). The Neuhof lies at the intersection of the north-south and east-west axes through the city and came about through the connection of three houses as well as through additions that the Tyrolean dukes Frederick IV and Sigmund the Minty Rich had made since 1420 in order to create a modern sovereign residence that was to replace the Andechs Castle. After taking over the rule of Tyrol in 1490, Maximilian himself used the Neuhof less and less as a residence because of the expansion of the Hofburg, but in the course of his administrative reform in 1497/98 he housed the newly created Court Chamber, i.e. the central financial authority of the hereditary lands and the empire.

The centralization of the imperial administration in one of the emperor's main residences was viewed critically by the princes and estates of the empire, however, and was reversed in 1500 when they forced the transfer of the imperial government to Nuremberg. Neuhof, however, remained the seat of the financial administration of the Austrian lands.

Next, David Burn in his *Maximilian I's Musical Endowments* examines ecclesiastical endowments, which served both the demonstration of earthly power and the salvation of souls, in their relationship to Maximilian. He reconstructs the votive services, whose spiritual power was to unfold in the presence as well as in the absence of the founders, according to which they were endowed. At the center are the musical specifications for these endowments and the attempt to identify certain musical works as sounding part of these votive liturgies. This leads to a new reading of the largest project, the series of *Missa Propria* penned by Heinrich Isaac.

There's no doubt about Maximilian I being a legendary patron of the arts. Either for loving it or for self promotion (he deliberately shrouded them in promotional packaging that if not entirely realistic, is nonetheless so attractive that it continues to shape and influence discussions of his patronage up to the present time. Although it's surprisingly difficult to pinning down the precise details of this patronage looking to move beyond



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image-making surface-claims, for the music part we know that Maximilian, as any monarch in his time did, supported various chapels but further details of the activities of these institutions must often be surmised from hypothesis. It's known that he employed Heinrich Isaac as court composer.

This was presumably, most importantly, to compose liturgical music a series of chant-based mass ordinaries and a good deal of the mass propers now known collectively under the title of *Choralis Constantinus*. The music was composed by Isaac and one can infer it was done to fulfil someone's wishes or commission as would be normal at that time. But a great deal still remains undetermined and open to speculation. Even music manuscripts that can be unquestionably associated with Maximilian personally, or with his court, are surprisingly scarce, which again makes it difficult to gain precise insight into the music that circulated at court.

Sources state the Maximilian's first wife, Mary of Burgundy who died at very early age of twenty-five, leaving the emperor devastated, gave detailed instructions on her deathbed for her burial in Bruges, at the church of Our Lady, a church that she had patronized during her brief reign as duchess of Burgundy (1477-82). Her wishes included founding an anniversary and two daily votive masses at the church, in her own memory. One of the daily masses was to include polyphony (*cum nota et cantu*). Including polyphony on daily masses was not unusual in the Bruges churches. What is notable is the combination of polyphony with daily frequency. Regarding the foundation, although it was Mary who had determined the foundation's details, Maximilian's and Mary's son Philip The Fair willingness to realize her wishes by providing the foundation with the finances necessary to support it show their belief in its effectiveness in all its aspects.

Maximilian diverted income for a daily *Salve Regina*, and he increased his contribution to pay for an expansion specifically of the musical of the musical provision for the St. Nicholas church. Willing to save his and his son's soul, the salvific functions of music must have been prominently on his mind at the time. So, two musical functions in particular were earmarked: first Maximilian specified that the foundation should have a "famous and skillful organist" and second, money was also assigned to a schoolmaster,



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teaching assistants, acolytes and the choirboys, who were all supposed to sing in polyphony. The expense was considerable: a document from 1497 emphasizes that polyphony was to be sung not only on Sundays and feast-days, but throughout the week, and not just at masses, but also at vespers.

Maximilian was not content with just any music. It had to be of excellent quality, polyphonic and performed in abundance. The *Salve Regina* was to be followed by a Marian sequence or antiphon in polyphony and with organ. Other additional items to follow: the Offertory *Recordare virgo mater* when the antiphon for peace *Da pacem domine* was sung. On Fridays, after vespers, a Marian sequence was sung along with the antiphon *Gaude Dei genitrix*. Finally, on Mondays throughout the year, a mass for the dead was to be sung by a chaplain and four choristers.

About the music used in these endowments, unfortunately there's not much to say which one was specifically used. In the case of Mary of Burgundy, probably the singers were left to choose any Marian masses that they considered appropriate. Moreover the envisioned life-span of an endowment could be considerable allowing them to incorporate and use new works as they became available. The Bruges church of Our Lady possessed an extensive music collection and had leading composers in service. It was located in one of the most vibrant cities Europe at the time, and could draw on neighboring institutions as well a constant traffic of people and music from across Europe. One could not take for granted Maximilian's provision, once the personnel were there, they would have the necessary music to sing. He didn't specify that he would provide the endowment with music-books too.

