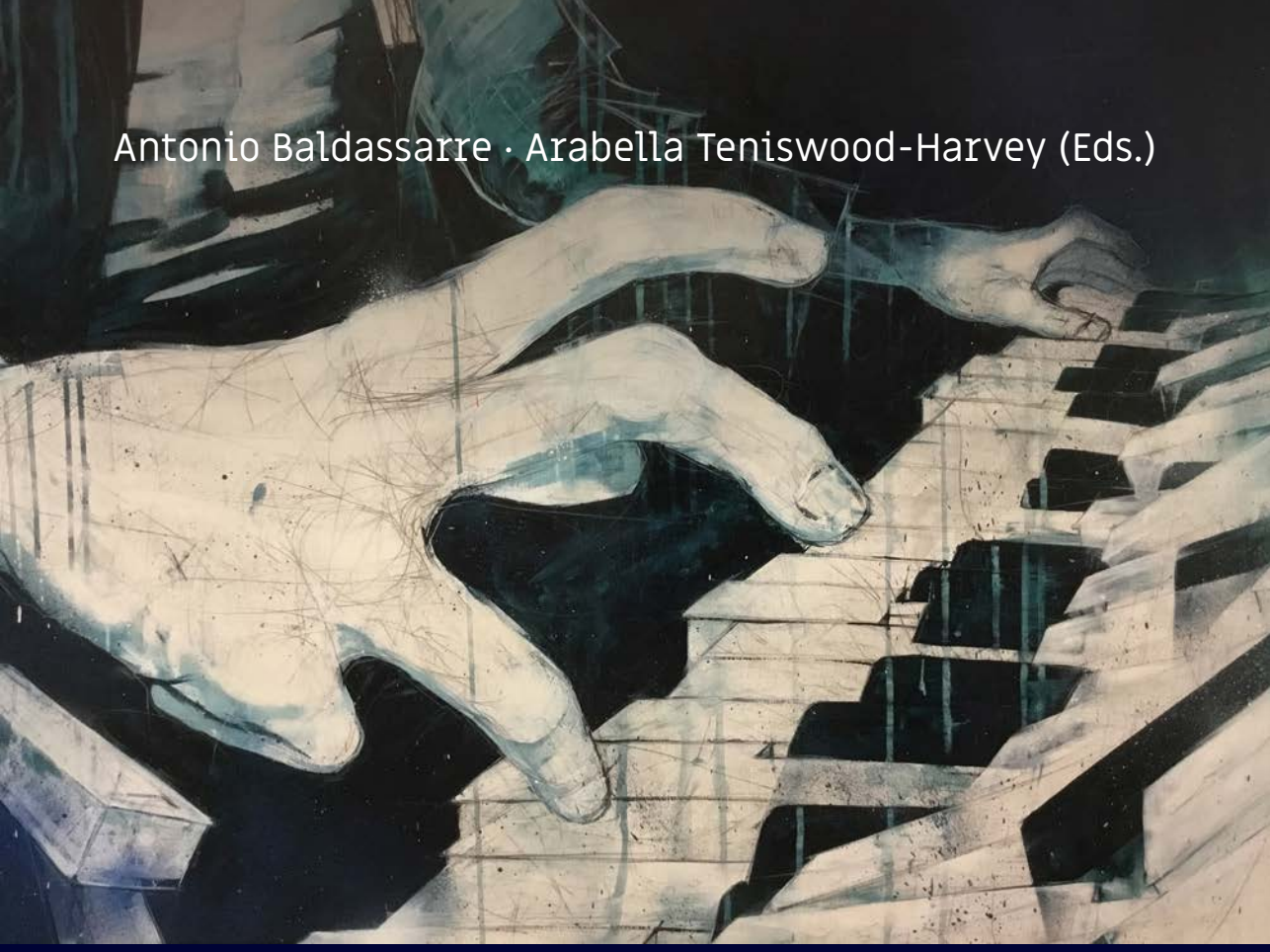
Antonio Baldassarre · Arabella Teniswood-Harvey (Eds.)



Belonging, Detachment and the Representation of Musical Identities in Visual Culture

HOLLITZER

Belonging, Detachment and the Representation
of Musical Identities in Visual Culture

Belonging, Detachment and the Representation of Musical Identities in Visual Culture

Edited by
Antonio Baldassarre · Arabella Teniswood-Harvey

HOLLITZER



Belonging, Detachment and the Representation of Musical Identities in Visual Culture,
Antonio Baldassarre and Arabella Teniswood-Harvey (Eds.)
© Hollitzer Verlag, Wien 2023

Cover Picture:
Aedan Howlett, Detail from *Portrait of Michael Kieran Harvey*, 2011,
Acrylic and aerosol paint on plywood, 244 × 122 cm
Private collection. Reproduction with permission of the artist.

Cover Layout: Nikola Stevanović
Layout: Nikola Stevanović
Printed and bound in the EU

Open Access Licence CC BY 4.0



ISBN 978-3-99094-122-5

HOLLITZER

www.hollitzer.at

To the memory of Dr Dorothea Baumann (1946–2022)
– an exceptional scholar and magnanimous friend

CONTENT

Introduction

11 Antonio Baldassarre and Arabella Teniswood-Harvey
Instead of a Preface: Miscellanea on Belonging, Detachment and the Representation of Musical Identities in Visual Culture

Theory and Methodology

25 Antonio Baldassarre
Navigating the Maze: Challenges to Current Music Iconography Research

59 Maria Alice Volpe
Maxixe's Kinemic Movements: The Iconography of Indiscrete Truths

103 Ian Parsons
Seeing the Unseeable Light: How Stockhausen's Opera Cycle *LICHT* Expresses His Belonging and Detachment as Composer and Man

Courtly and Ecclesiastical Life

109 Dorothea Baumann
Plucked or Bowed? Two Early String Instruments in the Towers of Saint Sophia in Kiev, Their Characteristics and Cultural Identity

127 Angeliki Liveri
Byzantine and Western Medieval Royal Dances: Dancing for the King – The King's Dancing

157 Jordi Ballester
Music and Musicians in the Courtly Banquets Depicted in Late Medieval and Renaissance Catalano-Aragonese Paintings

Notation, Intertextuality and Interarts Dialogue

177 Denis Collins
Crosses, Circles and Shared Identities in Riddle Canons by Elway Bevin and Giovanni Maria Nanino

197 Jason Stoessel
Pier Francesco Valentini and Musical Canons in the Visual Culture of Early Modern Rome

225 Jonathan Paget
***La guitaromanie* (1829) by Charles de Marescot (1790–1842): Unpacking the Imagery and Music of an Iconic Nineteenth-Century Guitar Book**

247 Christine Fischer
Between Author and Muse: Pauline Viardot-García as Sapho (Paris, Le Peletier 1851)

275 Sheridan Palmer and David Harley
Split Spectrum: Visual Artists and the Prism of Music

297 Jocelyn Wolfe and Bruce Wolfe
Music in Architecture: Lest We Forget

Building Cultural Identity

317 Sylvain Perrot
The Musical Identity of Ancient Greek City-States according to Coinage (Sixth–First c. BCE)

347 Alessandra Palidda
New Celebrations for a New State: Visual and Sound Aspects of the *pubbliche feste* in Republican Milan (1796–1802)

369 Brian Christopher Thompson and Sophie M. Thompson
Music and Musicians in the World of William Notman

395 Rachel Coombes
Maurice Denis's *The History of Music*: Allegorising Cultural Tradition in Early Twentieth-Century France

423 Camilo Vaughan
The Snake and the Deer: Indigenist Elements in Art Music and Visual Arts through the *República Liberal* Period (1930–1946) in Colombia

441 Arabella Teniswood-Harvey
Centred on the Periphery: Visual Art, Cultural Nationalism and the Development of an Australian Musical Avant-Garde in 1960s Hobart

459 Christopher Price
Recruiting Tradition: Cathedral Choirs and the Heritage Industry

477 Marita Fornaro Bordolli
Idealisation and Caricature in the Representation of Popular Music and Dance in Twentieth- and Twenty-First-Century Uruguay

Issues of Colonialism

509 Johanna Selleck
From Sterling to Currency: Representing Identity in Colonial Australia through Music Reviews and Cartoons

539 Maria Fernandes
Politics and Musical Caricature: The African Colonial Issue in *A Paródia*

553 Johnny Milner
Hearing First Nations Australia (on Screen)

Subversion and Struggle

571 Suzanne Wijsman
Musicians and Wild Men: Signs of Identity in a Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Manuscript

595 Joseph Nelson
"Mad Tom o' Bedlam and the Medieval Wild Man"

613 Maurice B. Wheeler
From Cotton Field to Concert Stage: The Iconography of Late-Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century African American Concert Artists' Journey Toward Parity

631 Wm. Keith Heimann
"*The True, Unutterable Great Sin …*": Heteronormative Discourse in *The Etude Music Magazine*

663 Benjamin Hillier
Austral Aliens – Australian Extreme Metal Paratexts and Australian Identity

679 **Biographies**

INSTEAD OF A PREFACE: MISCELLANEA ON BELONGING, DETACHMENT AND THE REPRESENTATION OF MUSICAL IDENTITIES IN VISUAL CULTURE

Antonio Baldassarre and Arabella Teniswood-Harvey

> I heard it said of somebody that he is leading a double life. I think to myself: Just two?[1]
>
> It is no wonder that so much of the search for identity among American Negroes was championed by Jazz musicians. Long before the modern essayists and scholars wrote of racial identity as a problem for a multiracial world, musicians were returning to their roots to affirm that which was stirring within their souls.[2]

The present edited and peer-reviewed collection of essays has emerged from scholarly meetings organised by Association Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale (RIdIM) over the last decade. The collection's topical focus, i.e. the concepts of belonging, detachment and identity, is of recurring interest and relevance to scholars working in the field of music in visual culture.[3]

---

1 Leon Wieseltier, "Against Identity: An Idea Whose Time Has Gone," *New Republic*, November 28, 1994, 24–32, here 30.

2 Martin Luther King Jr., *Opening Address to the 1964 Berlin Jazz Festival*, quoted after Walton M. Muyumba, *The Shadow and the Act: Black Intellectual Practice, Jazz Improvisation, and Philosophical Pragmatism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 153.

3 For the sake of brevity at least the following contributions from a large number of quite different methodological and topical perspectives should be mentioned: Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993); Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture, 1665 – 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), particularly 229–305; Sheila Whiteley, Andy Bennett, and Stan Hawkins, eds., *Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Danette Ifert Johnson, "Music Videos and National Identity in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan," *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication* 7, no. 1 (2006): 9–14, doi: 10.1080/17459430600964513; Stan Hawkins and Sarah Niblock, *Prince: The Making of a Pop Music Phenomenon* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Lauren Gorfinkel, *Performing the Chinese Nation: The Politics of Identity in China Central Television's Music-Entertainment Programs* (PhD thesis, University of Technology Sydney, 2011); Lizelle Bisschoff and Stefanie Van de Peer, eds., *Art and Trauma in Africa: Representations of Reconciliation in Music, Visual Arts, Literature and Film* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013); Antonio Baldassarre, "Being Engaged Not Informed: French "Orientalists" Revisited," *Music in Art* 38, no. 1–2 (2013): 63–87; Arabella Teniswood-Harvey, "Music and Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Art of Tom Roberts, Arthur Streeton and James McNeill Whistler", *Music in Art* 38, no. 1–2 (2013): 89–99; Tim Shephard and Anne Leonard, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*

The collection's title interlaces three concepts that continue to be of extremely high significance given the current and escalating global crises. War, despotism, racism, anti-Semitism, climate change, and pandemic emergency are among the most influential factors that shape the concepts of belonging, detachment and identity nowadays. The essays in this volume prove that these concepts are not new but are often apparent, regardless of cultural and temporal contexts.

Belonging and detachment refer to social positions and practices that further specify the framing of what is generally labelled with the term "identity." These ideas affect concepts of "identity" as much as they express forms of "identity." However, the concept of identity is anything but clearly defined and specified even though the term "identity" is heard "over and over again" and distinguished as a "key word,"[4] as Robert Penn Warren cogitated as early as 1965; and it means something quite different depending on the disciplinary perspective or the method applied in a research venture. This is, on the one hand, already evident in the ambiguous nature of the concept of identity, uniting individual as much as collective dimensions and phenomena.[5] As early as the 1950s Erik H. Erikson, the internationally acknowledged developmental psychoanalyst, described or identified "identity"

(New York and London: Routledge, 2014); Tim Shephard, *Echoing Helicon: Music, Art and Identity in the Este Studioli, 1440–1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Michelle M. Tomlinson, "A Case Study of Diverse Multimodal Influences on Music Improvisation Using Visual Methodology", *International Journal of Music Education*, 34, no. 3 (2016): 271–284; Michael Webb and Camellia Webb-Gannon, "Musical Melanesianism: Imagining and Expressing Regional Identity and Solidarity in Popular Song and Video," *The Contemporary Pacific* 28, no. 1 (2016): 59–95; Arabella Teniswood-Harvey, "Reconsidering the ANZAC Legend: Music, National Identity and the Australian Experience of World War I, as Portrayed in the Australian War Memorial's Art and Photographic Collections," *Music in Art*, 41, no 1–2 (2016): 11–22; Antonio Baldassarre, "Envisioned History or "His Story": Warfare, Musical Culture and Imagination in the Lucerne Chronicle (1509–1513) by Diebold Schilling the Younger," *Music in Art* 41, no. 1–2 (2016): 9–63; Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (London: Routledge, 2017); Joshua S. Walden, *Musical Portraits: The Composition of Identity in Contemporary and Experimental Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Antonio Baldassarre, "Identity, Ritual and Materiality of Bourgeois Power Performance: Oskar Reinhart's "Club zur Geduld" in Winterthur," in *Music Cultures in Sounds, Words and Images. Essays in Honor of Zdravko Blažeković*, eds. Antonio Baldassarre and Tatjana Marković (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2018), 313–340; Cynthia J. Becker, *Blackness in Morocco: Gnawa Identity through Music and Visual Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020); Ayse Guler, "The Transformative Role of Music in Visual Arts Education: Rediscovering Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Possibilities through A/r/tographic Inquiry," *Journal of Qualitative Research in Education* 28 (2021): 204–240, doi: 10.14689/enad.28.9; Antonio Cascelli and Denis Condon, eds., *Experiencing Music and Visual Cultures: Threshold, Intermediality, Synchresis* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021); Jörg Fingerhut, Javier Gomez Lavin, Claudia Winkelmayr, and Jesse J. Prinz, "The Aesthetic Self. The Importance of Aesthetic Taste in Music and Art for Our Perceived Identity", *Frontiers in Psychology* 11 (2021), doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2020.577703.

4 Robert Penn Warren, *Who Speaks for the Negro* (New York: Random House, 1965), 17.

5 See in this respect the seminal study by Kwame Anthony Appiah, *The Lies that Bind: Rethinking Identity* (New York: Liveright, 2018).

in his writing as being "vague," "ambiguous," "naive," "unfathomable," and so on.[6] Some decades later, Leon Wieseltier concurs in such a judgement with his critical and impassioned remarks, arguing that "identity" (the singular form is essential) is "an illusion," while "a greater truth" lies in "the plural," i.e. "identities," thus acknowledging the complexity and diversity of both the term and the concept: "In the modern world, the cruelest thing that you can do to people is to make them ashamed of their complexity."[7] And more recently Kenan Malik has published a critical and confrontational examination of the politics of identity, elucidating and impugning the concept's intricate history and its alterations throughout.[8]

On the other hand, it comes therefore with no surprise that "identity" has been subject to growing and pervasive (sometimes even flamboyant) criticism since the 1970s, largely stimulated by the term's "over-use"[9] that induced Robert Coles to express the deprecatory assessment of the concept as "the purest of clichés."[10] This criticism in no way hindered the profound and scholarly examination of the concept of identity and its manyfold dimensions – a difficult endeavour which not only has to prove itself to criticism but also has to unambiguously differentiate itself from the enormous glut of popular-scientific contributions on identity (including the so-called self-help literature) that has been flooding the market for three decades.[11]

From the 1980s onwards, weighty scholarly research on topics of race, class, religion, and gender as related to identity added additional facets to the already relatively open concept of identity, thus contributing to further dissolution and fragmentation of the concept.[12] The boundless abundance of research literature on identity appears to be almost contradictory to the understanding of what constitutes the essence of identity. Consequently, what Augustine expressed about "the time" applies, by analogy, to identity: "si nemo ex me quaerat, scio; si quaerenti explicare velim, nescio," i.e., "if one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to him who asks, I do not know."[13]

---

6 See for instance Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: Norton, 1950), *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: Norton, 1958), *Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers* (New York: International University Press, 1959), *Identity, Youth, and Crisis* (New York: Norton, 1968).

7 Wieseltier, "Against Identity,", 30.

8 Kenan Malik, *Not So Black and White: A History of Race from White Supremacy to Identity Politics* (La Vergne: Hurst Publishers, 2023).

9 See William James Millar Mackenzie, *Political Identity* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 11.

10 Robert Coles, review of "Dimensions of a New Identity by Erik H. Erikson," *New Republic*, June 8, 1974, 23.

11 A remarkable example in this context is the popular-science philosophical bestseller *Wer bin ich – und wenn ja, wie viele?* by Richard David Precht published with Goldmann Verlag in 2007 (in English released as *Who am I? And If so, How Many?*, New York: Random House, 2011) that still enjoys considerable international prestige.

