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‘si chiama fagotto’: Concerning a drawing of musical instruments by Giovanni Ricamatori, otherwise known as Giovanni da Udine

IN the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin there is a 16th-century drawing attributed to Giovanni Ricamatori, otherwise known as Giovanni Nanni or Giovanni da Udine, dated ‘around 1514/1515’ (illus.1).¹ This longish, rectangular drawing, which is on paper and has been extensively trimmed, now measures 123 × 332 mm and has two diagonally cut corners on the upper edge. Because it illustrates several musical instruments, it has been entitled ‘Still life and studies of musical instruments’ (*Stilleben und Studien zu Musikinstrumenten*). The attention to detail and the care with which the instruments have been drawn and coloured show that the illustrator used actual instruments as his models, a fact which can by no means always be taken for granted.

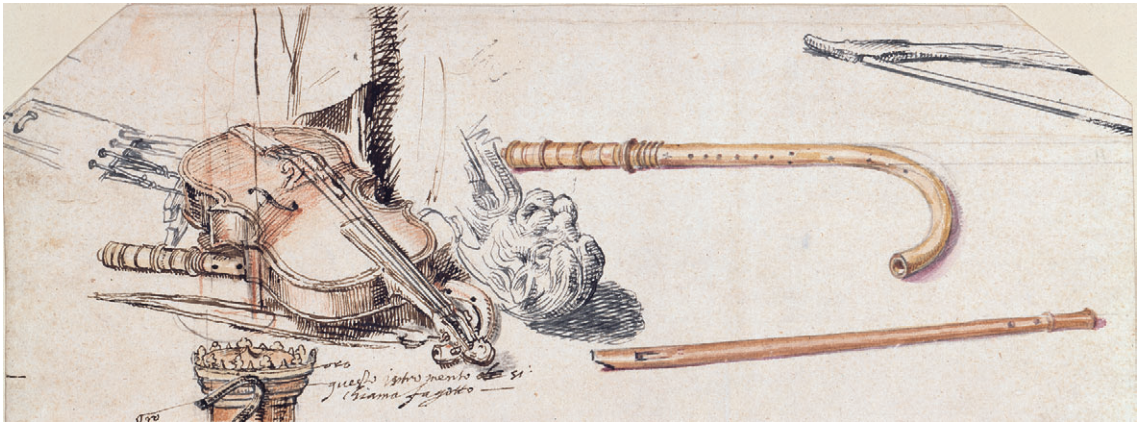
In the centre of the drawing, on the left-hand side beneath a study of a garment, a violin is shown resting on a crumhorn and a bow.² This small still life is surrounded by details of the stringed instrument, which have been reproduced and enlarged: on the left is the tailpiece with the bridge, on the right is the lion’s head from the pegbox and—somewhat further away, at the right-hand edge of the drawing—the tip of the bow. The lines running parallel to the garment study could possibly represent another sketch of the bow. On the right-hand side of the page, there are two further coloured illustrations of instruments, carefully drawn in front view, which depict a crumhorn and a tabor pipe. Another instrument is shown at the bottom edge of the page. This is recognizable as being the upper part of a turned woodwind instrument, together with a blow-pipe or an

S-shaped bocal. This drawing is again coloured, but has unfortunately been trimmed away to such an extent that it is not possible to define the instrument in more detail. The explanation provided by the illustrator is not really very helpful: ‘questo istromento [deleted: ‘de’] si chiama fagotto—’ (this instrument is called ‘fagotto’) is the text appended to the drawing, and the word ‘oro’ (gold) is also mentioned twice to describe the colour of the brass material, of which the bocal and a metal ring at the top end of the instrument are made.

At first glance, these sketches depicting various musical instruments indeed seem interesting, but, perhaps with the exception of the ‘fagotto’, they also appear to be easily identifiable. However, on taking a closer look, one can make some observations which will prompt questions concerning the date of the drawing and its context. It is also interesting to consider which instrument the illustrator was actually referring to when he used the term ‘fagotto’.

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The violin, which lies diagonally across the illustration, has been shortened using a refined perspective drawing technique which had already been preoccupying painters since the 15th century and which was still regarded at the end of the 16th century as being a particular technical challenge.³ Furthermore, it seems to have been important to the illustrator to capture further realistic details of the violin, as these are depicted almost in life size. In the detailed drawing of the tailpiece, it is interesting to note the precise illustration of the knots on



1 *Stilleben und Studien zu Musikinstrumenten*, pen drawing attributed to Giovanni Ricamatori (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kdz 5223 (bpc / Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / photograph by Jörg P. Anders))

the two upper strings. These serve to flatten off the sharp kink in the strings as they pass over the edge of the tailpiece in order to prevent the thin catgut strings from breaking at this point—a problem frequently encountered and discussed at the time.⁴ The instrument exhibits all the features of a classical violin model or, in other words, it shows no indications of experimental or archaic construction such as were common practice in illustrations of violins dating from the first half of the 16th century.⁵ The shape of the violin bow is comparatively sophisticated (most probably exhibiting a clip-in frog and a gently lowered ‘swan neck’ tip, with the bow hairs wedged into a small box). The refined shape of both the violin and the bow make it difficult to classify the instrument with any certainty, either in terms of style or according to its geographical origin. Only the double-purpled inlay, the strong, outward-pointing angles of the body and the carved lion’s head could perhaps indicate that the instrument was made in or around Brescia—in any case, the construction does not reflect the Cremonese custom.⁶ An early Brescian instrument by Gasparo da Salò (1540–1609) exhibits the same wide curved edge of the pegbox beneath a carved head.⁷