In the light of what Maximilian's endowments reveal about his musical concerns, the mass proper's produced by his court composer Heinrich Isaac that were gathered in the collection known as the *Choralis Constantinus* can have some new context added. Both Maximilian and Isaac were dead when the work was printed. The collection was intended to provide polyphony comprehensively for masses throughout the year. Isaac's extravagant mass proper output is often viewed simply as an anomaly, but when the music is contextualized, then it is usually compared to Maximilian's visual artistic



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projects, such as the *Triumphzug* and the *Weißkunig*. The mass comprise the end-point of a logical evolution in Maximilian's engagement with music for salvific purposes.

Next, Grantley McDonald's *Maximilian's Chaplain and Their Benefits – Memoria and Money* also discusses Maximilian's foundations, which can be seen as the chapel enterprise as a whole. Also the re-institution of a chapel in Vienna might not have aimed at serving Maximilian's own worship needs; rather, it kept his memory alive even in his (usual) absence and promoted his *Gedechtnus* (memorial) already during his lifetime. Secondary to this complex 'work' were the efforts in the here and now to keep the chapel functional – by taking advantage of the traditional benefice system.

It's known the benefice was a position or post granted to an ecclesiastic that guarantees a fixed amount of property or income in exchange for the salvation of the founder's soul. An examination of the benefices founded and promoted by Maximilian brings together two perennial themes in the study of his person and his court: *memoria* and money. Maximilian understood the importance of reputation and *memorialisation* in order to eternalize his glory. Once he explained the importance of self-memorialisation to a powerful nobleman who accused the young ruler of squandering money on such projects:

Whoever creates no memory for himself during his life has no memory after his death, and is forgotten after the last bell tolls. For this reason, the money I spend on memorialisation is not wasted, but the money that is skimmed in my memorialisation works to suppress my future memory. And whatever I do not complete towards my memorialisation during my lifetime will be honored neither by you nor by anyone else.¹¹

Maximilian followed strictly the Christian idea of eternal life, both in heaven and on the lips of future generations. This idea combined perfectly with the culture of memorialisation inherited from classical antiquity, promoted by humanistic scholars. For rulers, establishing ecclesiastical foundations was a mean to speed souls from purgatory,

¹¹ TRAUTZSAURWEIN, Marx. *In the name of Maximilian, Weißkunig*. Vienna, Österreichische National-Bibliothek, Cod. 3032, fo, 124v-125r.



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to promote piety, to display their own magnificence and, of course, to establish their own *memoria*.

This concern in keeping alive his *memoria* came through his father, Frederick III, who had perpetuated his own memory by building churches, by founding monastic and secular chapters, and by lobbying the papacy for the foundation of three new dioceses: Ljubljana/Laibach, Wiener Neustadt and Vienna. Maximilian considered it part of his duty to keep alive the memory of his ancestors' activity as founders of ecclesiastical

Institutions and observances: "Wherever a king or prince had endowed a foundation which had fallen into oblivion, he restored that founder with his *memoria*, which otherwise would not have happened".¹² Accordingly, many of the documents relating to foundations issued by Maximilian simply confirm and perpetuate the rights and provisions of foundations made by his biological or legal ancestors. While Maximilian's foundations were modest in comparison to those of his father – a few chapels, votive paintings, sculptures, and altar services – these were well-chosen and exquisite, and some included an explicitly musical element.

The focus on the doctrines of purgatory in the late middle ages combined with spiritual efficacy of the mass, together with a heightened awareness of human fragility in the wake of the Black Death contributed for a sharp increase in the number of endowed foundations. The endowments included a range of activities believed to benefit the soul of the founder, like, for example, distributions of charity, payment for artistic works such vestments or bells, to the provision of liturgical services. Also it could include private masses said in virtual silence by a priest, to solemn requiems sung by an entire chapter of canons. Some more luxurious foundations explicitly demanded the use of polyphony or the involvement of an organist. If Maximilian wished to attract a singer to his chapel or reward singers already to his personal chapel, he could present him for a benefice though even foundations whose charters do not mention music could be pressed indirectly into musical service.

¹² Weißkunig (cf. fn. 1), *fol.* 123v.



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If a candidate for benefice was accepted by the bishop, the candidate was theoretically expected to perform the liturgical services required by the foundation, otherwise he could appoint a vicar to do so and share de the income generated by the foundation with him. The right to present chaplains to benefices allowed Maximilian to externalize some of the financial burden of maintaining a chapel. By paying his musicians indirectly through benefices, Maximilian merely need to pay them a nominal daily wage and their expenses when they attended his court. The income of individual court chaplains thus comprised the revenue from their benefices, shared with a vicar, and the expenses and emoluments received while they were present at court.

Next, Moritz Kelber's *Lege, relege, examina, – Lofzangen [song of praise] for Emperor Maximilian* – approaches the first Dutch polyphonic print (which was published in Antwerp in 1515), from the perspective of printing technology and media history perspective. With its integral visual and commentary elements, the multimedia publication is based on compositions that were printed at the time of Maximilian's entry into Antwerp in 1508. The main focus of the study is on the contrast between the ephemerality of the sovereign's visit and its immortalization in written form.