12 Appiah, *The Lies that Bind*, provides an exhaustive and well-founded overview of this research output.

13 Augustinus, *Confessiones*, liber XI, caput XIV.

One of the fundamental challenges in the discourses on "identity" consists, as Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper have pointed out, in the fact that identity "is both a category of practice and a category of analysis".[14] Also, it is substantially indistinct to such an extent that it is "hopelessly ambiguous for an analytical concept."[15] On this ground the authors argue that – from a conceptual point of view – "identity" is not an essential analytical concept and that "alternative analytical idioms" exist "that can do the necessary work without the attendant confusion."[16]

The multivalent burden of the identity concept has a special place within the arts. The stories of Edgar Allen Poe and Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann implemented this subject with particular virtuosity, as do films by David Lynch today. Virginia Woolf's novel *Orlando: A Biography* (1928) and the enthralling US neo-noir thriller film *Identity* (2003) are impressive examples of the productive force that the concept of identity can be. While Woolf's novel thematizes shifting gender identity, James Mangold's film *Identity* is determined by a cleverly constructed plot involving the alleged serial killer Malcolm Rivers who suffers from dissociative identity disorder, and his son Timothy, the real homicidal serial killer, who has taken control of his father – combining a reverse chronology structure in the main plot with a chronological, forward-moving subplot. And most recently, two literary works and one musical opus – to mention at least three instances from a vast corpus of examples – have caused a tremendous stir with the pitiless examination of an "identity odyssey". On the one hand, the 2021 novel *Changer: méthode* by the French author Édouard Louis who has enjoyed unbroken extensive attention since his first novel *En finir avec Eddy Bellegueule* (which was also strongly shaped by identity subject matters),[17] not only recounts the intimate yet highly politically charged story of a young man who has already lived several lives but also provides a kind of "manual" of self-reinvention and self-fashioning.[18] The novel includes not only explicit allusions to the persona of Didier Eribon, the French sociologist,[19] but also a literary treatment of what Pierre Bourdieu has characterised as the features defining an individual's place in the social strata, i.e. the economic, social and cultural capitals. On the other hand, the debut novel by the Swiss writer Kim de l'Horizon entitled *Blutbuch* and awarded with both the German and Swiss Book Prizes 2022, deals with a highly pressing identity topic that is driving the current gender identity discourse:

14 Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1–47, here 4.

15 Ibid, 6.

16 Ibid, 9.

17 Édourd Louis, *En finir avec Eddy Bellegueule* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2014); English translation *The End of Eddy*, trans. Michael Lucey (London: Harvill Secker, 2017). Meanwhile this has been translated into more than 20 languages.

18 Édourd Louis, *Changer: méthode* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2021).

19 It is well known that the questions linked to identity play a significant role in Eribon's writings. See for instance Didier Eribon, *Retour à Reims* (Paris: Fayard, 2009), English as *Returning to Reims*, intro. George Chauncey, trans. Michael Lucey (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2018), and Didier Eribon, *La société comme verdict. Classes, identités, trajectoires* (Paris: Fayard, 2013).

the first-person narrator identifies themself neither as male nor female and explores, unsparingly and without complacency, the past times that were dominated by the dichotomy between the feminine and masculine, a dichotomy to which everything seemed to be subjected.[20] Finally, the opera *Cloudstreet* by George Palmer, based on one if not the most popular and adored Australian homonymous novel by Tim Winton[21] and premiered at the State Opera of South Australia on 14 May 2016. The foreground of this two-act opera forms the account of two working-class families over a span of about twenty years and their domestic life and exposure to a changing world filled with tragedy, love, and forgiveness. The family saga ultimately widens into a striking portrait of a period of significant transformation in Australia's national identity, the 1940s to the early 1960s, strikingly illustrated not only by the references to influential world-historical key events (such as World War II and the Korean War as well as John F. Kennedy's homicide) but also the examination of momentous identity-shaping Australian cultural myths. These include the "Aussie battler" and the idealisation of Australia's rural and suburban lifestyles alluding to the concept of Australia as the "lucky country" – both a kind of utopian idyll and "post war disillusion"[22] that is sharply juxtaposed by the novel's most prominent historical character, the Nedlands Monster, the nickname of the serial killer Eric Edgar Cooke. According to the Australian Dictionary of Biography, "the social impact of Cooke's crimes and the atmosphere in which he was tried are imaginatively but faithfully reflected in Tim Winton's novel."[23]

An additional difficulty of the intellectually appropriate application of the concept of identity in a persuasive and epistemologically useful manner, consists, as Odo Marquard has argued in an essay of 1979 in the fact that:

> The subject of 'identity' has identity difficulties: the current inflationary development of its discussion brings not only findings, but also confusion. To an increasing extent, the following applies precisely to identity: everything flows. Thus, the contours of the identity problem become blurred; it develops into a trouble cloud with fogging effect: identity discussions turn out to be – with increasing risk of collision – a blind flight.[24]

20 Kim de l'Horizon, *Blutbuch* (Cologne: DuMont, 2022).

21 Tim Winton, *Cloudstreet* (Ringwood, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1991).

22 Michael Halliwell, *National Identity in Contemporary Australian Opera: Myths Reconsidered* (London: Routledge, 2018).

23 Hugh Collins, "Cooke, Eric Edgar," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, accessed January 1, 2023, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cooke-eric-edgar-9817.

24 "Das Thema 'Identität' hat Identitätsschwierigkeiten: die gegenwärtig inflationäre Entwicklung seiner Diskussion bringt nicht nur Ergebnisse, sondern auch Verwirrungen. In wachsendem Maße gilt gerade bei der Identität: alles fließt. So werden die Konturen des Identitätsproblems unscharf; es entwickelt sich zur Problemwolke mit Nebelwirkung: Identitätsdiskussionen werden – mit erhöhtem Kollisionsrisiko – zum Blindflug." Odo Marquard, "Identität: Schwundtelos und Mini-Essenz. Bemerkungen zur Genealogie einer aktuellen Diskussion", in: *Identität* (Munich: Fink, 1979), 347–369, here 347. All translations in this introduction are by the authors, unless otherwise stated.

Similarly, Akeel Bilgrami has outlined that

> It is doubtful that the concept of identity is susceptible to a substantial philosophical treatment at a high level of generality. This is so not so much because there are too many disparate theories of identity, but more because the sorts of things, the question of whose identity are taken up by philosophers, are too disparate to get a uniform treatment. Broadly speaking, two conspicuously different sets of interests make such a treatment especially difficult. The concept of 'identity' when applied to such very basic categories as objects, properties (or universals), events, and persons, forms a cluster of themes in metaphysics and these receive a kind of analysis far removed from such themes as national, ethnic, racial or sexual identity, which are usually discussed in political philosophy and moral psychology. No obviously common notion of identity, which is either tractable or interesting, spans both sets of interests.[25]

Stuart Hall's introduction to the volume *Questions of Cultural Identity* (edited by Hall and Paul du Gay)[26] proves to be ground-breaking in theoretical and methodological terms, unfolding and reflecting upon different positions. These range from Jacques Derrida's view of identity as being "constructed through, not outside, difference,"[27] understood as a bipolar composition that is grounded in the debarment of something and the establishment of a powerful hierarchy between the two resulting poles,[28] to the positions developed by Louis Althusser, Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault and Judith Butler. A brief summary and examination of Hall's considerations not only provide an outline of the major tendencies of the discussion on identity and bring some systematic order to this discussion,[29] but also illuminate the unavoidable consequences one faces when exploring "identity."

For Althusser the so-called "ideological state apparatuses," i.e., state-building institutions such as the government, school, family etc., primarily constitute those agencies that shape the subject by processes of enslavement and subjection. These agencies represent ideologies to which the individual as subject is subjugated or voluntarily submits.[30] It was the ideological dimension that linked Althusser's theory with the discourses of identity formation in psychology and psychoanalysis, given

25 Akeel Bilgrami, "Identity," *Political Concepts,* issue 1 (2012), accessed February 1, 2022, https://www.politicalconcepts.org/category/issue-1.

26 Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), 1–18.

27 Ibid, 4.

28 See Jacques Derrida, *Positions* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1972), English translation: *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

29 For this purpose, see also the chapter "Identitätstheorien" in Ulrike Pörnbacher, *Ambivalenzen der Moderne – Chancen und Risiken der Identitätsarbeit von Jugendlichen* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1999), 13–29.

30 See Louis Althusser, "Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'Etat. Notes pour une recherche," *La Pensée* 151 (1970): 3–38, English translation: *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,* trans. and ed. Geoffrey M. Goshgarian (London: Verso, 2014).

that ideology is powerful precisely "because it works at the most rudimentary levels of psychic identity and the drives."[31] In this context, Hall rightly added that ideology is effective only

> because it works at *both* 'the rudimentary levels of psychic identity and the drives' *and* at the level of the discursive formation and practices which constitute the social field; and that it is in the articulation of these mutually constitutive but not identical fields that the real conceptual problem lies. The term identity – which arises precisely at the point of intersection between them – is thus the site of difficulty.[32]

Lacan approached the problem of identity through the human ability of self-awareness:

> […] the human child, at an age when he is for a short while, but for a while nevertheless, outdone by the chimpanzee in instrumental intelligence, can already recognize his own image as such in a mirror. This recognition is identical by the illuminative mimicry of the *Aha-Erlebnis*, which Köhler considers situational appreciation, an essential moment in the act of intelligence. Indeed, this act, far from exhausting itself, as in the case of a monkey, in eventually acquired control over the uselessness of the image, immediately gives rise in a child to a series of gestures in which he playfully experiences the relationship between the movements made in the image and the reflected environment, and between this virtual complex and the reality it duplicates – namely, the child's own body, and the persons and even things around him.[33]

In contrast, and in conscious rejection of a subject-based theoretical approach, Michel Foucault assumes that the subject could only be understood as produced within specific discursive formations that are shaped through power relations and resistance practices. Consequently, his main interest focuses on "examining the

31 Jacqueline Rose, *Sexuality in the Field of Vision* (London: Verso, 1986), 5.

32 Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?," 7 (emphasis original).

33 "[…] le petit d'homme à un âge où il est pour un temps court, mais encore un temps, dépassé en intelligence instrumentale par le chimpanzé, reconnaît pourtant déjà l'image dans le miroir comme telle. Reconnaissance signalée par la mimique du *Aha-Erlebnis*, où pour Köhler s'exprime l'aperception situationnelle, temps essentiel de l'acte d'intelligence. Cet acte, en effet, loin de s'épuiser comme chez le singe dans le contrôle une fois acquis de l'inanité de l'image, rebondit aussitôt chez l'enfant en une série de gestes où il éprouve ludiquement la relation des mouvements assumés de l'image à son environnement reflété, et de ce complexe virtuel à la réalité qu'il redouble, soit à son propre corps et aux personnes, voire aux objets qui se tiennent à ses côtés." Jacques Lacan, "Le stade du miroir comme formateur de la fonction du Je, telle qu'elle nous est révélée dans l'expérience psychanalytique," *Revue française de psychanalyse* 13 (1949): 449–455, here 499 (emphasis original), English translation: *Écrits*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 93 (emphasis original). The reference to Köhler concerns: Wolfgang Köhler, *L'intelligence des singnes supérieurs*, trans. Paul Guillaume (Paris: Alcan, 1927).

polymorphous techniques of power" in order to "bring out 'will to knowledge' that serves" the discursive productions and effects of power as "their support and their instrument."[34] In this way, Foucault explicitly rejects the idea of the "autonomous subject" and highlights, on the one hand, the historicity of the human being and, on the other hand, its indissoluble encapsulation into discursive social structures and conditions,[35] the so-called fields of discourse, such as religion, economics, science, politics etc. In such fields the human being turns into an "enslaved sovereign, observed spectator."[36]

In Foucault's late work, a theoretical shift takes place insofar as the power of the discursive fields is modified to the extent that the subject is no longer completely powerless. Rather,

> the "centering" of the discursive practice cannot work without the constitution of subject, the theoretical work cannot be fully accomplished without complementing the account of discursive and disciplinary regulation with an account of the practice of subjective self-constitution. It has never been enough – in Marx, in Althusser, in Foucault – to elaborate a theory of how individuals are summoned into place in the discursive structures. It has always, also, required an account of how subjects are constituted.[37]

Against this background Foucault's theory opens up to concepts of performativity to some extent. The tendency of the late Foucault to understand the formation of the subject as a process comparable to an artistic act fit into the shifted perception of the relationship between the discursive fields and the individual as enslaved object and as liberated subject. "What strikes me," the late Foucault comments,

> is the fact that in our society, art has become something which is related to objects and not to individuals, or to life. That art is something which is specialized or which is done by experts who are artists. But couldn't everyone's life become a

34 "[…] examiner 'les techniques polymorphes du pouvoir'" afin "de dégager la 'volonté de savoir' qui sert" – concernant les "productions discursives et" effets de pouvoir" – à la fois leurs support et leurs instrument." Michel Foucault, *La volonté du savoir* (= *Histoire de la sexualité*, vol. I) (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), 20, English translation: *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 11–12.

35 See "Che cos'è Lei Professore Foucault?" (Intervista con P. Caruso), *La fiera letteraria,* 42/39 (September 28, 1967), 11–15, reprinted in an extended version in *Conversazioni con Claude Lévi-Strauss, Michael Foucault, Jacques Lacan*, ed. Paolo Caruso (Milan: U. Mursia, 1969), 91–131, English translation: "Who are you, Professor Foucault," in *Religion and Culture*, selected and ed. Jeremy R. Carrette (New York: Routledge, 1999), 87–104.

36 "souverain, soumis, spectator regardé". Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 323, English translation: *The Order of Things: An Archeology of Human Science*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Tavistock, 1970), 312. See also Michel Foucault, *Naissance de la clinique. Une archéologie du regard médical* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1963), English translation: *The Birth of the Clinic*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publ., 1973).

37 Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?," 13.

> work of art? Why should the lamp or the house be an art object but not our life? […] From the idea that the self is not given to us, I think that there is only one practical consequence: we have to create ourselves as a work of art.[38]

The idea of a close and intertwined relation between identity and performativity is taken up and further developed by Judith Butler, particularly in her seminal studies *Gender Trouble* (1990) and *Bodies That Matter* (1993).[39] "Identity" is not a fixed or stable concept but rather it is balanced only through the performative acts that attempt, even if precariously, to stabilise identity as intrinsic parts of human existence. Consequently, the idea of a stable identity dissolves or – in the case of conceptual matters – needs to be thought of as performed ritual:

> Performativity cannot be understood outside of a process of iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms. And this repetition is not performed *by* a subject; this repetition is what enables a subject and constitutes the temporal condition for the subject. This iterability implies that 'performance' is not a singular 'act' or event, but a ritualized production, a ritual reiterated under and through constraint, under and through the force of prohibition and taboo, with the threat of ostracism and even death controlling and compelling the shape of the production, but not, I will insist, determining it fully in advance.[40]

Therefore, identities are, despite all external regulations and constraints, not only a topic of ascription (in the sense of external ascription) and exclusion, but always also a question of choice within the performative options in the given matrix.

The contributions in this volume remarkably evidence, that despite all the theoretical and practical challenges faced by any scholarly venture involved with topics of identity, some key uses can be identified which are not distinctly separated from each other but rather show affinities. The concept of "identity" can be applied

> to highlight non-instrumental modes of action to focus on self-understanding rather than self-interest; to designate sameness across persons or sameness over time; to capture allegedly core, foundational aspects of selfhood; to deny that such core, foundational aspects exist; to highlight the processual, interactive development of solidarity and collective self-understanding; and to stress the fragmented quality of the contemporary experience of 'self,' a self unstably patched together through shards of discourse and contingently 'activated' in differing contexts.[41]

---

38 Michel Foucault, "On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 340–372, here 350–351.

39 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

40 Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 95 (emphasis original).

41 Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1–47, here 8.

The idea of a clearly defined and fixed identity proves to be a phantasmagoria: individuals are always more than one. Consequently, identity needs to be understood multidimensionally and to be conceived as a project, as a creation – in an individual as much as in a collective sense. Identity has no essence, it is ephemeral and constantly changeable by individual choices and by the individual's specific contexts. Individuals imagine, invent, perform, create, and live various identities simultaneously – limited solely by the fact that, as Appiah posits, identities can only act and flower as an inner voice when they are shared with and recognised by others.[42]

Especially in times as ours which are shaped by social and political unrest and drastic changes in the political, economic, and social landscapes, concepts of identity come under increasing pressure, questions of belonging and detachment turn out to again be pressing human concerns, and concerns relating to identity strongly permeate visual culture. In this context, pictures and images can no longer be underrated as illustrations or as residues that have a complementary or corrective function regarding other sources, particularly written source material. The visual is a source of knowledge in its own right and needs to be treated adequately as an epistemological object as W.J.T. Mitchell and Gottfried Boehm, for example, have explained and convincingly justified.[43]

The collected essays in this volume address a plethora of topics linked to the field of the visual representation of identity. These include how people explore the concept of identity via visual means; how visual identity representations may serve as sources to acquire knowledge about topics of concern to society; how visual representation of identity/ies engage in socio-cultural and socio-political discourses; how visual source material may provide insights into individual and collective identity/ies and so forth.