The crumhorn seems to be a more careful depiction of the instrument which was first only roughly sketched by the illustrator underneath the violin.⁸ Coloured in golden-brown shades of wood, the

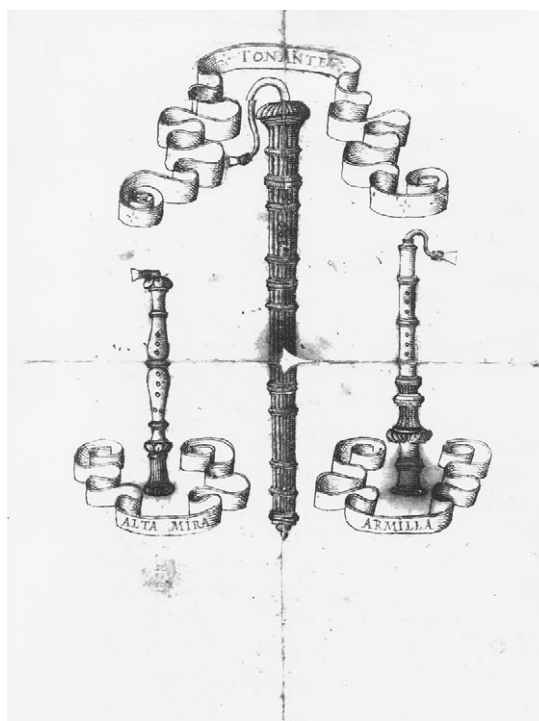
instrument does not have a key and is probably a tenor. It is interesting to note that three vent-holes are shown beneath the finger-holes, instead of the usual two. On account of the characteristic turned ornaments on the windcap and the four round bar rings below the tenon reinforcement band, the instrument can clearly be identified as a model which is described by Barra Boydell as being a typical ‘Memmingen crumhorn’ made by Ieorg Wier (Boydell’s type III).⁹ However, the signature, which is clearly evident on this instrument as being a single, three-leafed clover above the finger-holes, does not point to this famous maker from Memmingen, whose mark—two reverse ‘JJ’—is in fact shown below the labium of the tabor pipe on the same sheet. In actual fact, up to now, this signature has only been found on crumhorns,¹⁰ which poses the question as to whether the illustrator perhaps interchanged the signatures on the two instruments, something which would seem hard to explain when we consider the otherwise so painstaking illustration which was obviously done using real models of the instruments. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say whether the clover leaf of the crumhorn signature has its stem on the right. If this were the case, it would very probably be the mark of the Rauch family from Schratzenbach whose instruments were famous and very widespread.¹¹ It is noteworthy here that, in 1535, Sylvestro Ganassi illustrated three different recorders ‘de pui maestri’ and their signatures,

one of which shows a clover leaf with a single stem on the right.¹² The tabor pipe, which is well represented in terms of iconography, for example, as the ‘Schwegel’ in Sebastian Virdung’s treatise on musical instruments, *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511), or in the ‘Triumphzug’ of Emperor Maximilian (1516–18),¹³ is documented by only a few archaeological discoveries of early originals but does not seem remarkable in the drawing, except for the signature by Jeorg Wier.¹⁴

Of the mysterious third woodwind instrument, only the upper end is visible, consisting of a smooth, cylindrical corpus with a crowned cap. This cap seems to be removable as is indicated by the metal ring at the lower end whose colour shows that it is made of metal. It serves to reinforce a large, turned socket and to prevent it from cracking under the strong pressure exerted at this point. The metallic S-shaped bocal, which is not attached to the instrument and which points downward from the top end at right angles, is similar to that of a dulcian or bassoon. However, it could also be a blow-pipe similar to that used on large recorders to bridge the distance between the player’s mouth and the instrument. Although the clues in the drawing are not sufficient to point quite unambiguously to one specific 16th-century musical instrument, it could be one of several possibilities which I shall briefly discuss below.