For Emperor Maximilian I, letterpress printing was a key technology. He used printing, and this was a novelty in the Holy Roman Empire, to handle parts of his official writings. Imperial dietary notices and imperial dietary agreements were no longer reproduced by hand, but by machine. In addition, important political events were documented on pamphlets and in news prints and thus made accessible to a broad public. His projects, some of which remained unfinished, such as *Theuerdank*, *Freydal*, *Weißkunig*, *Triumphzug*, *Ehrenpforte* and the *Gebetbuch*, also made use of the medium of printing in order to make the emperor “permanently and in many places present” in all his artistic sensibilities. Printed music that could be clearly attributed to Maximilian's initiative is not known from his reign.

Nevertheless, the collections of songs from the offices of Erhard Öglin and Arnt von Aich and some anthologies printed by Peter Schöffer the Younger are unanimously attributed by scholars to the cosmos of the imperial court chapel. The collection of



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motets *Liber selectarum cantionum*, published in Augsburg in 1520, also shows a great closeness to the imperial court. The *Lofzangen ter ere van Keizer Maximiliaan en zijn kleinzoon Karel den Vijfden (im Folgenden Lofzangen)*, published in Antwerp in 1515, fits into this series of ‘imperial’ music prints and stands out from them. The *Lofzangen (Songs of Praise)* is not a classical music print, i.e., a collection of a larger group of compositions, but a multimedia product with numerous image and text elements.

While the print has met with considerable interest in musicological research, especially among Dutch colleagues – probably also due to its media-historical significance as the first music print in the Netherlands – it plays no role in art and cultural-historical research on the emperor and his art projects. Notwithstanding, there has hardly been a cross-border media-historical evaluation of the *Lofzangen*, which not only focuses on music printing as a pioneering achievement of the Antwerp printing industry, but also places it in a larger media-historical context.

Surviving copies of the *Lofzangen* has shown that the print existed in several versions in Latin and Latin-Flemish variants. Only about half of the 19 leaves of the *Lofzangen* contain musical notation. The remainder of the book is filled with dedicatory prefaces, prayers, commentary texts, and woodcut illustrations, some of which are full-page. The fact that the Antwerp print from 1515 is not a choir book in the classical sense is also evident from the format: the *Lofzangen* are printed in small folio format, it becomes clear that it were probably not a medium intended for performance by a large group of musicians. The choice of the folio format may have had more representative than practical performance reasons.

The following description of the printing – strictly speaking, one would have to speak of several printings – is based on the Latin version of the *Lofzangen*. The book, which according to the colophon was printed in the print shop of a certain Jan de Gheet, contains two motets by the organist Benedictus de Opitius (ca. 1480-ca. 1524). After the name was discussed for a long time in the context of a “double master problem”, it can now be considered certain that de Opitius was a musician from Antwerp who was



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employed at the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Lofkapel in Antwerp from 1514 to 1516 and then went to the English royal court, where he can be traced back to 1524.

The two motets – they are the only compositions by de Opitiis that have survived – could hardly be more different. While the first composition, the Marian motet *Sub tuum praesidium*, with its 71 mensurations, takes up only two page spreads, the 223 mensurations of the political motet *Summe laudis o Maria* extend over no less than seven spreads. In her description of the Lofzangen, Birgit Lodes¹³ argues that the Marian antiphon *Sub tuum praesidium* was of particular importance to Maximilian. In any case, both pieces fit perfectly into the political repertoire for the emperor, which was saturated with Marian symbolism. The depiction of Maximilian kneeling before Mary is reminiscent, among other things, of Albrecht Dürer's Feast of the Rosary, which David J. Rothenberg has convincingly linked to Heinrich Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima* compositions. The motet *Summe laudis* is unambiguously at the center of the print – not only because of its size and the magnificent decoration with initials. It is directly followed by a seven-page explanation of the text set to music.

Next, Wolfgang Fuhrmann in his *Jacobus Barbireau: familiaris – musicus praestantissimus – Hofkomponist in absentia?* discusses the enigmatic but significant case of the Antwerp *zangmeester* Barbireau. Without his presence at the court or even his affiliation with it being verifiable, he had the characteristic status of a familiar and, as an outstanding musician, was sent by Maximilian on a delicate diplomatic mission to Beatrix of Hungary at least in 1490. The beautifulness of his few but high-ranking compositions is heightened by the fact that the case of Barbireau possibly parallels the later to Isaac's later function in Florence as a composer *in absentia*.

Jacques (or Jacobus) Barbireau is undoubtedly one of the most fascinating and at the same time mysterious musicians associated with Maximilian's court. As far as we can tell, he never belonged to Maximilian's chapel, never served at his court, and yet we know that he was commissioned by the Roman king not only as a musical educator, but also as

¹³ LODES, Birgit. "Körper und seele". In: *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*. Unfortunately, the page given as proof – chapter J – is not yet available online.