In this context it is noteworthy to emphasise that visual sources are not exclusively the result of an intentional action in the general sense. As products of culturally shaped, individual thinking and action, they cannot be completely explained by purely rationally constructed interests and ideas. In addition, it is rather doubtful that human actions and statements are generally controlled by conscious strategies. In that sense objects of visual culture, as with written or oral sources, must be interpreted "as a gauze of signifiers and significant unities that […] always go beyond the intended meaning."[44] That is why the analysis of the superordinate discursive patterns is essential to an understanding of visual sources as a human expression. This is also the reason why purely stylistic and formalist analysis of visual sources has clear limits. In this respect the philosopher Berel Lang convinc-

42 Appiah, *The Lies that Bind*, 217–218.

43 In this respect see the essay of Antonio Baldassarre in this volume.

44 "[…] als ein Gewebe von Signifikanten und signifikativen Einheiten, die […] immer über den einheitlichen, intendierten Sinn hinausgehen." Philipp Sarasin, "Subjekt, Diskurse, Körper: Überlegungen zu einer diskursanalytischen Kulturgeschichte," in *Kulturgeschichte Heute*, ed. Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1996) 131–64, here 156.

ingly argued that style and form analysis is not a science but "a vision of fiction – a narrative form – tied to the literary trope of synecdoche in which one feature is an ingredient in all the others."[45]

State-of-the-art methodological concepts offer new ways of approaching the core paradox that pertains to research into visual culture to the same extent as in literary studies, art studies or musicology. It is the paradox concerning the meta-discourse (or much more appropriately the meta-"viscourse"[46] when dealing with visual source material) of history and reality that visual representations activate, but seemingly as if they were not communicating or negotiating history and reality but only following rules of artistic production or of aesthetic enjoyment. In this respect objects of visual culture enfold narrative strategies embodied in processes of production and reception without being simply reducible to one single narrative. Tzvetan Todorv, for instance, has described the "discovery of America" as the encounter of two very different and contradictory narrative cultures[47] as also evidenced in visual culture when taking into account the studies *La guerre des images* by Serge Gruzinski and *Marvelous Possessions* by Stephen Greenblatt.[48] Accepting this notion requires that the multifold narrative dimensions of a visual source are not always present to the same extent but also that they can change in time.

As we write these lines, all over the world, people are struggling with issues of political, social, religious, gender, race etc. identity, while being part of a community or a network, or being pushed into forced exile, both in the literal and figurative sense. In this respect the present volume deals with anything other than abstract issues or even elitist questions only of specific concern within ivory-tower circles. On the contrary: in addition to the aforementioned struggles, consider the recently launched, artificial-intelligence powered website *This Person Does Not Exist*,[49] designed to call attention to the ever-increasing power of artificial intelligence to represent itself as real. It puts forward images that are completely artificial and seeks to make visible the precarious and increasingly ephemeral status or nature of human identity by presenting us with images of people that have never "existed" (in the common, everyday understanding of "existence") but are created

45 Berel Lang, "Looking for the Styleme," in *The Concept of Style*, ed. Berel Lang (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987, rev. ed.), 182.

46 The term "viscourse" refers to a concept as introduced by Karin Knorr-Cetina to point out the embedment of visual representations in an ongoing communicative exchange. See Karin Knorr Cetina, "'Viskurse' der Physik: Konsensbildung und visuelle Darstellung," in *Mit dem Auge denken. Strategien der Sichtbarmachung in wissenschaftlichen und virtuellen Welten*, ed. Bettina Heintz and Jörg Huber (Vienna: Springer, 2001), 305–320.

47 Tzvetan Todorov, *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982).

48 Serge Gruzinski, *La guerre des images de Christophe Colombe à 'Blade Runner'* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1990), English translation: *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to 'Blade Runner' (1492–2019)*, trans. Heather MacLean (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2001); Greenblatt, Stephen, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

49 https://www.thispersondoesnotexist.com (last accessed February 14, 2022).

with algorithms, or even birthed by algorithms when taking into consideration Japan's popular cyberpop icon, Hatsune Miku.[50]

What is the story behind such pictures? What do all the pictures that present real and artificially created people struggling with issues of belonging and detachment tell us? What purpose do these pictures serve? And "what do pictures really want?", to quote the title of a famous essay by W.J.T. Mitchell.[51] Such questions are highly relevant in contemporary culture in which the visual plays an ever-increasingly important role not only with respect to the shaping of societal and individual identities but also regarding their genesis. This volume offers intriguing examinations and explorations of what images reveal when the eyes are effectively engaged and accept the invitation images offer for closer scrutiny, to look beyond the surface.

This volume of essays is divided into six sections. The first section presents three essays that address and reflect on theoretical and methodological aspects of music iconography and visual studies, contributing to current debates. The second section encompasses three papers that analyse matters of belonging, detachment, and musical identities in visual culture from the perspective of courtly and ecclesiastical life, while the six contributions of the third section examine the issues with a view to notation, intertextuality and interarts dialogue. The fourth section including eight papers, focuses on aspects of the fabrication and mechanism of cultural identity and the three essays of the fifth section take a closer look at aspects of belonging, detachment and musical identities as linked to topics of colonialism. The sixth and final section, addresses in five papers issues of identity in the context of subversion and struggle.

In general, all the essays elucidate ways in which visual sources affirm their own powers by treating them not as passive and silent bit parts but rather as independent and active voices.[52] Just as with "identity" however, visual objects are not restricted to only one interpretation.

50 For further information on this phenomenon see Rafal Zaborowski, "Hatsune Miku and Japanese Virtual Idols," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Virtuality*, ed. Sheila Whiteley and Shara Rambarran (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 111–128; Stina Marie Hasse Jørgensen, Sabrina Vitting-Seerup, and Katrine Wallevik, "Hatsune Miku: an Uncertain Image," *Digital Creativity* 28, no. 4 (2017): 318–331, doi: 10.1080/14626268.2017.1381625; Maja Mrđenović, "Hatsune Miku: The Subversive Potential of a Participatory-Created Cyberpop Idol," *Kultura*, 169 (2020): 113–129, doi: 10.5937/kultura2069113M; Esperanza Miyake, "I Am a Virtual Girl from Tokyo: Virtual Influencers, Digital-Orientalism and the (Im)materiality of Race and Gender," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10 (2022), doi: 10.1177/14695405221117195.

51 W.J.T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures 'Really' Want?," *October* 77, no. 1 (1996): 71–82.

52 Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Introduction to *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 3–10.

★ ★ ★

The editors and authors dedicate this volume to the memory of Dorothea Baumann who passed away unexpectedly on 29 August 2022. She was an exceptional scholar with an enormously broad horizon and a warm-hearted and generous friend.[53] Dorothea's scholarly merits and management achievements were extraordinary in so many different fields and ways. She energetically championed music iconographic research with both her own scholarly contributions (one of the last she was able to accomplish is part of the present volume) as well as with her convincing advocacy for the discipline's recognition and promotion as an earnest and socially-relevant branch of music research.

53 See Antonio Baldassarre, "Obituary Dorothea Baumann (1946–2022)," *IMS Newsletter* 9, no. 2 (2022): 15–16.

NAVIGATING THE MAZE: CHALLENGES TO CURRENT MUSIC ICONOGRAPHY RESEARCH

Antonio Baldassarre

The following considerations are the result of my increasing distress in the context of my most recent examination of visual source material with musical subject matters.[1] The disturbance is based, firstly, on the highly disparate spectrum of so-called "travelling" theoretical and methodological paradigms,[2] and secondly, on the fact that in spite of the broad application of "travelling theories" in music-iconography research, a profound examination and debate about theoretical and methodological concepts hardly exist within the discipline itself. The following considerations attempt to present and discuss some of the numerous existing and sometimes even contradictory ideas about pictures and images since such ideas are momentous regarding the definition of the ontological status of the picture and even more, considerably influence any music iconography venture with regard to methodological and epistemological issues. Thus, the following considerations are not intended as recommendations but rather as a stimulus to reflect upon issues that are highly relevant for any research venture that aims at generating relevant knowledge.

One fundamental question that arises in this context relates to the epistemic surplus of visual source material within music research – a field of research that is not primarily defined by visual media apart from musical notation that is, however, only tentatively considered from the perspective of its visual dimensions. Nevertheless, in connection with research topics related to music, one repeatedly refers to both visual objects and visualised musical matters. Notable and well-known examples are Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* of 1511[3] (fig. 1) and the second volume of Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma musicium* of 1619[4] (fig. 2) but also

1 The considerations explored in this essay are closely related to an essay that was written almost at the same time and sometimes even in parallel work processes. The two essays therefore constitute a close network of ideas, thoughts, and reflection without completely merging into each other. They speak with and to each other and complement one another. They resemble each other at times and – in a figurative sense – are like fraternal twins who retain – epistemologically argued – their uniqueness. The sibling is: Antonio Baldassarre, "Musik im Blick: Im Dickicht der Positionen," in *Musik im Blick: Visuelle Perspektiven auf auditive Kulturen*, ed. Carola Bebermeier and Sabine Meine (Cologne: Böhlau, 2023), 50–79.

2 Concerning the notion of travelling concepts and theories see Edward W. Said, "Traveling Theory," in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 226–247; and Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

3 Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und außgezogen* (Basel: Michael Furter, 1511).

4 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. 2 (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619).

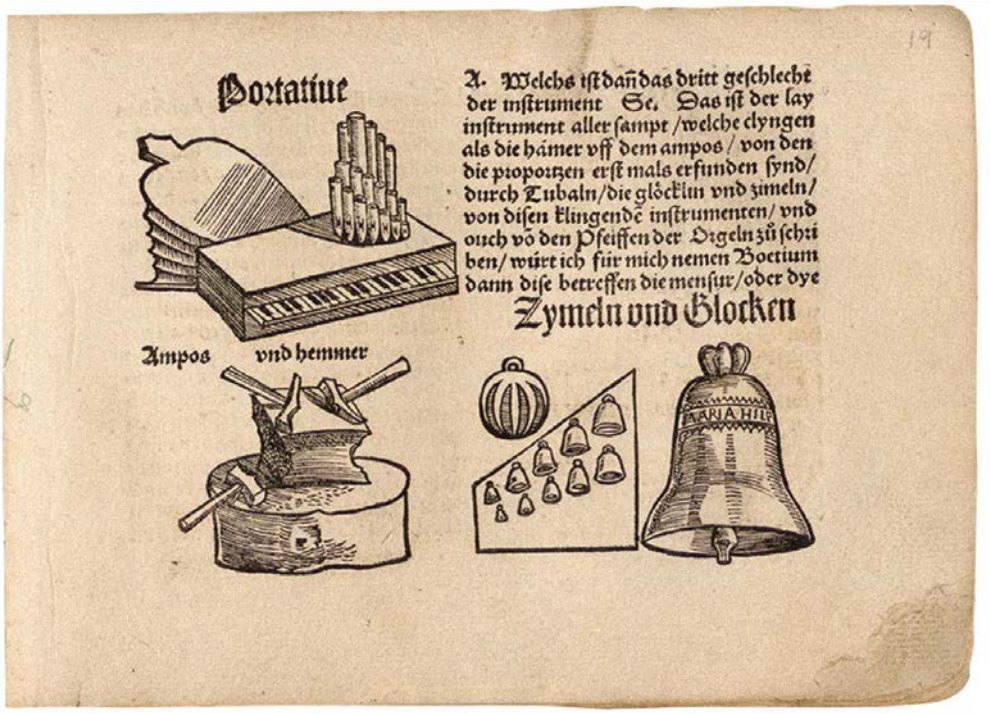


Fig. 1: Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und außgezogen* (Basel: Michael Furter, 1511), 19. Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.th. 1616.

Guillaume André Villoteau's early nineteenth-century studies on the historical and contemporary musical practice in Greece, Egypt and the Middle East (fig. 3).[5] Common to these and many other, also contemporary examples is the fact that the visualisation of topics related to music serves purposes of mere illustration. The notion that visual objects can function as generators of music-relevant knowledge and thus be utilised as tools for analysis is relatively young.

Taking into account the highly interdisciplinary nature of music iconography research, it is – scientific-historically seen – surely no coincidence that the intensified examination of visual source material with musical subject matter falls into the period of the great hype of interdisciplinary cooperation within the academia of

5 For example: Guillaume André Villoteau, *De l'État actual de l'art musical en Égypte, ou Relation historique et descriptive des recherches et observations faites sur la musique en ce pays* (Paris: Impr. Impériale, 1812); Guillaume André Villoteau, *Description historique, technique et littéraire des instruments de musique des Orientaux* (Paris: Impr. Impériale, 1813); and Guillaume André Villoteau, *Dissertation sur les diverses espèces d'instrumens de musique que l'on remarque parmi les sculptures que décorent les antiques monumens de l'Égypte, et sur les noms que leur donnèrent en leur langue propre les premiers peuples de ce pays* (Paris: Imprimerie de C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1822).



Fig. 2: Michael Praetorius, plate XXVI of *Syntagma musicum*, vol. 2, part 1: *De organographia*. (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619). Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.th. 1249-2,1.



Fig. 3: Guillaume André Villoteau. "The Ottoman *tanbûr*", plate AA (engraver: A. B. Duhamel) of *Description historique technique et littéraire des instruments de musique des orientaux* (Paris: Impr. Impériale, 1813). Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, FOL-B-16 (3).

the 1960s and 1970s.[6] Against this background one has to interpret the optimistic hope of Emanuel Winternitz – the first director of the musical instruments department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and one of the founding fathers of modern music iconography research – that

> […] iconological research in music has a very important by-product. It helps to free musicology from that isolation into which so many specialized branches of research have fallen in our overspecializing times.[7]

6 For further information on the history of interdisciplinarity see Julie Thompson Klein, *Interdisciplinarity: History, Theory, and Practice* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990); Susanne Schregel, "Interdisziplinarität im Entwurf: Zur Geschichte einer Denkform des Erkennens in der Bundesrepublik (1955–1975)," *NTM Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 24, no. 1(2016): 1–37.

7 Emanuel Winternitz, "The Iconology of Music: Potential and Pitfalls," in *Perspectives in Musicology*, ed. Barry S. Brook et al. (New York: Norton, 1972), 80–90, here 90.

To impute simplemindedness or even naivety to the author of this statement, fails to recognise the significance which – since those days – has been attributed to the implementation of visual sources in the sciences outside the traditional disciplines of art history or art theory. Music iconography has not relieved musicology of specialisation but – ironically – has rather developed itself into a highly specialised field of research with its own discourses, narratives and agendas but still with a relatively rudimentary theoretical foundation. And in the natural and applied sciences, the visual euphoria has – as Horst Bredekamp rightly stated – eventually resulted in a "visual brilliancy" that "reaches far beyond the concept of illustration,"[8] as strikingly mirrored by the highly sophisticated image-producing procedures that today are applied in almost all natural science fields. However, from very early on, researchers were well aware that the implementation of images as instruments to gain knowledge was anything but a facile and risk-free task. In this regard, Winternitz handed out the important advice:

> We cannot simply look at a painting showing string instruments and say "no drones," or look at an angel concert in painting or sculpture and say "five strings plus seven singers and two trumpets." Things are usually much more complex.[9]

With the initial excursions into the unknown but promising territory of music iconography, research scholars focused on objects that – with a few exceptions – belonged to the field of Western fine arts which were easily accessible in museums and public collections. This fact should not be underestimated given that it imposed a significant influence on the scholarly shaping of music iconography for quite a long time: it explains music iconography's longstanding strong euro-centric focus, and the almost complete silencing of non-Western visual-cultural achievements and heritage. And concerning methodology, music iconography scholars were geared to art theory as developed by Erwin Panofsky. Panofsky was widely worshiped as a high priest of modern art history,[10] particularly after the publication of his *Studies in Iconology* in 1939,[11] and subsequent studies including *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* of 1943, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* of 1951, and *Early Netherlandish Painting* of 1953, to name but a few.[12] Panofsky's theoretical foundations initially

8 „Die visuelle Brillanz, die etwa die Molekularbiologie, die Nanotechnologie, die bildgebende Medizin oder die Klima- und Weltraumforschung erreichen, geht über den Begriff der Illustration weit hinaus." Horst Bredekamp, *Theorie des Bildakts* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2013), 14. All translations by the author unless otherwise stated.

9 Winternitz, "The Iconology of Music: Potential and Pitfalls," 80.

10 See Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundation of Art History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985).

11 Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939).

12 Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1943); Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, PA: Archabbey Press, 1951); and Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

seemed to be an extension of traditional music-related methodology (and also with regard to art history which was chiefly concerned about issues of style and form). However, eventually this turned out to be its opposite some decades later, especially given the fundamental epistemological weakness of Panofsky's model. This has – surprisingly – not restrained music iconography scholars from continuing to apply Panofsky's three-step analysis procedure. Ironically enough, it was Panofsky himself who pointed out the dangers of his own theory:

> there is admittedly some danger that iconology will behave, not like ethnology as opposed to ethnography, but like astrology as opposed to astrography.[13]

From today's perspective – and this is of course given the existing but always relative state of knowledge and research – three dimensions of Panofsky's model are particularly problematic. The first dimension refers to his treatment of visual objects as documents or even "corpora delicti" of a certain and supposed *zeitgeist*. Panofsky thus proves himself to be a child of his time, strongly influenced by Aby Warburg who interpreted artworks as historical evidence of specific socio-cultural constellations,[14] methodologically linking iconological analysis with the theory of civilisation that was further developed by Panofsky, Fritz Saxl and Edgar Wind.[15]

Moreover, the treatment of visual objects as documents refers to the influence of the documentary method developed by the sociologist and philosopher Karl Mannheim[16] about which Panofsky himself left no doubts.[17] Panofsky thus unites two clashing intellectual concepts without resolving the contradiction or perhaps not even being aware of it. On the one hand, Panofsky's model is based on the idea of *zeitgeist* understood as the dominate mentality characterising a certain epoch (comparable with Hegel's objective spirit that unfolds in history).[18] On the other

13 Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology,* 32.