We could perhaps take the seemingly obvious remark ‘si chiama fagotto’ as the starting point for our considerations. However, in the 16th century, the term ‘fagotto’ is not unambiguous and it is not at all certain which instrument it actually described in the sources.¹⁵ The term is first used to refer to a musical instrument in 1506, in a document concerning the payment made by a certain ‘Gerardo francese’, who was in the service of Ippolito d’Este in Ferrara as ‘sonator fagotto’ (player of a ‘fagotto’). The instrument was specified in 1516 as ‘uno faghetto da sonare cum le chiave d’argento’ (a ‘faghetto’ to play music with a silver key).¹⁶ Presumably Giovanni Angelo Testagrosso, the famous lutenist, who was for some time the teacher of Isabella d’Este, is also referring to this instrument when he lists a series of musical instruments which he could provide if given a permanent appointment at the court in Mantua: his ‘liuto vecchio e due grandi con cinque violoni

bonissimi, una bella cassa de flauti ed un’altra de storte, ed un “fagot”, che dice essere “una bellissima cosa” (his old lute and two large lutes as well as five very good ‘violoni’, a good set of flutes and a further set of crumhorns, a ‘fagot’, which he describes as being a very beautiful thing).¹⁷ However, it is not clear which instrument is exactly meant by ‘una bellissima cosa’, just as it is not clear what is meant by the term ‘fagotti’ which is found in various inventories after the mid-16th century, although the dulcian certainly did exist at this time. It is known that the first clear description of a dulcian as a ‘fagotto chorista’ appeared in 1592 in Lodovico Zacconi’s *Prattica di musica*.¹⁸ The main evidence for the fact that the ‘fagotto’ illustrated in the Berlin drawing cannot be a dulcian is the visible cap which indeed indicates that it was an instrument with a ‘gedackt’ bell or cap, but it has no visible air-holes, which would definitely have been necessary. Such caps are documented by surviving instruments, the



2 Drawing of double-reed instruments, called ‘gli armillioni’, by Aurelio Virgiliano in his treatise *Il Dolcimelo* (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms.c.33, p.114)

oldest of which can be dated around 1600, the others dating from the mid-17th century or the transition to the 18th century.¹⁹

Another low double-reed instrument which originated in about 1600 is illustrated by Aurelio Virgiliano in the manuscript of his treatise *Il Dolcimelo* under the heading 'Modi da sonar gli armillioni' and designated 'Tonante' (illus.2).²⁰ Here, a bocal, which is most probably made of metal, is centrally inserted into the cap-like end of the instrument, similar to the cap in the Ricamatori drawing. The mysterious name and shape of the instrument indicate that this was probably a specially made musical instrument, perhaps for a stage performance.

As early as 1957, Albert Reimann made a connection between the term 'fagotto' and another type of instrument.²¹ He identified the two woodwind instruments in the Museo Civico in Verona (illus.3), generally described today as 'doppioni', as being the 'fagotti' mentioned in an inventory dating from the year 1585, or



3 So-called 'doppioni' with reconstructed protective caps (Verona, Museo Civico, inv. nos. 13.288 and 13.289 (photographs by Rainer Weber))

'fagottini da fiato' (1628).²² Although the terminology used for these instruments remains problematical, 'doppioni' are mentioned in passing and without giving further details by Zacconi in 1592.²³ John Henry van der Meer and Rainer Weber, however, recognized the Veronese instruments as being the 'flauti in forma di mazze di ferro' (flutes shaped like iron bars) from an inventory of 1585.²⁴ It is notable that both instruments were originally capped, and that both were played with an S-shaped bocal, if indeed it was a protective cap and not a windcap.²⁵ Despite all these imponderables, the fragmentary illustration in the Berlin drawing could in fact be a 'doppione'. However, we must note that these instruments—as well as the curious 'tonante'—were first clearly documented only in the late 16th century.

The 'sordune' is another instrument which must be taken into consideration if we compare the Berlin drawing with the surviving caps on two instruments in Vienna (illus.4).²⁶ The S-shaped bocal, which was originally inserted into the side of the instrument beneath the cap, is now missing. If our drawing is in



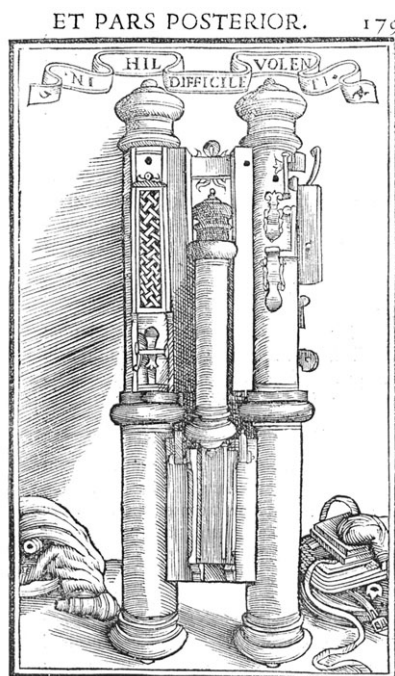
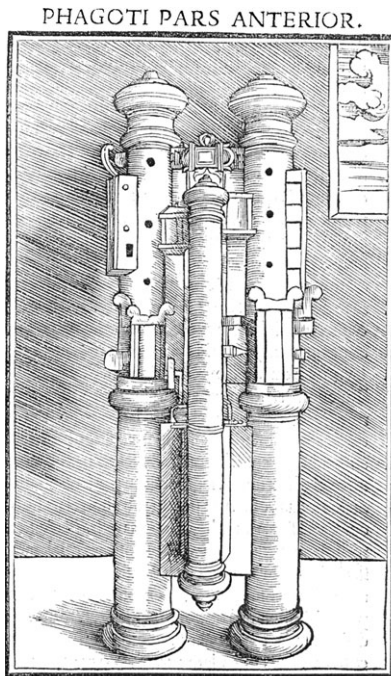
4 Upper part of a sordune with cap and (reconstructed) bocal (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, SAM 216)

fact an illustration of a 'sordune', the term 'fagotto' could refer here—as in the case of both the dulcian and the 'doppione' mentioned above—to the double inner bore of both instruments, i.e. it could mean literally a 'bundle'. However, this would also mean that the Berlin drawing would have to be dated in the second half or end of the 16th century because there is no earlier evidence of these instruments.