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a kind of diplomatic envoy. Only a few of his works have survived: two masses, a mass setting, a motet, and three secular songs, and, except for the immensely popular *Een vroelic wesen*, none of them has spread very far.

Contemporaries, however, agreed with today's musicians and musicologists that this composer produced music of the highest quality. Beatrix of Hungary, for example, called him *musicus praestantissimus*; Rudolf Agricola praised his works and tried to propagate them in Heidelberg; the humanist Judocus Beissel, who was a friend of Agricola as well as Barbireau, declared in a funerary inscription, in reference to a classical *topos*, that Barbireau had surpassed Orpheus. The situation of tradition shows that this music evidently played an important role for the self-representation of the Habsburg-Burgundian court, far beyond Barbireau's death. Moreover, Barbireau is one of the few composers of the 15th century for whom we can concretely prove that they were in exchange with a humanist and pursued scholarly interests themselves. Although such a close relationship and mutual influence between the humanistic educational reform and the history of composition has always been taken for granted, it is surprisingly rare to find concrete documentation of it before about 1530/40 – except for the Maximilian court, where such an exchange between the humanistic-scholarly and musical spheres is documented many times.

Thanks to two payment vouchers, it's possible to fix Barbireau's date of birth at about 1455. Thus he belonged to the generation of Jacob Obrecht, Heinrich Isaac, and Josquin Desprez, and was perhaps somewhat older than Pierre de la Rue or Antoine Brumel. Despite his French name, he came from a family that had been resident in Antwerp for at least two generations. To all appearances, he also continued this family, for he had a daughter named Jacomyne, and in the letters of Rudolf Agricola there are allusions to an – openly-barbarous and charming – companion of Barbireau.

Presumably, Barbireau was trained as a choirboy in a *maîtrise*, as was typical of the time, and probably in Antwerp. Nevertheless, he is one of the comparatively few composers of the late 15th century who did not pursue a clerical career. Or did he, as the son of a wealthy and long-established family, receive that among the few other non-clerical



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composers around 1500 Alexander Agricola, Paul Hofhaimer as well as Heinrich Isaac and his pupil Ludwig Senflzählen, all of them musicians who were at one time or another in the service of Maximilian.

Barbireau as a court composer? The works in the Burgundian-Habsburg tradition Now this journey of Barbireau just discussed cannot mean that he was in any way a member of Maximilian's court. The records of Antwerp Cathedral leave no doubt that Barbireau worked there as a *zangmeester*' until his death. In what follows, however, we will argue that Maximilian regarded him as a kind of court composer at the time, whether Barbireau was physically or only virtually present, whether a contract existed or not. Barbireau probably belonged to that part of the Burgundian experience that Maximilian did not want to miss.

This brings us to the question of the relationship between real presence and virtual communication or, as Rudolf Schlögl¹⁴ put it: between the present and the absent. Maximilian later pursued exactly the same strategy with Isaac. Isaac had been hired as a court composer, not as a *kapellmeister*, and this position was apparently not associated with a continuous residency obligation. Isaac was in Florence and Ferrara in 1502, probably stayed mainly in Constance between 1505 and 1508, and lived mainly in Florence from 1512 until his death, but continued to be in the emperor's pay and probably, though not proven, also acted for him as a diplomat. A similar scenario seems worth considering for Barbireau, precisely because he apparently was not active as a singer.

He might have seen himself primarily as a composer. Agricola recommended his works to the singers in Heidelberg, and Beatrix of Hungary – who, as a native of Aragon, had had none other than Johannes Tinctoris as her music teacher – spoke of Barbireau in her letter to Maximilian as *musicus praestantissimu*, *musicus*, not *cantor*. In its usage around 1500, the term *musicus*, as Rob Wegman has observed, carried with it connotations of learned distinction.

¹⁴ SCHLÖGL, Rudolf. *Anwesende und Abwesende. Grundriss für eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, Konstanz 2014.



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That Barbireau might have been regarded by Maximilian as a kind of court composer can finally be supported by a look at the situation of the transmission of his works. It is striking that all of his sacred works have survived exclusively in the Burgundian-Habsburg manuscript complex commonly referred to as the “Alamire manuscripts” – but none of his secular works. With the exception of Philippe Bouton, the first owner of the famous Chigi-codex (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi C.VIII.234), all of the recipients of these manuscripts can be shown to have a direct connection to the House of Habsburg; it can be assumed, (and in the case of Cod. 1783 of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, it is certain) that the costly manuscripts were commissioned by Habsburgs or Habsburgesses.

They are preserved in the early part of this source group, beginning with manuscripts from the workshop of Alamire’s predecessor, the so-called Schreiber B, who was active from 1500. But also two productions, presumably commissioned by Margarete of Austria Alamire’s workshop also contain the *Missa Virgo parens Christi* – a composition, which was already about thirty years old and which, in the context of works by Obrecht, La Rue, Josquin or Jean Mouton, must have seemed stylistically slightly antiquated to its recipient.