14 See Aby Warburg, "Italienische Kunst und internazionale [*sic*.] Astrologie im Palazzo Schiafanoja zu Ferrara," in *Atti del X. congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte in Roma. L'Italia e l'arte straniera*. (Rome, 1922; reprint Nendeln: Kraus, 1978), 179–193.

15 See, for instance, Fritz Saxl, "A Battle Scene without a Hero," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutions*, III (1939/40): 70–87; Erwin Panofsky & Fritz Saxl, "A Late Antique Religious Symbol in Works by Holbein and Titian," *Burlington Magazine*, XLIX (1926): 177–181, reprinted in Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 146–168; and Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968).

16 See, for instance, Karl Mannheim, *Beiträge zur Theorie der Weltanschauungsinterpretation* (Vienna: Hölzel, 1923); *Eine soziologische Theorie der Kultur und ihrer Erkennbarkeit (Konjunktives und kommunikatives Denken)* (1924), in *Strukturen des Denkens*, ed. David Kettler et al. (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1980) 155–322; and *Die Gegenwartsaufgaben der Soziologie* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1932).

17 See Joan Hart, "Erwin Panofsky and Karl Mannheim: A Dialogue on Interpretation," *Critical Inquiry*, 19, no. 3 (1993): 534–566.

18 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse. Dritter Teil: Die Philosophie des Geistes. Zweite Abteilung: Der objektive Geist* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1830/2018). See also Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1807/1999); and Wilhelm Dilthey, *Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften*, in *Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. 7. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910/1992), 187.

hand, an essential premise of Mannheim's sociological thinking is that a unified or unifying *zeitgeist* does not exist due to the multiplicity of determinants of human thought.[19] From a music-historical perspective, for instance, it would not be possible nor reasonable to decide whether the early nineteenth century was the age of Rossini or Beethoven – depending on the theoretical and ideological point of view, the answer will be substantially different.

The second problematic dimension of Panofsky's theory is its logocentric fixation. It is indubitably Panofsky's merit to have made a significant contribution to the recognition of the special features of image production and of the visual sense, but he did not or did not want to recognise the unique potential of visual objects to engender meaning themselves. Accordingly, post-structuralist approaches have severely criticised the logocentric fixation and qualified it as part of hegemonic, imperialist and oppressive discourses. In addition, it was critically assessed that logocentrism essentially tends to bridge what François Lyotard described, with regard to the relationship between language and image, as the insurmountable difference between two incommensurable symbolic regimes.[20] For, following the insights of Sarah Kofman, "(there exists a gap) between the figurative order of the picture and the discursive order of language […] that nothing can fill."[21]

Finally, the third critical dimension of Panofsky's model refers to his assertion that

> the art-historian subjects "material" to a rational archaeological analysis at times as meticulously exact, comprehensive and involved as any physical research. But he constitutes his "material" by means of an intuitive aesthetic re-creation, including the perception and the appraisal of quality, just as any "ordinary" person when he or she looks at a picture or listens to a symphony.[22]

I do not wish to dwell on Panofsky's rather relativist concept of "intuitive aesthetic re-creation" at this point since it has been commented on at length.[23] However, the remark that such a notion is ingrained in the nominalist aesthetics of Benedetto Croce[24] that English critics and scholars have consistently applied, and as the

19 Karl Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie* (Frankfurt/Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1928/1995). See also Günther Anders (Günther Siegmund Stern), "Über die sogenannte Seinsverbundenheit des Bewußtseins. Anlässich Karl Mannheims 'Ideologie und Utopie'," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 64 (1930): 492–509; and Thomas Jung, *Die Seinsgebundenheit des Denkens: Karl Mannheim und die Grundlegung einer Denksoziologie* (Berlin: transcript Verlag, 2007).

20 See Pierre Billouet, *Paganisme et postmodernité: J.-Fr. Lyotard*, (Paris: Ellipses, 1999).

21 "Entre l'ordre figuratif du tableau et l'ordre discursif du langage existe un écart que rien ne saurait combler." Sarah Kofman, *La mélancolie de l'art* (Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1985), 22.

22 Erwin Panofsky, "The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), 1–25, here 14–15.

23 See Margaret Iversen & Stephen Melville (2010), *Writing Art History: Disciplinary Departures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 16–26, 46–50; and Whitney David, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 187–229.

24 Benedetto Croce, *Estetica. Comme scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale* (Milan etc.: Sandron, 1902) and Benedetto Croce, *Brevario de estetica* (Naples: Laterza, 1913). Both studies were trans-

remarkable dissertation of Sam Rose has explored,[25] seems important to appropriately contextualise Panofsky's analysis model.

Despite all the criticism Panofsky's theory has invited, it is not very useful to respond with rage as, for example, the philosopher and art historian Georges Didi-Huberman did in his lecture *L'exorciste* of 2001.[26] He argued that Panofsky had to exorcise Aby Warburg in order to transform art history into a rational epistemological system. These and numerous other anti-Panofsky statements mirror the general resistance to his intellectual achievements that intensified in the 1980s, particularly in the wake of the new art history movement and the subsequent advent of visual culture.[27] There has also been increasingly harsh criticism of the concept of the "linguistic turn" that was introduced by Richard Rorty[28] in the late 1960s. This turn was based on the notion that all human knowledge is fundamentally structured by language because language can be regarded as the purest form of human thinking.[29]

In the 1990s, however, efforts emerged in both art history and philosophy that were searching for a way out of the aporia by paying due attention to the legacy of Panofsky without treating his theory and achievements in a canonical manner. These efforts were particularly undertaken by the philosophers Muriel van Vliet[30] and Maud Hagelstein[31] as well as the art historians William J. Thomas Mitchell[32]

---

lated into English rather promptly: Benedetto Croc, *Aesthetic: As Science of Expression and General Linguistic*, transl. Douglas Ainslie (New York: Noonday, 1909); and Benedetto Croce, *The Essence of Aesthetic*, transl. Douglas Ainslie (London: Heinemann, 1921).

25 Sam Rose, "Formalism, Aestheticism and Art Writing in England" (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 2014).

26 Georges Didi-Huberman, "L'exorciste," in *Relire Panofsky*, ed. Musée du Louvre & Matthias Waschek et al. (Paris: Beaux-arts de Paris les éditions, 2008), 67–87. See also Georges Didi-Huberman, *Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 2002), 91–102.

27 Dale Kinne, "The Paradigm of Spolia," *Mittelalterliche Mythenrezeption. Paradigmen und Paradigmenwechsel*, ed. Ulrich Rehm (Cologne etc.: Böhlau, 2018), 173–192, here 175. Further information on this subject is provided in Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History. A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001).

28 Richard Rorty, ed., *The Linguistic Turn: Recent Essays in Philosophical Method* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967); Richard Rorty, *Wittgenstein, Heidegger, and the Reification of Language: Essays on Heidegger and Others* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

29 Klaus Stierstorfer, "Linguistic Turn," in *Grundbegriffe der Literaturtheorie*, ed. Ansgar Nünning (Stuttgart & Weimar: Metzler, 2004) 147–148. See also Kerwin Lee Klein, "What was the linguistic turn?," *Clio* 30 no. 1 (2001): 79–90.

30 See Muriel van Vliet, "L'histoire de l'art: un paradigme pour penser la logique des sciences de la culture? Autour des épistémologies d'Ernst Cassirer et de Michel Foucault," *Appareil* 9 (July 2, 2012), accessed September 21, 2019, https://doi.org/10.4000/appareil.1435; and Muriel van Vliet (2014), "Rituel et mythe chez Warburg, Cassirer et Lévi-Strauss. La place du corps dans la pensée mythique," *Appareil* (October 7, 2014), accessed September 21, 2019, https://doi.org/10.4000/appareil.2074.

31 For instance Maud Hagelstein, *Origine et survivances des symboles: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky* (Hildesheim etc.: Olms, 2014).

32 Of the broad range of Mitchell's contribution to the topic, the following should be mentioned at least: W. J. T. Mitchell, "The Pictorial Turn," *Artforum* 30, no. 7 (1992): 89–94; W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994); and W. J. T. Mitchell, *Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 9/11 to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

and Gottfried Boehm.[33] Especially the new perspective within art historical and visual research as coined by Mitchell as the "pictorial turn"[34] in an essay of 1992, stimulated an intense "transdisciplinary imagery debate which set the tone for two decades around the turn of the century in the academic field."[35] The impact of this debate lead Alberto Martinengo, an Italian professor of philosophy, to assume a "Third Copernican Revolution."[36] Only two years after the proclamation of the "pictorial turn" by Mitchell, Gottfried Boehm called for an "iconic turn."[37] As in Mitchell's case, Boehm's appeal grew as much out of a critical inspection of Panofsky's theoretical premises as from the deliberate criticism of the already mentioned powerful "linguistic turn." Essentially, both Mitchell and Boehm attempt to free "Panofsky's legacy" from what they consider to be the tradition of "iconophobic logocentrism" in the humanities.[38] Mitchell, for instance, bashed Panofsky's model as "an iconology in which the 'icon' is thoroughly absorbed by the 'logos', understood as rhetorical, literary or even (less convincingly) a scientific discourse."[39] He therefore assumes that "one thing a critical iconology would surely note is the resistance of the icon to the logos."[40]

Consequently, both Mitchell and Boehm stress that the picture is an object of knowledge and reflection in its own right. This notion is illustratively expressed in Boehm's rather axiomatic statement: "what a sentence (the 'logos') is able to do, that shall also be at disposal to the artistic work, though in its own way."[41] More than ten years later Boehm underlines this axiomatic principle in a public letter to Mitchell:

> It is … quite obvious that we […] meet in the assessment that the question of the image touches on the foundations of culture and places entirely new demands on science that cannot, just like that, be satisfied. For the "image" is not simply a

33 See Gottfried Boehm, "Die Wiederkehr der Bilder," in *Was ist ein Bild?*, 4th ed., ed. Gottfried Boehm (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1994/2006), 11–38; Gottfried Boehm, "Der stumme Logos. Elemente einer Bildwissenschaft," *Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftskollegs zu Berlin. Institute for Advanced Study* (2001/02): 188–208; and Gottfried Boehm (2004), "Jenseits der Sprache? Anmerkungen zur Logik der Bilder," in *Iconic Turn. Die Neue Macht der Bilder*, ed. Christa Maar & Hubert Burda (Cologne: DuMont, 2004), 28–43.

34 Mitchell, "The Pictorial Turn."

35 Beat Wyss (2014). "Die Wende zum Bild: Diskurs und Kritik," in *Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Stephan Günzel & Dieter Mersch (Stuttgart & Weimar: Metzler, 2014), 7–15, here 10.

36 See Alberto Martinengo, "From the Linguistic Turn to the Pictorial Turn – Hermeneutics Facing the 'Third Copernican Revolution'," *Proceedings of the European Society for Aesthetics* 5 (2013), 302–312.

37 Boehm, "Die Wiederkehr der Bilder,"; see also Gottfried Boehm, "Iconic Turn. Ein Brief," in *Bilderfragen. Die Bildwissenschaften im Aufbruch*, ed. Hans Belting (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007), 27–36.

38 Wyss, "Die Wende zum Bild: Diskurs und Kritik," 11.

39 Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 28.

40 Ibid.

41 "Was der Satz (der 'Logos') kann, das muss auch dem bildnerischen Werke zu Gebote stehen." Boehm, "Die Wiederkehr der Bilder," 31.

> new topic, it rather concerns a new kind of thinking that shows itself capable to clarify the long-neglected cognitive possibilities that are embodied in non-verbal representations […].[42]

Such and similar statements embody the normative idea of the picture, like language, as a privileged feature of the *conditio humana* irrespective of whether the pictorial phenomenon is thought to be independent of any concrete cultural contexts and practices, as assumed by Hans Jonas, or as being coined by human affective-emotional experiences as claimed by Ernst Cassirer.[43] From the point of view of modern anthropology the picture is moreover perceived as the embodiment and reification of inherently instinctive human needs such as depicting, representing, identifying, staging, imagining and remembering.[44] Maybe the most striking current example of the human urge to visually appropriate the world is surely the world-wide shared imaginary visualisation of the SARS-CoV-2 virus, developed by the medical illustrators Alissa Eckert, Dan Higgins and their team at the US Center of Disease Control and Prevention (fig. 4). The representation gave the virus a menacingly alien "identity"; and it transformed into both an easily recognisable icon to symbolise a terrifying illness and a model for aesthetic examination (figs. 5–6).

Despite many similarities, Boehm and Mitchell fundamentally differ in their pictorial concepts. While Boehm locates the picture's epistemological function primarily in the work of art in the most emphatic sense, Mitchell explicitly breaks down the rigid boundaries between art works and non-artistic objects of mass consumption as applied, for instance, in his ingenious study *Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 9/11 to the Present*.[45] In Boehm's concept, the visual artwork is the "paradigm of imagery. Non-artistic pictures are […] only relevant insofar as they partake in the characteristics of the artistic image."[46] Thus in the foreground of Boehm's research is the question "What is a picture?",[47] whereas Mitchell's research

---

42 "[…] es ist … ganz offensichtlich, dass wir uns […] in der Einschätzung treffen, dass die Bilderfrage die Fundamente der Kultur berührt und an die Wissenschaft ganz neuartige Anforderungen stellt, die sich nicht – mir nichts, dir nichts – befriedigen lassen. Denn das «Bild» ist nicht irgendein neues Thema, es betrifft vielmehr eine andere Art des Denkens, das sich imstande zeigt, die lange gering geschätzte kognitiven Möglichkeiten, die in nicht verbalen Repräsentationen liegen, zu verdeutlichen […]." Boehm, "Iconic Turn. Ein Brief," 27.

43 Hans Jonas, "Homo pictor und die differentia des Menschen," *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 15, no. 2 (1961): 161–176; Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, vol. 2: *Das mythische Denken* (Hamburg: Meiner, 1925/2019).

44 See Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitlater der Kunst*, 6th ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004).

45 W. J. T. Mitchell, *Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 9/11 to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

46 "Nicht-künstlerische Bilder sind" in Boehm's firmly aesthetic "Perspektive nur insofern relevant, als sie Anteil an den Eigenschaften des künstlerischen Bildes haben." Bernadette Collenberg-Plotnikov, "Bild und Kunst. Zur Bestimmung des ästhetischen Mediums," (2003), accessed August 21, 2015, http://www.fernuni-hagen.de/KSW/forschung/pdf/fk1_ksw_collenberg.pdf.

47 Quoting the title of Boehm's edited volume that was published in 1994 for the first time. Gottfried Boehm, *Was ist ein Bild?* 4th ed. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1994). See also Gottfried Boehm,

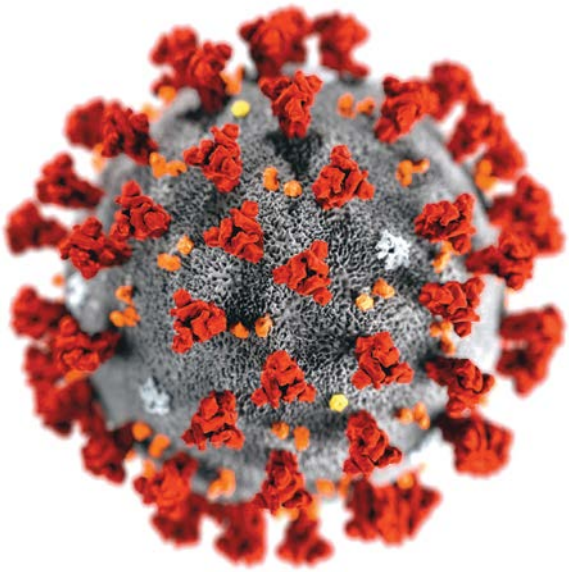


Fig. 4: Alissa Eckert, Dan Higgins & Team, US Center of Disease Control and Prevention, 2019.

interest increasingly condensed into the question "What do pictures want"[48] after having initially dealt with ontological and general epistemological questions.[49] The apparent difference between these pictorial concepts is momentous not only with respect to methodological and epistemological issues, but also with respect to the ontological status of the picture itself. Thus, the need to gain a clear understanding about the numerous existing and sometimes sharply contradictory pictorial ideas is not a peripheral matter, but an issue whose examination is vital for any scholarly venture that engages itself in the visual, and more so for a discipline such as music iconography that claims to deal with the visualisation of music.