Taking into account that the drawing could be dated as early as 1515, as suggested by art historians, one could also consider the illustration of the ominous 'phagotum' invented in about 1515 by Canon Afranio of Ferrara (1480–c.1560). According to playing instructions dated 1565, both the whole instrument and the individual tubes were referred to as 'fagoto'.²⁷ The 'phagotum' is a strange instrument with two separate percussion reeds which are activated by means of bellows which the player straps under his arms (illus.5). From the bellows reservoir, the air was supplied to the instrument through a type of S-shaped pipe ('fistula') made of an unspecified material, of which one section was bent in the shape of a neck.²⁸ According to the illustration and

description of this instrument published in 1539, there was a profiled cap at the top end of the two tubes or columns which corresponds to the illustration in the Berlin drawing.²⁹ However, the 'phagotum' has two parallel columns, whereas only one is shown in the drawing. Of the wind instruments described up to now, only the 'phagotum', whose name is also related to the 'fagotto',³⁰ corresponds closely to the suggested date of the drawing. Nevertheless, there is no clear identification and, ultimately, this version seems improbable.

We must take one last possibility into account, which seems all the more important when we consider that the crumhorn and the tabor pipe in the drawing clearly originated in southern Germany. The 'fagotto' could also be a recorder in columnar shape; a few of these have survived, originating solely from the Rauch workshop in Schratzenbach, a small town located between Memmingen and Kempten³¹—hence, made by one of the instrument-makers who appear to be the makers of the crumhorn in the drawing. The famous depiction of this instrument carved in ivory by Christoph Angermair



5 Woodcut of a phagotum. Teseo Ambrogio, *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, & decem alias linguas . . . et descriptio ac simulachrum Phagoti Afranii*, (Pavia, 1539), ff.178v–179r (Universitätsbibliothek Basel)



6 Carving by Christoph Angermair on the 'Münzschrein' (coin shrine) for Kurfürst Maximilian I of Bavaria, Munich, around 1625/28 (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. R4909)

(illus.6)³² is even more similar to the illustration in the Berlin drawing than the five instruments which have actually survived. In the carving, the crowned cap of the recorder can be clearly seen and the bent blow-pipe also corresponds to the drawing. Again, the term ‘fagotto’ must be understood to mean an unspecified ‘bundle’ in order to explain the inscription on the drawing. As far as we know, the name used in all the historical sources to designate this very complicated type of recorder was a term similar to ‘colonne’. In the inventory of musical instruments belonging to Raymund Fugger dating from 1566, reference is made to ‘1 Muda mit 9 Fletten Columnen in einem schwarzen Trüchle mit Leder vberzogen’ (1 chest with 9 recorders in columnar shape placed in a black case covered with leather)³³ which are perhaps identical to the ‘Nove Colonne d’Altare, che si puó servi di Flauti. NB. si trovano in parte’ (9 ‘Colonne d’Altare’, which can serve as flutes. NB. are found in parts)³⁴ which are listed in an inventory in Vienna at the beginning of the 18th century. On account of their high price and the clear date of 1581, the ‘colonnen’, which are mentioned several times in Stuttgart archives dating from the 1580s, most probably also represent instruments of this kind: ‘10 Kolonen und 8 dazu gehörige Zwerchpfeifen zu 200 fl.’ (10 recorders in columnar shape with 8 transverse flutes for 200 florins).³⁵

A further indication for the use of the contemporary term ‘colonne’ to describe these complicatedly constructed instruments is found on one of the surviving instruments itself. In the centre of the brass plate covering the thumbhole, there is an engraving of a column with base and capital which can be interpreted as a name which has been transformed into an image (illus.7).³⁶ In contemporary iconography, these columns were linked with the personal motto of Emperor Charles V (1500–58), adopted in 1516.³⁷ Two of these columns, usually in conjunction with a banner containing the words ‘plus oultre’ or ‘plus ultra’, refer to the Pillars of Hercules in Gibraltar. These spectacular instruments could therefore perhaps represent a special tribute to the imperial motto.