Barbireau, who seems to have been in poor health throughout his life, died in Antwerp on August 7, 1491. About a year later, at any rate before November 6, 1492, Antoine Busnoys, certainly the most prominent composer of the Burgundian court chapel, died. Of course, we can neither say whether he was still active in the chapel at that time, nor whether he ever composed even one note for Maximilian. Maximilian was now left without composers of rank in his musical environment. It must have seemed like a lucky coincidence to him that Heinrich Isaac soon went in search of a new employer.

In the sequence, Felix Diergarten with *A musical doctrine from the court of Maximilian- Simon de Quercu and the Opusculum musices* also discusses a personal ‘phantom’ of the Maximilian court. It remains unclear who the author of the first music theory printed in Austria actually was. The assumption that he came from the Sforza court in Milan to Maximilian's periphery is, however, invalidated.



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All the more significant is the insight that there was not only a high-level musical practice here, but also an independent and highly advanced, even innovative music theory. However, the gaps in the mode of representation also reflect the medial status of writing, which apparently does not seem to be autonomous and free of interaction, but rather dependent on being explained by a real teacher.

The only known musical treatise from the court of Emperor Maximilian is the *Opusculum musices* of a certain Simon de Quercu, published in 1509. Biographical darkness surrounds this name, and the following text will not be able to shed any light on this darkness, on the contrary: even some biographical information accepted as facts so far must be rejected into the realm of speculation. All the more attention deserves the work itself, and not only because of its relationship to Maximilian: The *Opusculum musices*, the first printed musical theory of Austria, is one of the most interesting and independent musical writings of its time. This is especially true for some sections at the end of the work that have hardly been appreciated so far: a counterpoint lesson that is among the earliest instructions for four-part harmony, a sound table that anticipates the principle of figured bass in the early 16th century, and one of the earliest instructions for mean-tone tuning. With these features, the short manuscript stands out from its time.

Who was Simon de Quercu? The author, however, resembles a phantom. In 2010, a picture of him was already circulating: Davide Daolmi¹⁵ reinterpreted the famous portrait of a musician attributed to Leonardo, rejecting the usual identification of the musician as Gaffurius and proposing Simon de Quercu as an alternative. This was possible because of the generally accepted view that Simon de Quercu was a singer at the Milan court of the Sforza, information that can be found in all biographical reference works. The problematic nature of this information is expressed in Heinz Ristory's contribution to *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. "All biographically relevant data on the person Simon de Quercus, chapel singer at the court of the Sforza of Milan, can only be taken from the title and the dedication of his main work *Opusculum musices* ... published for the first time in 1509".

¹⁵ DAOLMI, Davide. "Iconografia gaffuriana. Con un'appendice sui due testamenti di Gaffurio". In: *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, hrsg. von dems., Lucca 2017 (Studi e saggi, 3), S. 143–211: S. 156-158.



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The *Opusculum musices* evidently enjoyed great popularity. As Elisabeth Giselbrecht has shown¹⁶, it went through five different editions. The first was published by Winterburger in Vienna in 1509. All subsequent editions were published by Johann Weißenburger, first in two editions in Nuremberg in 1513, then in Landshut in 1516 and 1518.¹⁶ Even the first edition of 1509 contains a *tetrastichon* on the title page on the *Kastalische Quelle*, the spring dedicated to Apollo and the Muses at the foot of Mount Parnassus. With the change to Weissenburger, an illustration is added to the *tetrastichon*, in which four persons dressed in contemporary costume make music from notes at a spring.

Furthermore, Weißenburger adds a praise of music from the pen of the Nuremberg humanist Peter Chalybs. With the change of printer, however, there were not only changes in equipment and layout, but also some changes in the text, which can be taken as an indication that the author revised his work. On the other hand, various printing errors, some of them serious and obvious, are not revised in any of the editions, which rather speak against thorough revisions.

As obscure as the biography of the author named Simon de Quercu remains – his *Opusculum musices* is an illuminating testimony. It shows that the cultivation of music at the imperial court also included the dimension of music theory and that at its latest state. On the one hand, the work is clearly based on certain models in its presentation of some of the basic principles of *musica practica*, whereby the treatises of the young school of music theory from the environment of Cologne University play a role in particular. On the other hand, the *opusculum* is quite independent, even unique, in some details.

Tenor and bass principles are juxtaposed in an interesting way when, in addition to instructions for four-part harmony in the tradition of additive composition of the *ars contra-tenoris*, the author also gives a sound table for the up to six-part movement and designates the sounds as interval stratifications above the bass with Arabic numerals. Here, shortly after 1500, the later principle of figured bass is anticipated. Also noteworthy is the tuning table for keyboard instruments inserted between the two

¹⁶ GIESELBRECH, Elisabeth, *Early Printed Music Treatises and the Case of Simon de Quercu's Opusculum musices*, Vortrag bei der Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference Birmingham 2014.



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counterpoint tables, which can be read as one of the earliest instructions for mean-tone tuning. These special features make the *Opusculum musices*, the only known music theory from Maximilian's court, one of the most independent and important music-theoretical sources of its time.