In this context one also has to take into account the highly inspiring yet also bewildering challenge of the epistemologically relevant idea of the categorical speechlessness of pictures, their general inability to enfold narrative dimensions – a notion that, of course, the recently founded Lucas Museum of Narrative Art would strongly oppose given its mission to promote visual storytelling focusing "on narrative painting, illustration, photography, film, animation and digital art."[50] In contrast, Sarah Kofman, the French philosopher, has posited the thesis that

"Jenseits der Sprache? Anmerkungen zur Logik der Bilder," in *Iconic Turn. Die Neue Macht der Bilder*, ed. Christa Maar & Hubert Burda (Köln: DuMont, 2004), 28–43.

48 W. J. T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want*? (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

49 W. J. T. Mitchell, "What Is an Image?," *New Literary History* 15, no.3 (1984): 503–537; W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology; Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986); and W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

50 Website of the Lucas Museum of Narrative Art, https://lucasmuseum.org/museum (last accessed October 18, 2019).



Fig. 5: David S. Goodsell, watercolour, 2020, depicting the fusion of SARS-CoV-2 (magenta) with an endosomal membrane (green), releasing the viral RNA genome into the cell cytoplasm (blue).



Fig. 6: Christopher Niemann, "Critical Mass", *The New Yorker* (March 23, 2020): cover illustration.

> a picture wants to say nothing. If such were its project, it would indeed be inferior to words and would need to be sublated by language in order to receive a meaning that might be clearly communicated.[51]

Similarly, Jean-François Lyotard insists that "one does not paint in order to speak, but in order to be silent."[52] Both Kofman and Lyotard oppose – like Jacques Derrida[53] – the aesthetic tradition that unconditionally grants privilege to language over the visual. Of course, from a more traditionalist point of view, one could argue that such assumptions are postmodern phantasmagorias that basically serve the self-preservation of postmodern theories given the fact that the cited authors are authorities within postmodern/poststructuralist discourses. However, this would be too simplistic. The notion about the speechlessness of visual objects is by far not exclusively characteristic of postmodern theory. Theodor W. Adorno who moved with virtuosity on many intellectual stages, but definitely not on postmodernism, reasoned in his *Aesthetic Theory* that the

> Etruscan vases in the Villa Giulia are eloquent in the highest degree and incommensurable with all communicative language. The true language of art is mute, and its muteness takes priority over poetry's significative element, which in music too is not altogether lacking. That aspect of the Etruscan vases that most resembles speech depends most likely on their *Here I am* or *This is what I am*, a selfhood not first excised by identificatory thought from the interdependence of entities.[54]

Finally, Ivan Nagel, the exceptionally gifted polymath, argued against a view of reading history painting as a kind of narrative. Rather he assesses such a methodology in his highly inspiring, yet also controversial study on Giotto, Masaccio and Leonardo as "the first and most lasting sin of European aesthetics of the art of painting."[55] Nagel thereby dismisses the famous saying that Plutarch attributed

---

51 "Un tableau ne veut rien dire. Si tel était son projet il serait effectivement inférieur à la parole et aurait besoin d'être relevé par le langage pour recevoir un sens et un sens clairement communicable." Kofman, *La mélancolie de l'art*, 22.

52 "… on ne peint pas pour parler, mais pour se taire." Jean-François Lyotard, *Des dispositifs pulsionnels* (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1973), 88.

53 Jacques Derrida, *La vérité en peinture* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 23, 133, 178.

54 "Etruskische Krüge in der Villa Giulia sind sprechend im höchsten Maß und aller mitteilenden Sprache inkommensurabel. Die wahre Sprache der Kunst ist sprachlos, ihr sprachloses Moment hat den Vorrang vor dem signifikativen der Dichtung, das auch der Musik nicht ganz abgeht. Das Sprachähnliche an den Vasen berührt sich am ehesten mit einem *Da bin ich* oder *Das bin ich*, einer Selbstheit, die nicht erst durchs identifizierende Denken aus der Interdependenz, des Seienden herausgeschnitten ward." Theodor W. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, (1970) in *Theodor W. Adorno Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 7, ed. Rolf Tiedermann et al. (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 171. English translation of the quote after the edition Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, newly translated Richard Hullot-Kentor (London: Continuum, 2002).

55 "Die altverehrte, wieder modisch gewordene These, dass '*Bilder erzählen*', stammt vom ersten und bleibendsten Sündenfall der europäischen Ästhetik der Malkunst ab." Ivan Nagel, *Gemälde und Drama: Giotto, Masaccio, Leonardo* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2009), 15–16 (emphasis original).

to Simonides according to which "painting is mute/silent poetry and poetry is speaking painting."[56] This notion was – though not without contradiction as evidenced by the criticism of Leonardo da Vinci'[57] and many others[58] – bequeathed with variations and modifications throughout Western intellectual history. There are examples from Horace's *ut pictura poesis* ("as is painting so is poetry")[59] to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's seminal essay *Laokoon Oder über die Grenzen der Mahlerey und Poesie* (*Laokoon, Or on the Limitations of Painting and Poetry*) of 1766[60] and the notion was further developed by the aesthetic concepts of Immanuel Kant and Georg Friedrich Hegel.[61]

The opinion that paintings, or in a broader perspective the visual arts in general, cannot and do not "tell a story"[62] is also thematised by the creators of visual source material themselves. Throughout the ages, creators of visual artefacts tried to hide or disguise the phenomenological otherness of the visual, most effectively by implying distinct means such as captions or indication of names and abstract concepts, or speech scrolls and balloons.[63] An illustrative example in this respect provides a detailed view of the Dance of Death in the charnel house chapel of Bleibach in Germany (fig. 7).[64] Another striking instance is the *vanitas* still life by the seventeenth-century Dutch painter Adam Bernaert who was active in the 1660s

56 Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 346f.

57 "Se tu dimanderai la pittura muta poesia, ancora il pittore potrà dire la poesia orba pittura. Or guarda qual è piú dannoso mostro, o il cieco, o il muto?", Leonardo da Vinci (c. 1480–1516) *Trattato della Pittura*, parte prima, §15 *Come la pittura avanza tutte le opere umane per sottili speculazioni appartenenti a quella* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Urbinus Latinus 1270), in Ettore Camesasca, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci: Trattato della Pittura. Condotto sul Cod. Vaticano Urbinate 1270* (Vicenza. Neri Pozza, 2000).

58 As far as twentieth- and twenty-first-century criticism is concerned see, for instance, Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*; Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in 15th Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Francis Haskell, *History and Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Bernd Roeck, *Das historische Auge. Kunstwerke als Zeugen ihrer Zeit: Von der Renaissance zur Revolution* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

59 Horace, *Ars Poetica*, l. 361.

60 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laokoon. Oder: Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie. Mit beiläufigen Erläuterungen verschiedener Punkte der alten Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1766/1994).

61 See Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1790/1974), §53, 265–277; Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, vol. 13–15 of *Werke in Zwanzig Bänden* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), vol. 15, 94–95 in which Hegel defines "intelligibility" as the first and foremost law of painting.

62 Nagel, *Gemälde und Drama*, 18.

63 As far as speech scrolls and balloons in Medieval art are concerned see the essay, Christof L. Diedrichs and Carsten Morsch, "Bewegende Bilder: Zur Bilderhandschrift des *Eneasromans* Heinrichs von Veldeke in der Berliner Staatsbibliothek," in *Visualisierungsstrategien in mittelalterlichen Bildern und Texten*, ed. Horst Wenzel and C. Stephen Jaeger (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2006), 63–89.

64 Hermann Trenkle, *Der Totentanz in der Beinhauskapelle zu Bleibach* (Sexau: Druckerei Herbstritt, 2009); Hans Georg Wehrens, *Der Totentanz im alemannischen Sprachraum: "Muos ich doch dran – und weis nit wan"* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012).

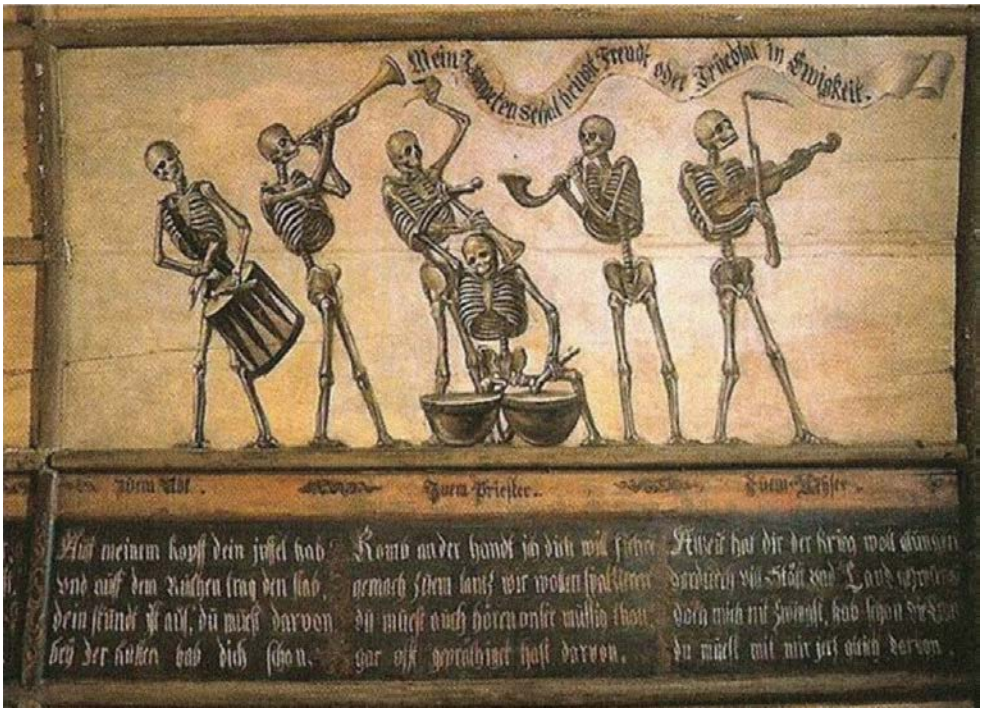


Fig. 7: Johann Winter, *Totentanz*, detail, 1732, oil on wood. Bleibach im Elztal, Breisgau: Charnel House of St. George Church.

(fig. 8). The central narrative transmitted by *vanitas* paintings is the transition and caducity of all human achievements and satisfactions. The open atlas on Bernaert's still life shows a map of the East Indies, then the treasury of the Dutch Republic or the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. The legible pages of the other book belong to a history of the early counts of Holland whose lands were absorbed by the dukes of Burgundy in the 1400s.

Such techniques were by no means limited to Western visual culture as they are, for example, also found in Pre-Columbian Mesoamerican culture.[65] A remarkable example in this respect are the murals of the Tepantitla complex of Teotihuacán, the largest city in Mesoamerica during the Classical Era founded by the Teotihuacán civilisation and revered by the Aztecs as the birthplace of the "Fifth Sun Era." The murals present twenty speech scrolls still enigmatic linguistic indi-

65 Edwin R. Littmann, "The Physical Aspects of Some Teotihuacán Murals," in *The Mural Painting of Teotihuacan*, ed. Arthur G. Miller (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University Press, 1973), 175–189; Hasso von Winning, *La iconografía de Teotihuacan: Los dioses y los signos*, 2 vols. (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987); Beatriz de la Fuente, ed., *La Pintura Mural Prehispánica en México I: Teotihuacan* (México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México,1995).



Fig. 8: Adam Bernaert, *"Vanitas" Still Life*, ca. 1665, oil on panel, 42.5 × 56.6 cm. Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum (inv.-no. 37.682).

cations in true fresco technique on plaster medium of which the following illustration presents a detail (fig. 9).[66]

The adding of a title – in most cases not authorised by the creator but rather adjoined by museum curators, auctioneers, and scholars due to an apparent and often imperceptible compulsion to make order and urge the visual to talk – also belongs to the strategy to bridge the crucial open space between the "figurative order of the picture and the discursive order of language." [67] Titles are the most obvious strategy to place visual artefacts into a specific cultural, political or social context and to add a narrative layer to the visual object which becomes particularly obvious when titles change over time.[68] In addition, titles expose a remarkable power in controlling the perception and interpretation of a visual object[69] – as,

66 Littmann, "The Physical Aspects of Some Teotihuacán Murals,"; Winning, *La iconografía de Teotihuacan: Los dioses y los signos*; Fuente, ed., *La Pintura Mural Prehispánica en México I: Teotihuacan*.

67 Kofman, *La mélancolie de l'art*, 22.

68 See Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Picture Titles: How and Why Western Painting Acquired Their Names* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).

69 Margery B. Franklin, Robert C. Becklen and Charlotte L. Doyle, "The Influence of Titles on How Paintings Are Seen," *Leonardo* 26, no. 2 (1993): 103–108, https://doi.org/10.2307/1575894.



Fig. 9: Murals of the Tepantitla (detail), No. 3: "Mountain of Abundance", between 100 BCE and 700 CE, fresco on plaster. Archaeological site of Teotihuacan (Mexico).

for instance, Edhem Eldem has convincingly explored in his considerations about Osman Hamdi Bey's paintings, which were never officially entitled by the artist.[70] An extraordinarily interesting example in this regard is the seventeenth-century portrait of a cello player that is currently preserved in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne (fig. 10).

The authorship of the painting, the date of production, and the identity of the depicted cello player are not generally agreed upon, and yet the title of the canvas claims to present a portrait of Luigi Boccherini. On this background it is hardly surprising that the painting continues to be promoted as an authenticated portrait of Boccherini[71] although such an attribution is still subject to doubts based on the current state of research.[72]

70 Edhem Eldem, "Making Sense of Osman Hamdi Bey and His Paintings," *Muqarnas*, 29 (2021): 339–383, here 342–348.

71 See, for instance, Hans Reiners, *Barockbögen. Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung (SIM) Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2000*, 289–309, here 301.

72 See Mark Shepheard, "'Will the Real Boccherini Please Stand Up': New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Portrait in the National Gallery of Victoria," *Melbourne Art Journal* 9/10 (2006–07): 172–193.



Fig. 10: Unknown (Italian) artist, Portrait of Luigi Boccherini [?], oil on canvas, 133.8 × 90.7 cm. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria (Museums-Nr.: 1210-5).

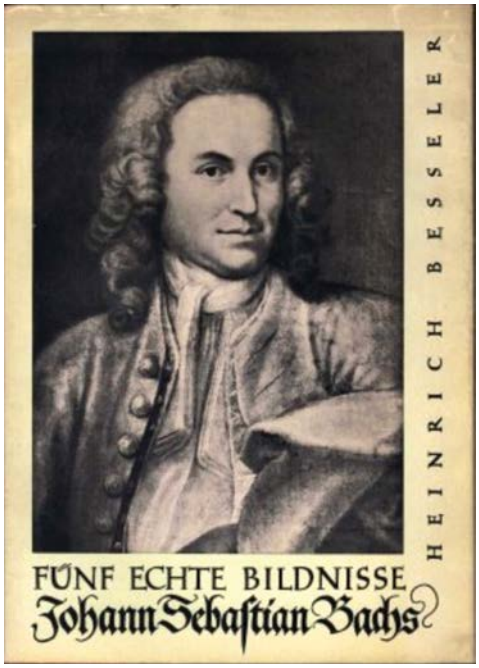


Fig. 11: Cover page, Heinrich Besseler, *Fünf echte Bildnisse Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1956).

An additional striking case in this context provides portraits of Johann Sebastian Bach. Among the five pictures identified by Heinrich Besseler in 1956 as genuine portraits of Johann Sebastian Bach is also the portrait of a young man that was discovered in an attic in Erfurt in 1877[73] and that was presumably painted by Johann Ernst Rentsch the Elder (fig. 11). Although the portrait's authenticity had been doubted for a long time,[74] it did not prevent either Besseler or the publisher Bärenreiter from using it as the cover picture of Bessler's publication entitled *Fünf echte Bildnisse Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Five genuine portraits of Johann Sebastian Bach) – and it continues to be used as a portrait of Bach for books and recordings to this day.[75]

73 Heinrich Besseler, *Fünf echte Bildnisse Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1956).

74 See Georg von Dadelsen, review "Fünf echte Bildnisse Johann Sebastian Bachs von Heinrich Besseler; Probleme des Bachporträts von H. O. R. Baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken," *Die Musikforschung* 10/2 (1957), 314–320.

75 See, for instance, Konrad Küster, *Der junge Bach* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlangs-Anstalt, 1996); Hans Maier, *Die Orgel: Instrument und Musik* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2013; *Johann Sebastian Bach – Brandenburgische Konzert 3 & 4*, Neues Bachisches Collegium Musicum – Max Pommer, CAPRICCIO/LC 5624, 1988; *Johann Sebastian Bach, Franz Liszt, Max Reger – Romantischer Bach*, Quantaphon 20.299, 1994; *Bach – Early Organ Works – Harald Vogel*, Naxos, 2012. See on this topic in general: Christoph Wolff, "Images of Bach in the Perspective of Basic Research and Interpretative Scholarship," *The Journal of Musicology* 22/4 (2005), 503–520.



Fig. 12: René Magritte, *La trahison des images (Ceci n'est pas un pipe)*, 1929, oil on canvas, 60.3 × 81.1 cm. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art (inv.-no.: 78.7).