Of all the possibilities discussed above—‘gedackt’ dulcian, Virgiliano’s ‘tonante’, ‘doppione’, ‘sordune’, ‘phagotum’ and columnar recorder—the only ones that are really convincing are ultimately the ‘sordune’ and, in particular, the columnar recorder, although the present state of research



7 Detail of the columnar bass recorder by a member of the Rauch family, Schratzenbach, mid-16th century, showing in the centre between the two ‘doors’ an engraved column (Musée de la Musique, Paris, inv. no. E. 127 C. 410)

still leaves several questions unanswered. It must be noted that the illustrator has depicted a violin which was probably made in Italy, together with woodwind instruments from southern Germany; most of them were exclusive specialities and innovations. This could explain why the illustrator thought it necessary and useful to note the name of one of the instruments, which could be an indication of the rarity or novelty of this instrument or of the term used to describe it. Jürgen Eppelsheim once remarked that instruments which were blown with an S-shaped bocal were sometimes described as ‘fagotto’ on account of this metallic pipe.³⁸ Accordingly, the accompanying inscription ‘si chiama fagotto’ would then refer only to the S-shaped bocal, which is indeed prominently placed, and would not reveal anything specific concerning the nature of the instrument itself. In any event, it is very regrettable that the illustrator did not complete the information starting with ‘questo istromento de’ as it would

perhaps have contained the name of the maker or the origin, which would certainly have assisted us further.

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The drawing in question has traditionally been ascribed to Giovanni da Udine, a theory which is supported, according to Arnold Nesselrath, by the 'fine calligraphy of the handwritten text and the characteristic, wide-meshed cross-hatching'.³⁹ Nesselrath's intensive and critical analysis of this illustrator and the oeuvre attributed to him are sufficient grounds for the plausibility of this theory, even though this particular drawing provides very little handwriting to support a palaeographic examination.⁴⁰ The date of the drawing is derived from a note written by Giovanni Vasari in *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* and given as 'around 1514/1515'; according to this note, Raphael allowed the young painter to illustrate the musical instruments in his famous painting 'St Cecilia'.⁴¹ Vasari's story has led to the assumption that the drawing is a preliminary study by Giovanni for Raphael's painting, which would date it as 1514/15, the date of completion of the painting. There are several arguments to contradict this, for example the fact that there is not necessarily a connection to Raphael's 'St Cecilia', because this work depicts completely different musical instruments⁴² from those in another contemporary engraving that shows a different stage of the painting, which would mean that the drawing must be a sketch—later discarded—for another idea for a painting. In view of the instruments depicted in the drawing, however, a reference on a pilaster in the Vatican loggias made also by Giovanni da Udine in 1517–19 would seem far more convincing as it includes bundles of woodwind and string instruments (recorder, cornetts, crumhorns, shawms, trombone and viols).⁴³ But nevertheless, and most importantly, the identification and classification of the musical instruments cannot be reconciled with such an early date.

There is evidence of crumhorns as early as the end of the 15th century, and of the Wier workshop during the entire first half of the 16th century (there are even instruments dated between 1522 and 1537). Furthermore, the Wier instruments were internationally famous and they also made their way to Italy. In this connection, we should consider the journey

made by the Roman Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona, who travelled in June 1517 from Nuremberg to Constance, stopping in Waldsee to purchase the extremely high-quality woodwind instruments (flutes, shawms and crumhorns) which were made there—or in nearby Memmingen and Schratzenbach.⁴⁴ Taking this information and Boydell's chronology as a starting point, the drawing could be dated either from around 1515, or from the mid-16th century. However, depending on which interpretation of the instrument designated as 'fagotto' is correct, the date of the drawing could be in the second half of the 16th century. According to research up to now, the 'doppione' and 'sordune' date from the late 16th century, while only the columnar recorders made in the Rauch workshop perhaps originated in the first half of the century. There is evidence of several pipe-makers named Rauch in Schratzenbach during the late 15th and the 16th centuries, however, the columnar recorders have not yet been convincingly attributed to one particular member of the family.⁴⁵ On account of their complex construction and the fact that they are in the style of antique columns—therefore perhaps referring to the famous motto of Charles V, 'plus ultra' (further beyond)—these instruments can more probably be dated to the mid-16th century, rather than the beginning.

Finally, the shape of the violin shows an instrument which was first evident in Italy in the mid-16th century, but not any earlier. One of the known illustrations, which seems particularly remarkable, is an engraving dated 1536 which shows a violin corpus with *f*-holes (see illus.8).⁴⁶ All the other contemporary illustrations, as well as those from the last third of the 16th century, depict instruments which each indicate only individual aspects of the modern violin. Surviving originals with a 'classical' shape originated, at the earliest, in the last third of the 16th century. And in fact, the engraving mentioned above, which is dated 1536, was identified as being a 'deceptive copy' of a drawing by Melchior Meier which itself can be dated 1582.⁴⁷ According to modern research concerning the early history of the violin—a history which is still obscure—the instrument shown in the Berlin drawing could have originated, at the earliest, in the second third of the 16th century, or, more probably, the middle—but certainly not before this.

Based on observations concerning the instruments themselves, it would be perfectly possible to redate the



8 Flaying of Marsyas, an engraving signed 'IMF' and '1536' (Written-Rawlins Collections. Courtesy of the National Music Museum, Vermillion, SD)

drawing towards the mid-16th century, which would fit with the theory that it can be ascribed to Giovanni da Udine, who indeed lived until 1561. There are many other feasible reasons why the Italian illustrator could have sketched musical instruments which were definitely innovative at the time, some of which came from faraway places.⁴⁸ Instead of the connection to Raphael's 'St Cecilia', which is not very plausible, the illustration of a violin together with woodwind

instruments could also have been a study for the contest between Apollo and Marsyas or Pan.⁴⁹ The fact that the crumhorn is oddly positioned beneath the violin could indicate that Apollo (or the modern violin attributed to him instead of the kithara) is superior to the god of shepherds or the satyr (with a wind instrument as his attribute)—but that would be another story.