Next, Fabian Kolb in his "In the Spirit of Maximilian? Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* in the Context of (Music-)Cultural-Political Tendencies and Communicative Strategies around 1500" locates Virdung's influential music treatise with its well-known instrumental descriptions and images instrument descriptions and illustrations in the media and cultural-political program of the emperor. Without assuming a direct relationship, even a commission or an implicit dedication, parallels between the peculiarities of the music book and Maximilian's communication strategies are revealed.

The broad spectrum of his representative 'work of fame', which Maximilian I conceived in the sense of a comprehensive ruler stylization for the increase of *memoria* and *Gedechtnus*, also included a *Musika puech*. He repeatedly noted the idea for this in his commemorative books, namely the second, which he created between ca. 1505 and 1508, and the fourth, which he kept from ca. 1508 to 1515, and although – as with so many of Maximilian's unfinished or even unrealized large-scale projects – it remained at the planning stage or a mere declaration of intent: the project itself is noteworthy enough, especially since precisely in the decade covered by the two concept books from 1505 to 1515, very different music-related publications are found specifically in the immediate and wider circle of the regent.

Apart from printed music, i.e. music publications in the narrower sense, this concern in particular music-theoretical literature, i.e. that genre of specialized prose to which the designation *Musika puech* refers in particular. From the diagrammatic-synoptic chart on elementary musical theory in the Antwerp broadsheet *Principium et ars tocius musicedes* Johannes Franciscus Ferrariensis, published before 1508 and signaling proximity to the Habsburg coat-of-arms eagle, to Arnolt Schlick's *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (Mirror of Organ Builders and Organists), patented in 1511 as a manual on organ building with a comprehensive imperial author and printing privilege; from Simon de



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Quercus *Opusculum musices* 1509, which stands as an instructional writing in the context of the education of Massimiliano and Francesco Sforza at the Maximilian court, to Johannes Turmair's (Aventinus') *Musicae rudimenta* 1516, which explicitly refers to the emperor's special love of music: Significantly, all of these printed music-theoretical works fall exactly within the time window for which Maximilian's project of a music book is also documented.

It seems Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* were perfectly fit into the planned or empty space of Maximilian's *Musika puech*. Published by Michael Furter in Basel in 1511 and presumably reprinted by Johann Schönsperger's imperially approved print shop in Augsburg as early as 1512, the tract participates in a striking way in Maximilian's understanding of music and the Habsburg's horizon of music and cultural policy; indeed, in several respects, the writing seems to address the imperial policy on media and music culture. It should be noted, however, that Kolb isn't suggesting here that *Musica getutscht* was a commission of any kind from the regent, nor is the work explicitly addressed to Maximilian in any way. Whether the emperor ever came into possession of one of the prints must also remain unclear, although it is not unlikely.

More prominent than the courtly allusions are, in any case, the spiritual-clerical contexts of the *Musica getutscht*, which Virdung makes strong as a "priest of the Amberg"¹⁷; and not least here, references to Maximilian seem particularly virulent. Thus, the preamble of several pages already refers extensively to the prophet David and the fund of relevant Psalm quotations associated with him, in order to legitimize instrumental playing as a fundamental component of praise to God; indeed, even more: in order to identify the

¹⁷ As an object of demonstration serves him, only superficially paradoxically, the media 'hit' of the ship of fools of the later imperial councilor Sebastian Brant. Speech in its most diverse manifestations and its perception in the form of listening are diagnosed in a differentiated way as social practice in the texts and images of this book. The fact that this is neither a priori good nor bad, but dependent on conscious, even knowing use, is illustrated by the continuation of *The Ship of Fools* by Jodocus Badius. As such, he is already identified in the title. On April 9, 1489, Virdung had been granted a first benefice in Lengenfeld in Upper Palatinate by Elector Philip the Sincere, for which he had received the ordination of a *verus pastor*. Cf. the documents in G. Pietzsch, *Quellen* (as note 26), p. 669. Later, further benefices were added.



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Jubilatio of instrumental music as a central means of salvation, which serves to provide for life after death and eternal bliss. His book is addressed to those who want to “participate in the promised bliss”; with a quasi-charitable, pastoral-theological impetus, the reader is taught to attain eternal salvation through instrumental playing.

Print and illustration: Virdung professes to rely on empirical “travel knowledge”, on insights authentically experienced on the spot, which – this is decisive – are now filtered and presented by him through the media: real presence versus virtual, medial communication, entirely in the sense of the theme of the present conference volume. It is precisely the medium of printing that connects Virdung with Maximilian, who, as is well known, knew how to use the rich potentials of this technology for himself and his ‘self-fashioning’ like hardly anyone else; and in particular the opulent decoration with woodcuts, the illustration and visualization, thus reveals the closeness of the *Musica getutscht* to a Maximilian use of media.

For just as the emperor cultivated a preference for the representational power of elaborate pictorial programs and had his great *Gedechtnus* works preferably conceived bimedially in splendid word-image syntheses, Virdung's treatise can also be described primarily as a pictorial book with rather merely secondary word text, thanks to the rich integration of nearly 80 xylographs (with the exception of the block note print), especially in the first, organological part. In this way, he adopts a communication strategy based on the immediate visual impact, as was pursued at the same time in a very similar way by the Maximilian fame projects.