Kofman called – as cited above – the open space between the figurative and discursive orders "un écart" – a concept that in French designates a relation of distance as much as of difference. According to Kofman and other postmodern theorists this space cannot be filled by anything. Maybe the canvas entitled "La trahison des images" ["The Treachery of Images"] by René Magritte provides the most provocative yet paradigmatic evidence of this distance or difference relationship between language and the visual, exploring the critical relationship between the object, its descriptive denotation and its visual representation (fig. 12). It is therefore hardly surprising that Michael Foucault interpreted this painting as an expression of Magritte's visually staged critique of language.[76]

The relationship between the figurative and discursive elements in Magritte's canvas that cause what I would like to call "semiotic disturbance," is virtually present in any visual object (most effectively applied, of course, in commercials) but in this instance is brought explicitly to the surface. A final example in this respect is provided by the canvas of Anton Domenico Gabbiani, whose title is an invention of the institution preserving the painting (fig. 13), i.e. the Galleria d'Accademia in Florence. The disturbance in this canvas is, for instance, affected by the juxtaposi-

76 Michel Foucault, *Ceci n'est pas une pipe: deux lettres et quatre dessins de René Magritte* (Montpellier: Fata Morgana, 1973).



Fig. 13: Anton Domenico Gabbiani, *Tre musicisti della corte medicea*, ca. 1687, oil on canvas, 141 × 208 cm. Florence: Galleria dell'Accademia (inv.-no.: 2802).

tion of various contradictory visual elements and the enigmatic personality of the depicted people, not to mention that it is very likely the depicted event never took place. The painting most probably reveals an homage to the castrato Francesco De Castris, presumed to be the lover of Ferdinando de'Medici (1663–1713), the eldest son of Cosimo III, the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

At this junction, I would like to draw the attention again to the theoretical consideration of concepts and theories dealing with pictures and images. Horst Bredekamp adds an additional dimension to the discourses when he situates a particular challenge of images in the double game involving "the inorganic and the life of its own."[77] The hypothesis that pictures have a life of their own or are endowed with a "rhetorical power"[78] out of their own resources is, however, an extremely intricate matter whose complexity lies in the different perspectives that are directed to the image. That pictures can be incised with specific desires is, for example, reflected in the cover page to the sheet music of the song "Good-bye Mother, So Long Dad. Hello Uncle Sam" that was composed by C. A. Grimm on words of W. E. Browning on the occasion of the US-American entry into the First World War in 1917 (fig. 14).

77 Bredekamp, *Theorie des Bildakts*, 21.
78 Ibid., 22.

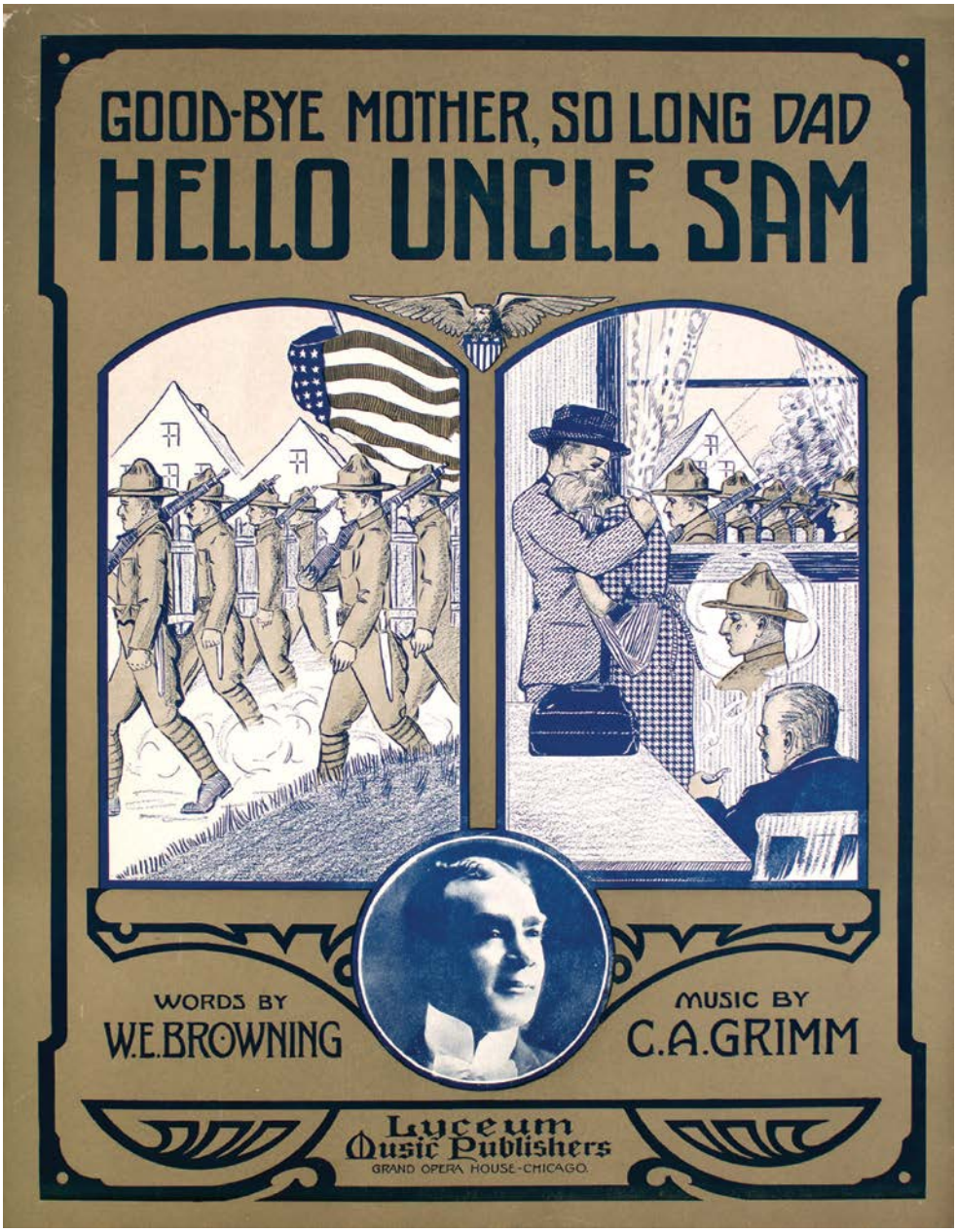


Fig. 14: Cover page sheet music, *Good-Bye Mother, So Long Dad. Hello Uncle Sam*, for piano and voice; music: C. A Grimm; lyrics: W. E. Browning. Chicago: Lyceum Music Publishers, 1917. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, Sheridan Libraries & University Museums, The Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection.
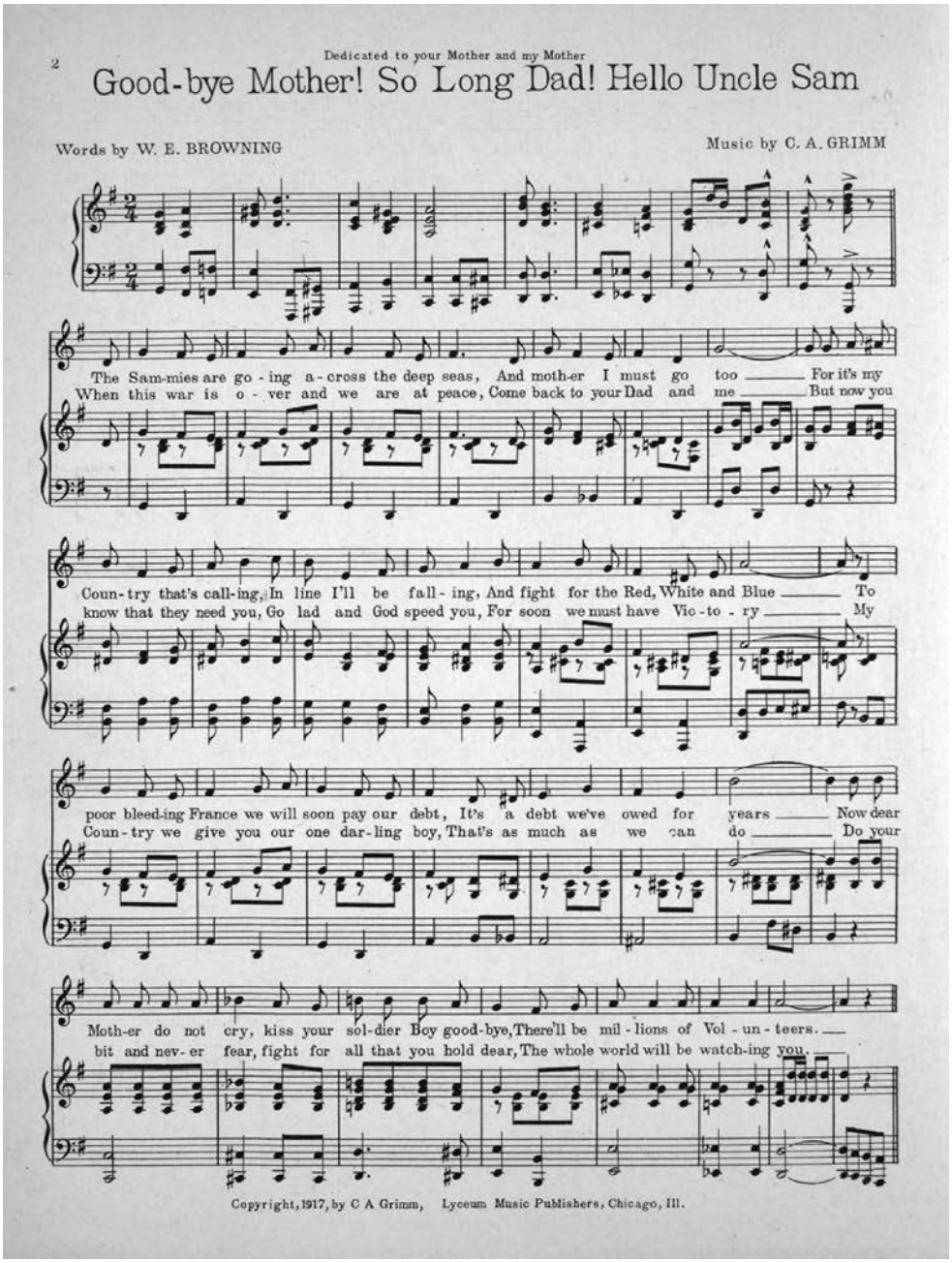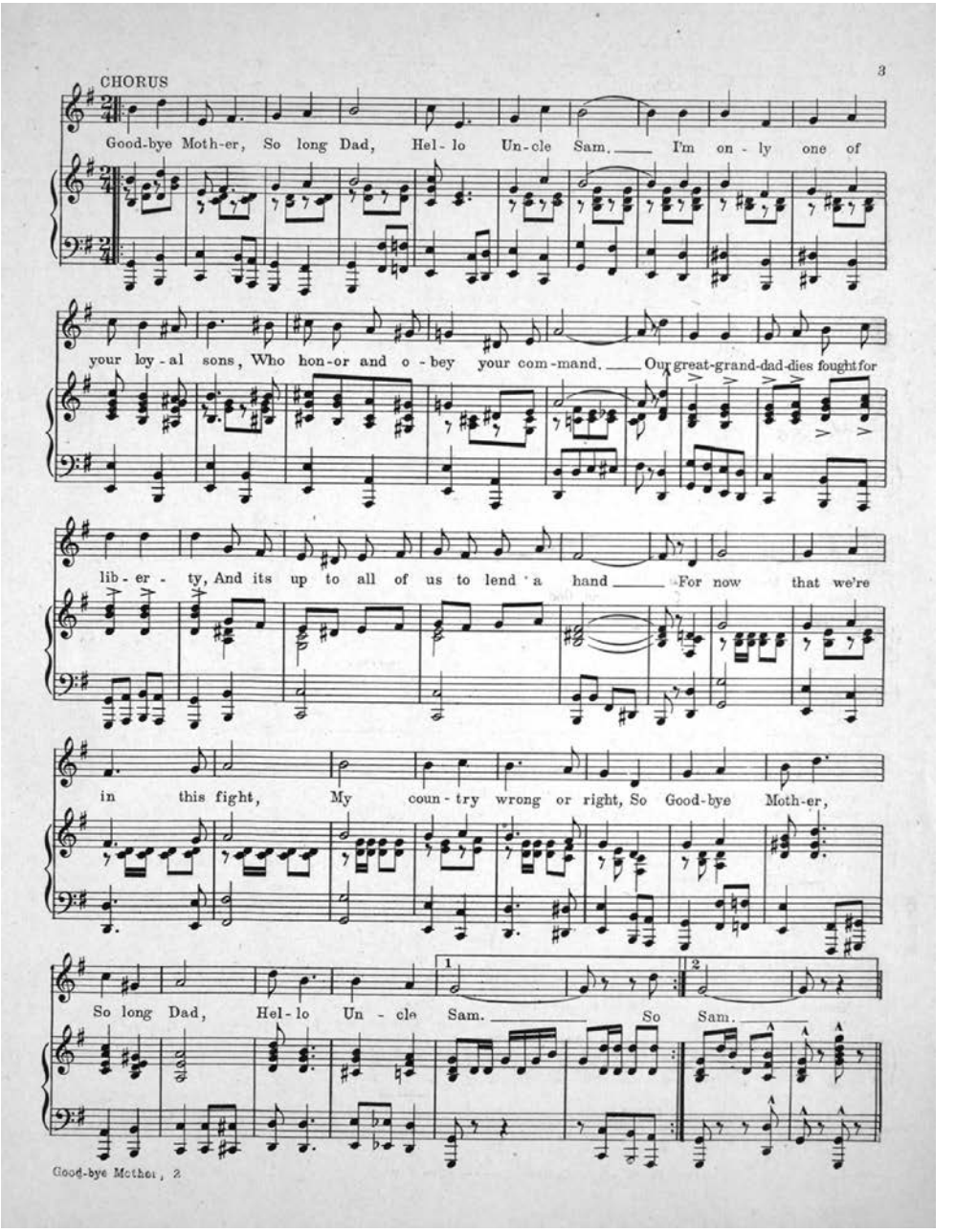


Fig. 15: *Good-Bye Mother, So Long Dad. Hello Uncle Sam*, for piano and voice by C. A Grimm; lyrics by W. E. Browning. Chicago: Lyceum Music Publishers, 1917. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, Sheridan Libraries & University Museums, The Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection.


CHORUS
3
Good-bye Moth-er, So long Dad, Hel-lo Un-cle Sam. I'm on-ly one of
your loy-al sons, Who hon-or and o-bey your com-mand. Our great-grand-dad-dies fought for
lib-er-ty, And its up to all of us to lend a hand For now that we're
in this fight, My coun-try wrong or right, So Good-bye Moth-er,
1
2
So long Dad, Hel-lo Un-cle Sam. So Sam.
Good-bye Mother, 2

The picture and the very popular music are unequivocally addressed to men of soldiering age and their parents, urging them to surrender their sons to the country – that is, to Uncle Sam. Clearly, the picture expresses both a desire and demand, and intentionally functions as visual propaganda to which the music supplies the sound (fig. 15).

Such iconography of appellative content was also popular in the Australian sheet music market as the following example mirrors (fig. 16). The picture calls on all male Australians of soldiering age to join World War I on the side of the motherland – that is, the British Empire, as symbolised by the "Union Jack," the lion and a portrait of King George V.

Quite a similar case as far as the appellative pictorial nature is concerned – to add another instance of a silent yet speaking image – is the title page of the August 1924 issue of the music magazine *The Etude Music Magazine* (fig. 17), designed by William S. Nortenheim. *The Etude* was published between 1883 and 1957 and was highly popular among private piano teachers (mostly female). The magazine not only influenced and shaped their teaching policy but had a significant impact on the cultural-political mission of its readership.[79] Jazz was considered a greatly problematic issue. On the one hand, *The Etude* markedly rejected jazz as clearly manifest in the definite visual language: like a bomb "the Jazz problem" strikes a red ground where characteristic jazz musical instruments are lying in disarray. Red is a symbolically charged colour in early twentieth century US culture, associated with revolutionary movements of the time as the Russian Revolution of 1917 and denoting brutality and cruelty as remarkably evidenced by its implementation in the epic novel of the Jazz Age, i.e. *The Great Gatsby* by Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald. Jazz is visually constructed as a curse on Western musical culture and staged as a threat to white American civilisation.

In the August 1924 issue's editorial, James Francis Cook, the editor-in-chief, bluntly expresses this point of view:

> In its original form it has no place in musical education and deserves none. It will have to be transmogrified many times before it can present its credentials for the Walhalla of music. […] Because "The Etude" knows that its very large audience of wide awake readers desires to keep informed upon all sides of leading musical questions, it presents in this midsummer issue the most important opinion upon the subject yet published. We have just taken up the "Jazzmania" and dismiss it with this issue.[80]

On the other hand, the leadership of *The Etude* was well aware of the rising popularity of jazz, not only musically and literarily but also visually, given the plethora of visual source material produced and representing African-American culture that

79 W. Keith Heimann, "Evil at a Glance: The Etude Educational Cartoons from The Etude Music Magazine" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2019).