Translated by Catherine Taylor

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A first version of this article was written in 2000 for the Festschrift for Jürgen Eppelheim on the occasion of his 70th birthday which was never published. It is dedicated to this eminent scholar.

1 Inv. no. 2000–1902, Kdz 5223 (purchased from the collection belonging to Adolf von Beckerath in 1902): pen drawing, brown and grey ink with red chalk, brown watercolour, lined from the back; published in *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan (1503–1534). Kunst und Kultur im Rom der Päpste I*, Exhibition Catalogue of the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 11 December 1998 – 11 April 1999 ([Bonn], 1998), pp.497–8 (contribution by Arnold Nesselrath) and illus. no.188 on p.194.

2 It seems as if the violin and the crumhorn were drawn first. In any case, the study of the garment, which is only drawn to the edge of the violin, and the separate sketch of the head, which exactly fills the space between the violin and the crumhorn, indicate that the instruments took priority.

3 See, for example, the description and depiction of the drawing of a lute in Albrecht Dürer, *Vnderweysung der messung* (Nuremberg, 1525), ff.Qijv–Qvijr; or Lorenzo Sirigatti, *La pratica di prospettiva* (Venice, 1596), chs.XLI and XLII. Also compare here the contributions by M. D. Emiliani, ‘Materiali e congetture per il laboratorio prospettico di Baschenis’, and by C. Fronza, ‘Il “Trattato P 103 sup.” della Biblioteca Ambrosiana’, *Evaresto Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa*, Exhibition Catalogue of the Accademia Carrara Bergamo and Accademia Valentino Roma March 15 – June 8 1997 (Milan, 1997), pp.105–11 and pp.112–15 (with further literature).

4 Compare, for example, Sylvestro Ganassi, *Letzione seconda pur della pratica di sonare il violone d’arco a tasti* (Venice, 1543), ch.xxii which emphasizes the problem of the very delicate high-pitch thin strings which induced him to write a chapter about playing on only four (lower) strings.

5 Many illustrations pertaining to this subject can be found in B. Geiser, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Violine* (Bern, 1974); more recent contributions concerning the early history of the violin by R. Baroncini, P. Holman and

T. Drescher can be found in the *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, xxix (2005) as well as in C. Rault, ‘How, when and where the specific technological features of the violin family appeared’, *Musikalische Aufführungspraxis in nationalen Dialogen, Teil 2*, ed. B. E. H. Schmuhl (Augsburg, 2007), pp.123–52.

6 Information kindly provided by Thomas Drescher, Basel.

7 The violin known as the ‘Ole Bull’ is now in the Vestlandske Kunsthistoriskmuseum in Bergen (Norway).

8 It is noteworthy here that the uppermost finger-hole is positioned very high and that the body lines have been corrected.

9 B. Boydell, *The crumhorn and other Renaissance windcap instruments: a contribution to Renaissance organology* (Buren, 1982), esp. pp.151–5, 159–60 and 164–82.

10 See P. T. Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments: an inventory of 200 makers in international collections* (London, 1993), pp.254–5.

11 See W. Waterhouse, *The new Langwill index: a dictionary of musical wind-instrument makers and inventors* (London, 1993), p.320.

12 Sylvestro Ganassi, *Opera Intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535), ch.4. The other flutes have the typical ‘A’ mark which can be attributed to Hans (I) Schnitzer of Nuremberg, and a ‘B’ which appears on various surviving crumhorns (for example, in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. MIR 423; Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. Mu 21 and Mu 21; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. SAM 205); see Boydell, *The crumhorn* and similar (however, the inventory no. of the Vienna instrument is incorrect here).

13 Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511), f.B3v (woodcut) and f.C4v (mentioned in connection with little drums for dances and festivals); *Triumphzug of Emperor Maximilian I* (published only in 1526), woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, no.24, showing ‘Musica süeß Meledey’.

14 See W. Bosmans, *Eenhandsluit en Trom in de Lage Landen* (Peer, 1991), pp.28–37; F. Palmer, ‘Musical instruments from the “Mary Rose”:

report on work in progress’, *Early Music*, xi (1983), pp.53–9.

15 See W. Waterhouse, ‘Bassoon’, *New Grove II*, pp.873–95, at pp.876–81; A. E. Roberts, ‘Studien zur Bauweise und zur Spieltechnik des Dulzian’ (diss., University of Cologne, 1987), pp.149–80; Maggie Kilbey gives a more recent summary in *Curtal, dulcian, bajón—a history of the precursor of the bassoon* (St Albans, 2002).

16 See L. Lockwood, ‘Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d’Este: new light on Willaert’s early career in Italy, 1515–21’, *Early Music History*, v (1985), pp.85–112, at pp.97–8. I am most grateful to the late Bill Waterhouse for this information.