It is remarkable that the idea of such *Wunderbücher* (miracle books) seems to have been continued by Maximilian and transformed with a view to his monumental graphic works. For the *Wunderkammer*' pictures of *Weißkunig* could undoubtedly be understood as a lucid adaptation of the *Wunderbuch* tradition, just as the musical instruments now also occupy their own prominent place here. Hans Burgkmair's famous woodcut for the music chapter bears, as already documented in the early sketches and the concept study, not by chance the characteristic of a well-arranged drawing or picture archive that systematically gathers the relevant objects.



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The same applies to the dance and tournament book of *Freydal*, and especially the Triumphal Procession can be understood as an unfolded reinterpretation, as it were, of a book of art and wonders projected on a grand scale, as a colossal series of images that (in the sense of a stylized court state) successively present hunting utensils, weapons, tournament and armor, banners and coats of arms, garments, cities and castles, war trophies, statues, the chariot and, last but not least, the rich fund of musical instruments.

That Maximilian may well have had corresponding programmatic picture inventories in mind when he planned his *Musika puech* is already clear from the direct context of the entries in the fourth memorial book, where the list includes the *Vischerey Puech*, the *Artolerey Puech*, *Valckbnerpuech* and *Wappenpuech* as well as the *Weißkunig*, *Freydal* and *Trumpfwappen* (= *Triumphzug*).

There are therefore good reasons to see in the organologically ordered woodcut series of *Musica getutscht* – or at least in its concept – a model, an echo or even a realization of this idea. Together with the other cultural-political as well as communication- and media-historical strategies, the various courtly as well as spiritual-mariological subtexts, the deliberate writing down in the vernacular as well as the careful preparation for printing, it can be imagined quite well in view of Sebastian Virdung what Maximilian might also have had in mind when he planned to expand his impressive representational portfolio with a *Musika puech*. However much Maximilian's and Virdung's intentions may or may not have corresponded in detail, and however deliberately or too obligingly this was done: at least the *Musica getutscht* was henceforth the earliest music book in this special Maximilian spirit.

Last, Kateryna Schöning in her “Humanistische amicitia in musikdisziplinärem Kontext – Hans Judenkünig's Lehrbücher (1523) und ihre Rezeption im 16. Jahrhundert” [Humanistic *amicitia* in a music-disciplinary context – Hans Judenkünig's textbooks (1523) and their reception in the 16th century] discusses an area of repertoire that – although well documented for Maximilian's environment – only received a written and then also printed media presence after his death: Lute music, whose notation only became tangible in the 16th century. As ephemeral as it was as an art form, its role was



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central in the community of humanist circles, especially in the sphere of influence of the University of Vienna. The fact that the practice of music, borne by friendship, benefited not only those of like-minded people who were present, but also those of kindred spirits who were absent, through publication and dissemination, demonstrates the radiance of the Maximilian conceptions.

Beginning in 1511, several editions of Cicero's *Laelius sive De Amicitia Dialogus*, one of the most widely received and symbolically rich works of humanism were published in Vienna by Hieronymus Vietor and Johannes Singrienerin, in which one of the recurring themes of humanism – cultivated friendship – is abundantly expressed. Friendship (*amicitia*) represented humanism not only as a special community of communication; it also embodied the ideals that influenced the musical culture of the sixteenth century, including instrumental music culture.

The *amicitia*, which according to Cicero was “preferable to all other human goods” (Cic. *Laelius*, 17), constituted “the most perfect social form of life” (Johannes Altenstaig, *Opusculum de amicitia*, 1519) and “the goal of life” (Mutianus Rufus, 1510-1520s). Its mechanisms, with some variations among different humanists, relied on conformity to nature, virtue, free will, the blissful search for one's own identity among like-minded people, even beyond social hurdles, and spiritual renewal. The humanistic *amicitia* was understood in two ways: in the sense of a personal acquaintance, as it roughly corresponds to our understanding of friendship today, but also, and this meaning has been lost in the meantime, as a “unification in the same interests” without personal acquaintance.

It did not necessarily presuppose acquaintance; it can be understood as self-stylization, as an instrument for finding identity with a like-minded group or person, an absent or even never seen friend (“several souls become, as it were, one”). Cicero wrote: “in the true friend, everyone sees the image of his own self. ... Therefore absent friends are present ... departed friends are alive.” And referring to virtue as the basis of friendship, he continued, “for the sake of virtue and righteousness we love to some extent even such



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persons as we have never seen.”¹⁸ The polymath Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1535) for the most part addressed his epistolary addressees only as *amicis*, without using the names.