80 James Francis Cooke, "Where The Etude Stands on Jazz," *The Etude* 42, no. 8 (1924): 515.

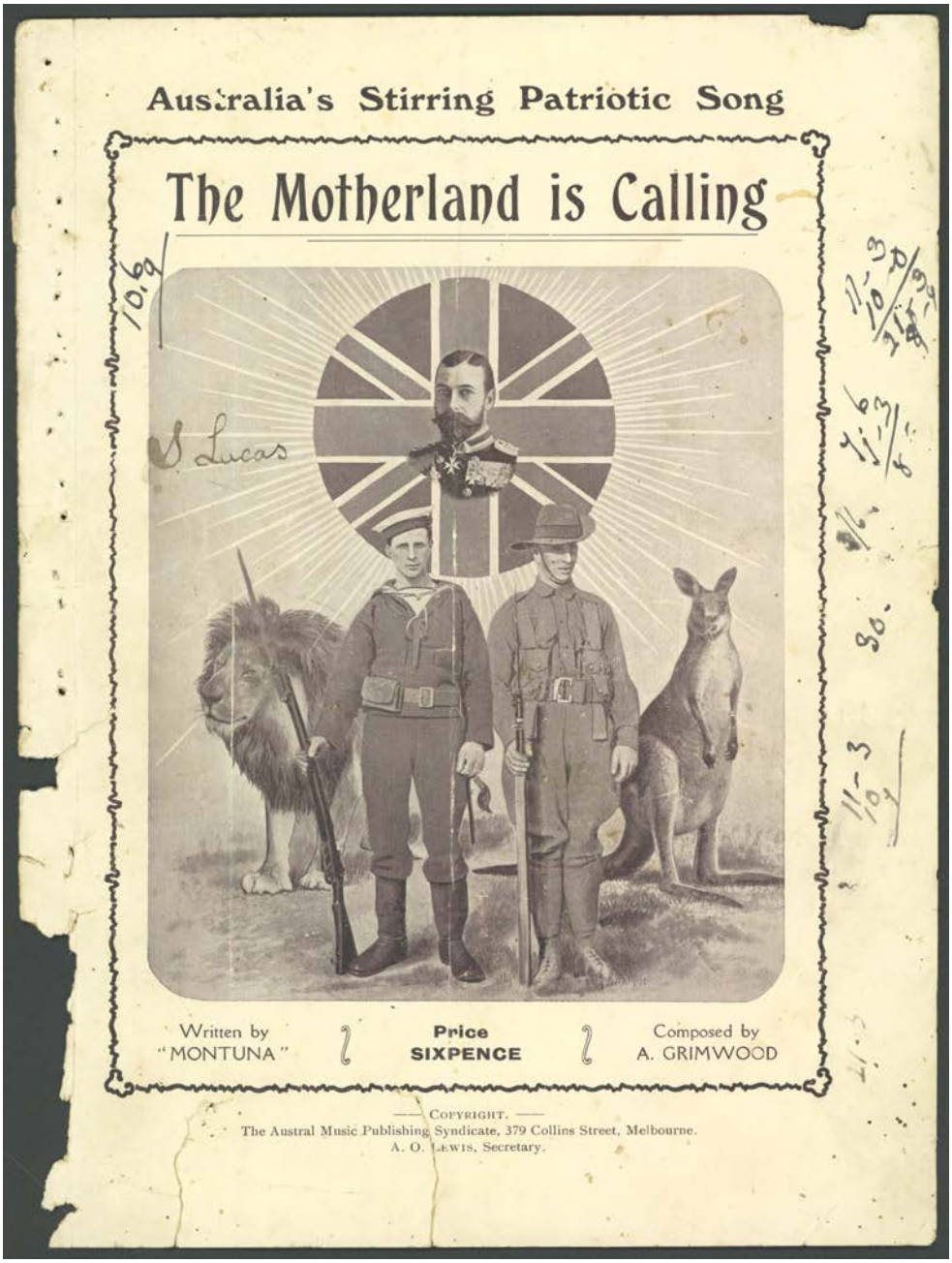


Fig. 16: Cover page sheet music, *The Motherland is Calling*, for piano and voice; music: A. Grimwood; lyrics: W. Montuna. Melbourne: Austral Music Publishing Syndicate, [1914?]. Canberra: National Library of Australia, call number: MUS N mba 783.2421599 G865.

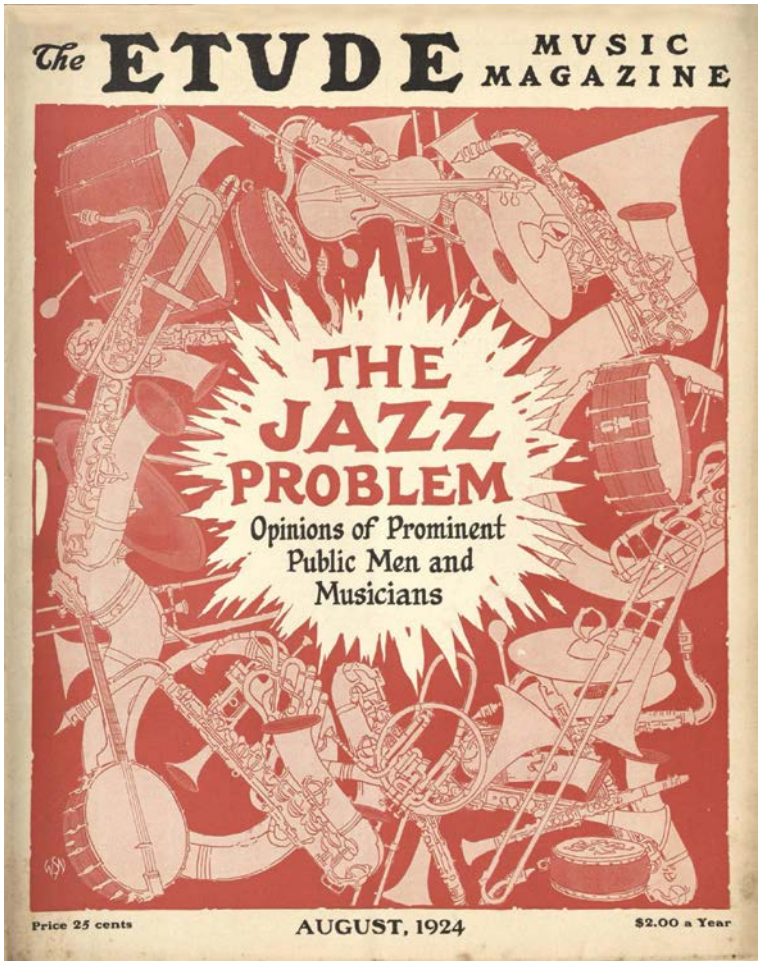


Fig. 17: William S. Nortenheim, "The Jazz Problem", lithograph, *The Etude* 42, no. 8 (1924), cover page.

grew out of Harlem, New York, from the 1920s.[81] The following two pictures give only a fleeting impression of the vast visual output of this movement (figs. 18–19).

Due to the growing popularity of jazz, *The Etude* attempted to embrace it the way they thought it acceptable: by applying quite a sophisticated yet totally twist-

81 Further valuable information is provided in, among others, Richard Powell and David A. Bailey, eds., *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Mary Ann Calo, ""Seeing" the Harlem Renaissance: Observations on the Position of Visual Arts in Harlem Renaissance Studies," *Prospects* 27, no. 10 (2002): 427–445; George Hutchinson, ed., (2007). *The Cambridge Companion to the Harlem Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar, ed., *The Harlem Renaissance Revisited. Politics, Arts, and Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Miriam Thaggert, *Images of Black Modernism: Verbal and Visual Strategies of the Harlem Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010).



Fig. 18: Palmer C. Hayden, *Bal Jeunesse*, ca. 1927, watercolour on paper, 43.2 × 35.6. New York: New York: Private Collection of Meredith F. Sirmans.



Fig. 19: Aaron Douglas, *Aspects of Negro Life: From Slavery Through Reconstruction*, 1934, oil on canvas, 152.4 × 353.1 cm. New York City: The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library (inv.-no.: b11486938).

ed strategy as paradigmatically explored in Cook's essay "Musical Idealism in the United States", published in the September 1929 issue.[82] Without ceasing to disapprove jazz, the music of African Americans is praised as a significant contribution to the evolution of the spirituals. While downplaying the involvement of African Americans in jazz, the supposedly "true" and "most famous" jazz is – according to Cook – represented in the compositions from the composers of Russian Jew-

82 James Francis Cooke, "Musical Idealism in the United States: An Address Delivered at the Anglo-American Conference on Music at Lausanne, Switzerland, August, 1929," *The Etude* 47, no. 9 (1929): 661–652, 692.

ish birth or background, namely Irving Berlin, Al Jolson, and George Gershwin. Under these circumstances the strategic promotion of Paul Whiteman by *The Etude* is almost self-evident. Whiteman claimed to make with his music a respectful lady out of jazz,[83] and was promoted by the mostly white and male musical press as the "King of Jazz."[84] The intention behind such a policy is pretty obvious: given its growing popularity, jazz was to be freed from all traces of African American culture and transformed into a cultural product of white America which also explains the strong visual presence of Whiteman in *The Etude Music Magazine*.

A final example within the framework of the discussion about the "rhetoric power" of visual source material is provided by a close reading of the last sequence of the 1989 bicentennial of the French Revolution. The entire event was a well-tuned, elaborate and obviously staged "theatre of official celebration and protest."[85] The spectacle was witnessed by dozens of invited leading players of international politics and thousands of spectators in the streets and squares of Paris, as well as by millions of television viewers. The event included military parades, cultural and folkloristic events, concerts and shows, as well as protest actions. This strange and heterogeneous amalgamation eventually evolved into one of the most remarkable postmodern spectacles to date, in which all references to history, identity and nation were erased by the omnipresent diversity and plurality, and the collapse of what François Lyotard once called the "metanarratives."[86]

This postmodern show reached its peak at the end of the great parade (fig. 20) choreographed by graphic designer and advertising film director Jean-Paul Goude. Here the opera singer Jessye Norman appeared, enveloped in a garment by Azzedine Alaïa, a designer originally from Tunisia and at that time active in Paris.

The garment was created as a reference to the French Tricolour and so completely covered Jessye Norman that it seemed as though a ghost were singing, or that the Tricolour itself was performing the Marseillaise in front of the Luxor Obelisk (gifted to France by Muhammed Ali, Khedive of Egypt) at Place de la Concorde (fig. 21).

Although the visual and spatial references may have fit perfectly into the postmodern narrative to seek references to history, nation and identity in order to eventually rescind them, this finale of the bicentennial left more mysteries than answers. Certainly, France has often been represented as a woman. The most iconic evidence in this respect may be Eugène Delacroix's *Le 28 juillet 1830: la Liberté guidant le people* (fig. 22).

---

83 James Lincoln Collier, *Jazz: The American Theme Song* (Oxford University Press, 1995),170.

84 Hao Huang, ed., *Music in the 20th Century*, vol. 3 (Armon, N.Y.: M. W. Sharp, 1999) 667; Karen L. Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South was Created in American Popular Culture* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 30; Joshua Berrett, *Louis Armstrong & Paul Whiteman: Two Kings of Jazz* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

85 Peter Redfield, (1994). "Remembering the Revolution, Forgetting the Empire. Notes after the French Revolution," in *Visualizing Theory. Selected Essays from V.A.R., 1990–1994*, ed. Lucien Taylor (New York: Routledge, 1994), 322–344, here 322. In the following paragraphs on the bicentennial of the French Revolution Redfield's thoughts and arguments are taken up and further reflected upon.

86 François Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Minuit, 1979).



Fig. 20: French choreographer Jean-Paul Goude (right), in charge of the organization of the great parade for the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, and fashion designer Azzedine Alaia (left) working on Jessye Norman's costume (middle) before the show on 14 July 1989, © Corbis, 1989.



Fig. 21: Joël Robine, Jessye Norman performing the Marseillaise in front of the Luxor Obelisk © Joël Robine, Agence France Press, 1989.



Fig. 22: Eugène Delacroix, *Le 28 juillet 1830: la Liberté guidant le people*, 1830–31, oil on canvas, 277 × 342 cm. Paris: Musée du Louvre-Lens (inv. no.: R.F 129).

However, this time France was American and black, and it seems that this was a sort of makeshift, minimalist compromise to acknowledge difference whilst celebrating internationalism and brotherhood. Why, however, one may ask, was it not an immigrant from Algeria or Senegal who performed Marianne or sang the Marseillaise? Difference clearly mattered. The performance of the Marseillaise and its visual staging is a striking example in the long line of visual history that serves the powerful rhetoric of the hegemony of the Western world and its cultural and moral values. It is enforced by the consciously and carefully staged manipulation of the difference (Jessye Norman singing the Marseillaise) and simultaneously the silencing or the suspense of difference (no performer from, for instance, Madagascar or Mali sang the Marseillaise). Thus, the entire final event ultimately draws its unique and imposing expressiveness from the spectacular amalgamation of symbolic and real violence against the others: the black, the female and the formerly colonised subjects – overwriting the French history and impact of nineteenth-century colonialism and imperialism.

As much as the discussed examples seem to express a clear standpoint with visual elements, the figurative message explicitly requires being perceived. That is, it entails the delimitation of the limits given by the mere medial form of existence, and such a delimitation can only be performed or achieved by the view – a perspective that has been ignored or just not taken seriously for quite a long time in art theory and art history. Hans Belting has drawn attention to this exceptionally important phenomenon, stating that

> With their surfaces that catch our eyes, media move in front of the world like an opaque screen. However, images are created *on this side* of the medium, in our view. They are placed neither simply "there," on the canvas or the photo, nor "here" in the mind of the viewer. The view generates images in the interval between "here" and "there."[87]

The glance is the agent that is capable of suggesting an encounter between viewer and the visual. In the 1972 BBC television series *Ways of Seeing*, John Berger argued that the perception of an image is transformed and modified by a person's personal way of seeing. Such a notion provokes traditional iconology to consider a paradigm shift, moving away from an "iconology of the object" towards an "iconology of the view and visual imagination." Such a perspective also frees the object from its physical imprisonment and hallows an understanding of the visual as an active and important agent within specific socio-cultural discourses, disclosing social and political agendas with explicit purposes. In this context language reveals its challenges. Although used interchangeably in English everyday language and in some languages, as for instance German, coalesced in one lexeme, the differentiation between "image" and "picture" is not a product of intellectual rigour. Rather, it is methodologically relevant and refers to – according to Mitchell –

> the difference between a constructed concrete object or ensemble (frame, support, materials, pigments, facture) and the virtual, phenomenal appearance that it provides for a beholder; the difference between a deliberate act of representation ('to *picture* or or depict') and a less voluntary, perhaps even passive or automatic act ('to *image* or imagine'); the difference between a specific kind of visual representation (the 'pictorial' image) and the whole realm of iconicity (verbal, acoustic, mental images).[88]

87 "Mit ihren Oberflächen, die unseren Blick auf sich ziehen, schieben sich Medien wie ein opaker Bildschirm vor die Welt. Aber Bilder entstehen *diesseits* des Mediums, in unserem Blick. Sie lassen sich weder alleine 'dort', auf Leinwand oder Foto, noch 'hier' im Kopf des Betrachters verorten. Der Blick erzeugt die Bilder im Intervall zwischen 'hier' und 'dort'." Hans Belting, "Blickwechsel mit Bildern," in *Bilderfragen: Die Bildwissenschaften im Aufbruch*, ed. Hans Belting (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007), 49–75, here 59 (emphasis original).

88 Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 4, footnote 5 (emphasis original). See also Mitchell, "What is an Image?".

In this regard the concept of "image" is not only closely related to what Mary Warnock has defined as "the faculty of image making and visualization"[89] but also exonerates the object of its physical (medial) imprisonment. Rather the perspective is opened up towards a communicative and discursive understanding of pictures arising between the visual object and the conscious act of viewing. Considerably more dramatic to many scholars may, however, be the fact that in such a theoretical framework the visual object irrevocably loses its ontological status as a supposed original that is at rest in itself. This idea is definitely unmasked as an "ideological phantasm" to refer to Mitchell's criticism of the concept of the "'genuine' image."[90] This criticism is reinforced by the technological achievements of the digital age which long imploded the traditional conceptual field consisting of terms like the original, the copy, the effigy, the model, and the image, as well as reality and imagination. [91] A striking example in this context is the recently realised art project "Le mostre impossibili." This travelling exhibition gathers works of art from the Italian Renaissance and Early Baroque that are usually set a great distance from each other. However, it is not an ordinary exhibition. Rather it assembles high-definition, life-size reproductions that according to the Italian art-historian Ferdinando Bologna, "allows an approach to the originals that many of the originals themselves don't allow in the normal conditions they are kept in."[92] Apart from the rather paradoxical concept of the original implied in Bologna's considerations, it is essential that the project pretends to represent a traditional art exhibition, including its liturgy. Nevertheless, it is not a copy of a traditional art exhibition despite its references to it. It is hyper-real and its own simulacrum in which the boundaries between reality and simulation are cancelled or even non-existent.

Though the physical nature of the medium and its materiality may play a decisive and influential role in the interplay of the observing acquirement of visual objects, one cannot claim that it determines the meaning of the medium (apart from those special cases in which the physical nature has transformed into a part of the medium, itself as in flags and tattoos).[93] The notion of the particular significance of materiality "is based on a mistaken understanding of concreteness, on a kind of vulgarly technical determinism that claims that the ontology of a medium is adequately determined by assessing its materiality and its techno-semiotic

89 Mary Warnock, *Imagination* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 10.

90 W. J. T. Mitchell, "Realismus im digitalen Bild," in *Bilderfragen: Die Bildwissenschaften im Aufbruch*, ed. Hans Belting (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007) 237–255, here 243.