17 Quoted from S. Davari, ‘La musica a Mantova’, *Rivista storica mantovana*, i (1884), pp.53–71, at p.70.

18 Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (Venice, 1592), Libro Quarto, f.218r.

19 See the ‘gedackt’ curtals from the collections in Berlin, Brunswick, Leipzig, Linz, Merano and Nuremberg listed in Kilbey, *Curtal, dulcian, bajón*.

20 *Il Dolcimelo d’Aurelio Virgiliano doue si contengono variati, passaggi, e diminutioni così per voci, come per tutte sorte d’instrumenti musicali, con loro accordi, e modi di sonare*, Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms.c.33 (facs. Florence, 1979), pp.113–14; V. Gutmann, ‘Il Dolcimelo von Aurelio Virgiliano: Eine handschriftliche Quelle zur musikalischen Praxis um 1600’, *Forum Musicologicum*, ii (1980), pp.107–39, p.137 states that the word ‘Imperiale’ is written underneath ‘Tonante’ but has been pasted over.

21 A. Reimann, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fagotts. Das ‘Phagotum’ des Afranius Albonesii und zwei ‘Fagotti’ in Verona. Geschichte der Namen für das Fagott* (diss., University of Freiburg/Brsg., 1957), esp. pp.62–8.

22 Verona, Museo Civico, inv. nos.13.288 and 13.289. G. Turrini, *L’Accademia Filarmonica di Verona dalla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico* (Verona, 1941), pp.188 and 199.

23 Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, f.213r and f.218v shown in a table as ‘Doppioni Basso. Canto. Tenore’ with

their tonal range; see also G. Kinsky, 'Doppelrohrblatt-Instrumente mit Windkapsel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Blasinstrumente im 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vii (1925), pp.253–96, at pp.261–4; Boydell, *The crumhorn*, pp.371–3.

24 J. H. van der Meer and R. Weber, *Catalogo degli strumenti musicali dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona* (Verona, 1982), p.83 (compare Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona*, p.187, for the reference to the inventory of 1585).

25 Concerning the discussion on the subject of reconstruction, see R. Weber and J. H. van der Meer, 'Some facts and guesses concerning "doppioni"', *Galpin Society Journal*, xxv (1972), pp.22–9; R. Weber, 'Die Instrumentensammlung der Accademia Filarmonica in Verona und Probleme ihrer Restaurierung', *Tibia*, vi (1981), pp.313–19, at p.316; Weber and van der Meer, *Catalogo degli strumenti musicali*, pp.49–55.

26 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, SAM 215 and 216; see J. Schlosser, *Die Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis* (Vienna, 1920), pp.87–8 and illus.41. Concerning the sordune, see the references in Boydell, *The crumhorn*.

27 For examples of the wide variety of literature on this subject, see especially W. Galpin, 'The romance of the phagotum', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, lxvii (1940/41), pp.57–72, which also provides a facsimile of the playing instructions, and Reimann, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fagotts*, pp.38–61.

28 Teseo Ambrogio, *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, & decem alias linguas . . . et descriptio ac simulachrum Phagoti Afranii*, (Pavia, 1539), f.34v: 'Cui in protensa gracili veluti collo parte, ad summum, fistula quaedam parua alia, superiori simillima firmiter alligata pendeat. Quam in posteriorem paruum instrumenti columnam, amoto capitello, immittit'; all the other connections between the bellows were made of wood.

29 Ambrogio, *Introductio*, ff.178v–179r; in f.33v he describes this part as

'capitellis epistylis ue[l] etiam ligneis torno cauatis, quibus . . . columnarum'. The illustrations were intended for the treatise entitled *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* written by Othmar Luscinius in 1518 (but first printed in Strasbourg in 1536), but they did not appear here, much to Ambrogio's annoyance.

30 In actual fact, the name is derived from the Greek φαγω (to eat, with reference to animals) because the instrument devoured all the musical sounds in order to be able to disgorge them again later; Ambrogio, *Introductio*, f.33v.

31 See R. Weber, 'Säulenblockflöten – Columnarflöten – Colonnen?', *Musica instrumentalis*, 1 (1998), pp.94–105; Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, p.184.

32 Carved on the famous 'Münzschein' (coin shrine) for Kurfürst Maximilian of Bavaria, Munich 1625/28 (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. n. 4909).

33 Quoted from R. Schaal, 'Die Musikinstrumenten-Sammlung von Raimund Fugger d. J.', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xxi (1964), pp.212–16, at p.216.

34 Quoted from G. Stradner, 'Die Blasinstrumente in einem Inventar der Wiener Hofkapelle von 1706', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, xxxviii (1987), pp.53–63, at p.54.

35 Quoted from G. Bossert, 'Die Hofkapelle unter Herzog Ludwig', *Württembergische Vierteljahreshefte für Landesgeschichte*, N.F. ix (1900), pp.53–90, at p.280; for other sources of 'Colonnen' in Stuttgart, see D. Golly-Becker, *Die Stuttgarter Hofkapelle unter Herzog Ludwig III. (1554–1593)* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp.107 and 210.