Was Hans Judenkünig a humanist? There is no clear answer to this question, but at least his books show that Judenkünig considered himself to belong to a humanist circle. His introduction to the *Introductio* ties in with many humanist motifs and symbols. Right at the beginning, Judenkünig uses a typical humanist passage and discusses the ancestors and their extensive studies (*variis studiorum generibus*), in which he sees the models and sources for the existing, but also for what is to be invented. He goes on to discuss the motifs of virtue, diligence and hard work and interprets them as an indispensable way to achieve his ideal, comprehensive education.

The saying “to work to the lamp of Kleanthes” leads to one of the widely used Commonplace books of the early 16th century – *De honestadisciplina* (1504) by the Florentine humanist Petrus Crinitus – *De honestadisciplina* (1504) by the Florentine humanist Petrus Crinitus – and symbolizes humanistically founded, thorough studies. The term “light” connoted with it as a metaphor for the emergence of new knowledge actually appears only in later treatises. Interestingly, the following two examples refer to earlier times or even to Viennese sources that Judenkünig probably knew: Georg Rhaus’ remark *si tuo sub nomine in lucem prodiret* (“if it would come to light under your name”) to Václav Philomathes’ *Musidorum Musices* (Vienna 1512) in the context explained above refers not only to the general expression “to let it appear in print” but also specifically to the new humanist textbook.

The term “light” connoted with it as a metaphor for the emergence of new knowledge actually appears only in later treatises. Interestingly, the following two examples refer to earlier times or even to Viennese sources that Judenkünig probably knew: Martin Agricola used the word light for the humanistic *musica poetica*, which among the liberal arts “is not only considered very useful/ but also necessary” and “before 1528 had lain hidden like a light/under a bushel”. In this context, the expression that diligent practice makes music brighter and clearer is also to be understood. The parable of the “light

¹⁸ Cic., *Laelius*, 23, 28.



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under the bushel” from the Sermon on the Mount, however, is also loaded with biblical (Lutheran) meaning here, completely in line with the Protestant views of Martin Agricola.

The goal of “creating an easier method for learners”. Judenkünig solved the task of teaching music *instrumentis variis, a very convenient way*, by offering three types of textbooks on instrumental music at the same time for the first time in the history of instrumental music. In his textbook, he combined *musica disciplina* with instrumental practice and thus contributed to the establishment of the pedagogical-humanistic tradition in the discourse on music discipline. His striving to address the widest possible circle of recipients provided the decisive impetus for this. He divided his two books into three parts, each of which could be used as an independent textbook (*Büechlein*) and each of which had its own priorities in methodology and material. The first print – *Utilis et compendiaria introduction* – is intended for the university or at least academic environment. It is written in Latin and is introduced with a humanistic preface. The second print – *Ain schone kunstliche vnderweisung* – is written in German and in two variants: for those who *know nothing at all about the beginning* and, among other things, *cannot sing*.

The two prints by Hans Judenkünig are inconceivable without the humanist movement around 1500. There are many indications of this, both in the texts and in the images. Judenkünig’s books are influenced and determined by a network of literary, pedagogical, among other things also music pedagogical tendencies of humanism. This is especially evident in Judenkünig’s Viennese environment (Philomathes, De Quercu, Gerbel, Luscinius).

The humanistic component cannot be ignored, if only because the two aspects presented here – Judenkünig’s connection to humanistic *amicitia* and his pedagogical achievements in the field of humanistic textbooks of the early 16th century – determined the reception of Judenkünig’s work in the course of the century and beyond. Contemporary and later references to his prints in the manuscripts Breslau, *Kapitelbibliothek im Erzbistumsarchiv*, MS 352(1530s-1540s), and Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, K-53/II (*Codex Istvánffy*, second half of the 16th century), join the humanistic *librum* or *alba-amicorum* tradition.



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They embody an intermediate form between the abstractly meant, present or absent community of like-minded people (*amicitia*, as in Judenkünig), the album *amicorum* as a metaphoric designation of the circle of friends (a “specific group of people”), and finally the genuine album *amicorum*. The pieces of Judenkünig cited in the above-mentioned sources function as instrumental commonplaces, as testimony to one’s own education and one’s own ability to handle Appollo’s instrument, and finally to one’s own literacy in the humanistic sources. The album *amicorum* as metaphorical designation at the beginning of the sixteenth century was based indispensably on the humanistic-university basis and was therefore neither temporally nor ideologically distant from Judenkünig.

The reception of Judenkünig’s books among fellow students in their handwritten copies ultimately shows how they dealt with the new type of media, the humanistic textbook. It is therefore no coincidence that a surviving example of this can be found in the context of humanistically oriented text excerpts, including commonplace collections: Jakob Thurner, the author of the so-called *Lautenbüchlein des Jakob Thurner* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 9704), also handed down *collectanea* from Terence's *Andria* and *Hecyra* as well as from Erasmus’s *Adagia* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 9680, fol. 40r-40v, 44r-45v, 62r-63v).⁷⁸ An exercise book formerly attached directly to the Viennese copy of Judenkünig’s print, known as the phonetic tablature of Stephan Craus (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs. 18688), is a kind of “commonplace-exercitio” by several scribes on Judenkünig’s prints.