36 Columnar bass recorder, Musée de la Musique, Paris, inv. no. E. 127 c. 410.

37 E. Rosenthal, 'Plus ultra, non plus ultra, and the columnar device of emperor Charles V', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, xxxiv (1971), pp. 204–28

38 J. Eppelsheim, 'Musikinstrumente zur Zeit Orlando di Lassos', *Musik in Bayern*, xxiv (1982), pp.11–42, at p.26 and p.39 n.78.

39 A. Nesselrath, Exhibition Catalogue *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan: Kunst und*

Kultur im Rom der Päpste I, 1503–1534 (1998), p.497.

40 See A. Nesselrath, 'Giovanni da Udine disegnatore', *Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie – Bollettino*, ix (1989), pp.237–91.

41 Giovanni Vasari, 'Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori', *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1906), vi, p.551: 'Raffaello adunque, che molto amò la virtù di Giovanni, nel fare la tavola della Santa Cecilia, che è in Bologna, fece fare a Giovanni un organo che ha in mano quella Santa, il quale lo contratte tanto bene dal vero, che pare di rilievo; ed ancora tutti gli strumenti musicali che sono a piedi quella Santa: e, quello che importò molto più, fece il suo dipinto così simile a quello di Raffaello, che pare d'una medesimo mano' (Raphael, who was very fond of the virtue of Giovanni, allowed Giovanni to paint the organ which is in the hand of the saint while he was painting St Cecilia in Bologna: This he depicted so faithfully that it seems to be three-dimensional; as do all the musical instruments lying at the feet of the saint; and, a fact which is much more important, his painting is so similar to the one by Raphael that it seems to have been done by the same hand).

42 In Raphael's painting, Cecilia is holding a portative organ; lying at her feet are a viola da gamba with bow, a triangle, a tambourine and a tambourine drum with jingles, a pair of cymbals, three recorders and a pair of nakers (*naccherone*) with beaters. In an early engraving of Raphael's painting by Marcantonio Raimondi, the instruments lying at St Cecilia's feet are a recorder or cornett, a tambourine and a psaltery similar to the Instrumenta Hieronimi; the angels in heaven are playing a lira da braccio, a harp and a triangle; see the excellent detailed illustrations in *Indagini per un dipinto. La Santa Cecilia di Raffaello*, ed. A. Emiliani (Bologna, 1983). One single detail, namely the carved lion's head of the viol or violin, could perhaps be a connection between Raphael's painting and our sketch.

43 Compare N. Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello. Maestro e bottega di fronte*

all'antico (Rome, 1977), Tav. xcvi b. (Pilastro VII. B esterno). The remains may be compared to engravings by Giovanni Volpato published in 1772–7; see the recently published in-depth study by H. Myers, 'The instrument trophies of Giovanni da Udine in the Vatican', *Galpin Society Journal*, lxxiii (2010), pp.3–15.

44 'Da Bibrach ad pranso et cena ad Ravispurch, distante IIII milia. È terra francha Costantiensis diocesis et nel mezzo di camino è la villa de Valz dove il signore donò ordine et caparro per fare lavorare flauti, piffari et storte, lavorandosene in quel loco assai eccellentemente' (From Biberach to Ravensburg, distance 4 miles. It is in the district of the diocese of Constance and half the way from Waldshut, where the cardinal has ordered and made a down payment for flutes, shawms and crumhorns, which are made there in an excellent manner); quoted from L. Pastor, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona durch*

Deutschland, die Niederlande, Frankreich und Oberitalien, 1517–1518, beschrieben durch Antonio de Beatis (Freiburg/Brsg., 1905), p.100.

45 The summary attribution of the Rauch instruments held in the Musée instrumental in Brussels (which include a columnar recorder, inv. no.189), and which are not signed by name, to a certain 'Caspar Rauchs' from Hamburg must be treated with caution at all events, as this was based solely on the fact that they came from the Oostershuis in Antwerp and on the vague information provided by Charles Burney, who attributed all these instruments to the same maker.

46 Flaying of Marsyas, an engraving signed 'IMF' (I and M in a ligature with a Maltese cross), Witten-Rawlins Collection, National Music Museum, Vermillion; Detail reproduced in L. C. Witten, 'Apollo, Orpheus and David: a study of the crucial century in the development of bowed strings in North Italy 1480–1580 as seen in

graphic evidence and some surviving instruments', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, i (1975), pp.5–55, at p.36.

47 See A. von Bartsch, *Le Peintre graveur* (Vienna, 1818), xvi, pp.246–7, and G. K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten* (Munich, 1879), iv, p.562 (no.1802).

48 As can be seen from the random evidence given here, the woodwind instruments from southern Germany were also widespread in Italy. It would be very rewarding to carry out further research on the surviving instruments which are still in Italy, together with inventories and account books from Italy.

49 See E. Winternitz, 'The curse of Pallas Athene', *Musical instruments and their symbolism in Western art: studies in musical iconology* (New Haven, 1967), pp.150–65; E. Wyss, *The myth of Apollo and Marsyas in the art of the Italian Renaissance: an inquiry into the meaning of images* (Newark, 1996).



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