91 For an in-depth discussion on this topic see Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

92 Ferdinando Bologna, "Le Mostre Impossibili," accessed September 24, 2019, http://www.mostreimpossibili.it/dicono?id=2

93 See Tom Holert, "Heterologien des Nationalen. Zur Mentalität und Medialität der Flagge – Mali 2013," in *Heterotopien: Perspektiven der intermedialen Ästhetik*, ed. Nadja Elia Borer et al. (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2013), 327–350; and Céline Martin-Raget, ed., *Tatoueurs, tatoués* (Arles & Paris: Actes sud, & Musée du quai Branly, 2014).

character."[94] Consequently an iconology of the gaze has to assume that a visual object's being in the world, is only in the world because it is received. This notion includes the death of the distanced viewer or observer and accepts that the thinking subject as observer is inevitably always involved in what the American anthropologist and influential advocate of interpretive ethnology Clifford Geertz has called the "I-witnessing" approach.[95]

However, I do not wish to be misunderstood as a promoter of throwing the gates wide open for mere relativism. Rather, my point is to endorse serious and sincere consideration about a direction-change within the theoretical and methodical framework of music research based on visual source material. I propose moving away from the fetishising of the object and the notion of a visual object with an inherent meaning, towards an understanding of iconology that focuses on how visual objects enter the world and how they are received and how they unfold meaning within such a process of adoption. I vouch for an iconological approach that takes the communicative-discursive dynamics seriously as much as the semiotic fields activated by the encounter between the images and the gaze and which result in interpretations with specific characteristics. The notion of inherent meaning of Panofsky and his followers is a myth – a phantasm that iconographic/iconological research has long imposed on the pictures, if not forced upon it. Scholars dealing with visual source material are better off to recall Roland Barthes's cautionary note, expressed already in the early 1960s in his essay *Rhétorique de l'image*, according to which "[…] in the image […] the distinction between the literal message and the symbolic message is operational. We never encounter […] a literal image in a pure state."[96]

Accepting this insight is also a form of melancholy of which Sarah Kofman speaks in her remarkable and stimulating essay *La mélancolie de l'art*. This melancholy is permeated with the insight that we have no other means but language to move beyond the silent communication unfolding between the gaze and the picture. Although language remains a deficient medium, it allows, at least, to share insights and knowledge beyond pure perception and aesthetic experience, no matter how provisional and fragmentary such insights may be. Another way does not seem to exist for the time being. Only Epicureans and skeptics find, as Hans Blumenberg once suggested, satisfaction and happiness by avoiding the demiurgical yearning of scientific craft.[97] The others take the risk and leap into the gloom attempting to bring light into the darkness.

94 "[…] beruht auf einer Art vulgärem technischem Determinismus, der meint, die Ontologie eines Mediums sei durch die Beurteilung seiner Materialität und seines technisch-semiotischen Charakters angemessen festgelegt." Mitchell, "Realismus im digitalen Bild," 241.

95 Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989), 78.

96 "[…] dans l'image […] la distinction du message littéral et du message symbolique [est] opératoire; on ne rencontre jamais […] une image littérale à l'état pur […]." Roland Barthes, "Rhétorique de l'image," *Communications* 4 (1964): 40–51, here 45. English translation of the quote according to Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 32–51, here 42.

97 See Hans Blumenberg, *Schiffbruch mit Zuschauern* (Frankfurt/Main: Bibliothek Suhrkamp, 1997), 9, 83.

MAXIXE'S KINEMIC MOVEMENTS: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF INDISCRETE TRUTHS

Maria Alice Volpe

> If all the historical monuments of present-day Brazil were lost (and the damage would not be great), a copy of a *maxixe* and a photograph of a carnival car would suffice to reconstitute our paltry physiognomy.[1]

This study aims to capture the "indiscrete truths" of the maxixe's choreography in its earliest environments, and its continuous changes as it spread in the variegated middle class of Brazilian society, before it became a tidy dance for the high class, and a cultural product for export. This essay discusses the potential and limits of iconography for the study of *maxixe*, a Brazilian dance style that has shaped a rhythm and a musical genre, more than a musical form. The *maxixe* poses interdisciplinary methodological challenges since its cultural practice involves issues of many sorts. As a dance and musical genre associated with a dynamic social layering in permanent negotiation and cultural appropriation, it well illustrates the undeniable claim for "methodological plurality" in which iconography arises as "a research field with specific dependence on an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and/or multidisciplinary approach".[2] Its research demands the combination of different types of sources,[3] especially periodical news, reports, advertisements, articles, literary pieces, and criticism as well as musical scores and phonograms in their relation with the iconographic material concerning the maxixe. These sources consist of contemporary drawings, paintings, photographs, and a few movies and documentary films. In the case of maxixe, visual documents are not merely auxiliary to historical or ethnographical research. On the contrary, visual documents are central to the cultural history, sociology, and anthropology of cultural practices and genres in which dance and music merge (fig. 1).

---

1 "Se se perdessem todos os monumentos históricos do Brasil atual (e o prejuízo não seria grande), bastaria a cópia de um maxixe e a fotografia de um carro carnavalesco para que se reconstituísse nossa fisionomia reles" (Antonio Torres, *Verdades Indiscretas* (Indiscrete Truths) [Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Castilho, 1920], 322). All translations from Brazilian Portuguese into English are mine.

2 Antonio Baldassarre, "Music Iconography: What is it all about? Some Remarks and Considerations with a Selected Bibliography," *Ictus* 9 no. 2 (2008): 69.

3 All periodicals cited first-hand in this study are retrieved from the Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/. List: *O Carbonário*; *Cidade do Rio*; *Correio da Manhã*; *Don Quixote*; *Fon-Fon*; *A Illustração*; *O Imparcial*; *Jornal do Brasil*; *Kosmos*; *O Malho*; *Novidades*; *O Paiz*; *O Rio Nú*; and *Século XX*.



Fig. 1: Drawing by Kalixto to the music sheet "O Maxixe" by Aurelio Cavalcanti, in *Fon-Fon*, May 4, 1907 (brought to light by Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada* [Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1974], 39). Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

The critical assessment of the various types of sources must always ask:

- Who is the social actor that produced each record?
- Was that record created by an insider or an outsider?
- Was that record made during the same historical period, or was it a later representation of that cultural practice?
- What was the context in which that record was created?
- What was the purpose for that record?
- What was the targeted readership or audience?
- What are the norms of that visual genre?
- What are the codes of that visual language?
- Are the sources to be considered static iconography, dynamic iconography or moving iconography?
- What are the material techniques that shaped the media as an expressive or communicative tool?

– What are the implied meanings of particular words or expressions used in the manner of slang or figure of speech that appear in legends or articles that are coupled with the image; and
– What are the symbolisms of that culture?

A large array of information on identities, perspectives, and potential biases must be considered as the researcher interprets each source. Iconographical data becomes meaningful when contextualised in the web of social practices and cultural discourses. Interdisciplinary methodology to iconography is key to accessing implied meanings of an image.

Always keeping in mind Winternitz's warning not to "take pictures at face value, without critical discrimination between real and imaginary objects",[4] historical sources of the maxixe, both literary and iconographic, fall basically in two ideological positions: either as criticism of customs, or as idealisation. Both cases are permeated by European civilisation[5] and national identity values.[6]

Most of maxixe's sources addressing the dance in its original social contexts (dance parties and carnival) or popular culture environments (such as the *revistas* (music theatre) use rhetorical devices that are amusingly clever in perception and expression, with plenty of witticism, irony, caricature, parody, and satire, all embedded in criticism of customs.

On the other hand, maxixe's sources representing the dance in cosmopolitan contexts associated with upper class consumption of popular entertainment shows an idealised dance style in which European demeanour domesticates Afro-

4 Emanuel Winternitz, "The Visual Arts as a Source for the Historian of Music," in *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 31.

5 On maxixe and European or cosmopolitan values, see Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1974); Micol Seigel, "The Disappearing Dance: Maxixe's Imperial Erasure," *Black Music Research Journal* 25, no. 1–2 (Spring-Fall 2005): 93–117; Daniella Thompson, "What F. Scott Fitzgerald knew about Maxixe: A Young Novelist Looks Back on a Dance Fad," *Musica Brasiliensis / Investigations* (February 28, 2006). Retrieved from http://daniellathompson.com/Texts/Investigations/Fitzgerald_and_maxixe.htm; Lisa Shaw, "Afro-Brazilian Popular Culture in Paris in 1922: Transatlantic Dialogues and the Racialized Performance of Brazilian National Identity," *Atlantic Studies* 8 no. 4 (December 1, 2011): 393–409; and Marta Abreu, *Da senzala ao palco: canções escravas e racismo nas Américas, 1870–1930* (Campinas: SciELO – Editora da Unicamp, 2017).

6 On maxixe and narratives of national identity, see Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1974); Mônica Pimenta Velloso, "A dança como alma da brasilidade. Paris, Rio de Janeiro e o maxixe," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* 7 (March 15, 2007); Mônica Pimenta Velloso (2008), "Narrativas da brasilidade: Paris, Rio de Janeiro e o maxixe," *Escritos* (Revista da Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa) 2, no. 2, (2008): 155–182. Retrieved from http://www.casaruibarbosa.gov.br/escritos/numero02/FCRB_Escritos_2_7_Monica_Pimenta_Velloso.pdf; Lisa Shaw, "Afro-Brazilian Popular Culture in Paris in 1922"; and Matheus Pimentel da Silva Topine, "Os requebros do maxixe: raça, nacionalidade e disputas culturais no Rio de Janeiro (1880–1915)," (Master's thesis), Rio de Janeiro: Pontifícia Universidade Católica, 2018. Retrieved from http://www.dbd.puc-rio.br/pergamum/tesesabertas/1613015_2018_completo.pdf.

Brazilian body expression. Therefore, the visual and literary culture of Rio de Janeiro's *tropical belle époque* – to use Jeffrey Needell's[7] concept – reveals an ongoing negotiation between cosmopolitanism and local cultures in which the maxixe played an important role in cultural history by embodying dialectical relations of socio-culturally modes of behaviour, both sanctioned and unsanctioned.

Seebass's article "Iconography and Dance Research"[8] must be mentioned here, since the main points raised by this pioneering methodological proposal for the interdisciplinary field of dance iconography remain valuable to the issues faced by the iconographic study of the Brazilian maxixe. Among the many reasons listed by Seebass for why pictures can be useful[9] is that they "portray the dancers in action," and a close iconographical analysis has shown that the pictures concerning the maxixe in its original social contexts provide many "dance positions," some of which relate to dance steps, but not "a synchronic summary of a succession of movements." On the other hand, many pictures representing the maxixe in cosmopolitan contexts provide "a synchronic summary of a succession of movements" through the many dance manuals – and even some short excerpts of films – from which it is possible to reconstruct – or see – some choreographies 'tamed by civilisation'.

Although iconography does not allow the reconstruction of the choreography of the maxixe as danced in its original social contexts, the "kinemic analysis" proposed in this study will show key elements distinguishing native dance practices in their original social contexts that were washed off in cosmopolitan versions for upper-class ballrooms. From all Seebass's criteria for the analysis of dance iconography, the most valuable for the present study concerns cultural understanding: "the identification of the emic elements of dance" demands that "any analysis of dance should be preceded by an assessment of what one could term the emic or, more precisely, kinemic knowledge", and distinguish "which dance movements are kinemic, i.e. characteristic and primordial, and which are variable."[10] This approach was first proposed by Kaeppler,[11] who defined the "kinetic emic analysis" as a method "to obtain an inventory of the significant movements and positions" or "significant units and patternings" recognised by "a particular culture" or by "people of a given dance tradition."[12] This study will demonstrate not only the kinemic movements that were specific to the maxixe as danced in its original social contexts that were then erased in the cosmopolitan versions of the dance, but also how maxixe kinemic movements fit in the broader Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge (see Table 1 below).

---

7 Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

8 Tilman Seebass, "Iconography and Dance Research," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 23 (1991): 33–51.

9 Seebass, "Iconography and Dance Research," 34–37, passim.

10 Seebass, "Iconography and Dance Research," 35.

11 Adrienne L. Kaeppler, "Method and Theory in Analyzing Dance Structure with an Analysis of Tongan Dance," *Ethnomusicology* 16, no. 2 (1972): 173–217.

12 Adrienne L. Kaeppler, "Method and Theory," 173–174, passim.

The multifarious nature of the Brazilian maxixe dance iconography instigates interdisciplinary approaches that can help to clarify some gaps on current understanding of "kinemic knowledge" and the distinction between body movements or dance steps that are shared by various Afro-Brazilian genres from body movements or dance steps which are particular to the maxixe. Also, in the realm of dances steps specific to the maxixe, this iconographic study pursues a clearer distinction between the old style, the new style, and the Europeanised-style. Although this distinction has been mentioned in maxixe historiography – considering both primary sources and historical studies – it awaits further clarification from the choreographic standpoint.

There are some dance steps mentioned in maxixe historiography that do not have any pictorial representation or literary description. Other maxixe dance steps have pictorial representation and literary description, but focus on the body and social behaviour rather than on choreography. There are also some maxixe dance steps explained by ballroom dance manuals with textual instructions, diagrams, and sequential pictures. Finally, there are a few documentary films in which one can see the maxixe danced by people passing on Afro-Brazilian traditions some decades after the maxixe decline. The potentials and limits of those sources deserve further discussion in the light of interdisciplinary iconography. These iconographic sources will not be discussed in chronological order.

The blending of historical musicology and ethnomusicology is also worthy of emphasis in this interdisciplinary approach, since the many kinds of sources about the maxixe demand an expanded notion of document by recognising the historicity of an ethnographic record, and the anthropology of a historical record. It releases the field of iconography from the "concentration on Western art and objects of high-culture" that have nurtured "the involvement of music iconography research with the analysis and interpretation of high art"[13] by approaching visual sources that would otherwise be put aside. This interdisciplinary iconographic study not only shows strong connections with historical ethnomusicology, but also contributes to the blurring of disciplinary borders.

Maxixe's Early Social Context: From the Aged Swamps of Working-Class Backyards to the Criminal and Public Complaint Pages of the Newspapers.

Social issues are at the forefront of maxixe. The word "maxixe" itself demands a social, historical, and cultural approach, from the early usages of the word, and the many changes of its meanings throughout the nineteenth century until its peak as a dance and music genre, and eventual banishment in the twentieth century.[14]

13 Baldassarre, "Music Iconography: What is it all about," 72.

14 Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada* provides and extensive discussion on the origins and meanings of the word "maxixe."

Maxixe is the name of an edible prickly and bitter fruit (*cucumis anguria*)[15] of a creeping plant, that grew wild in the backyards of the aged swamps of the Cidade Nova ("New Town"), a working class neighbourhood inhabited mostly by Afro-Brazilians. Maxixe fruit can be consumed as food, which was then associated with the lower class. Maxixe was also used in popular (or *folk*) medicine for several purposes, including stomach pain, kidney stones, jaundice, scarring, hemorrhoids, anemia, diabetes, and weak eyes. Due to the pervasiveness of maxixe vines in Rio de Janeiro's working-class neighbourhoods, the word 'maxixe' was pejoratively associated with low-class cultural practices and cultural places. Thus 'maxixe' named not only lascivious leisure, dancing parties, and balls, but also the houses in which those gatherings were held. Finally, the word 'maxixe' was used to refer to a particular type of dance style, musical rhythm, and eventually a musical genre.

From its earliest references in the 1880s and lasting until the 1900s, maxixe dancing halls and their regulars filled the criminal and public complaint pages of Rio de Janeiro's newspapers. Reported incidents included racketeering, misdemeanours, robbery, prostitution, and fights, sometimes resulting in murder. More often than not, those maxixe houses operated illegally, without a license from the appropriate government agency, and even more frequently under the blind eyes of local authorities. Two cases in the year 1887 are very telling of the social context from which the maxixe dance sprung:

> We are told that Dr. João Brazileiro, police deputy of the 1st. district of Sant'Anna, officiated to the chief judge of police, asking for authorization to close the *maxixe* (house) at the Visconde de Itaúna Street number 9, where, under the pretext of dancing, a group of vagabonds and *capoeira* street-fighters gather for illicit purposes, being that place nothing more than a focus of prostitution. If that authority manages to put an end to that den of debauchery at once, he will do a great service to the tranquillity of the residents of that street, who have not been able to sleep peacefully since such *maxixe* (house) was installed there.[16]

The case reported on the Visconde de Itaúna Street – placed in the Cidade Nova district, in which number 13 housed the Fábrica de Cerveja Princeza Imperial (Princeza Imperial Beer Factory) since 1882.[17] In 1884, number 73 was the loca-

15 Maxixe: the gherkin vine is native of southern Africa, and it has become naturalised in the New World.

16 "Consta-nos que o Dr. João Brazileiro, subdelegado do 1º distrito de Sant'Anna, oficiou ao desembargador chefe de polícia, pedindo autorização para fechar o *maxixe* da rua do Visconde de Itaúna 9, onde a pretexto de baile, reúne-se uma caterva de vagabundos e capoeiras para fins ilícitos, não sendo aquilo mais que um foco de prostituição. Se aquela autoridade conseguir acabar de uma vez com aquele antro de devassidão prestará um grande serviço à tranquilidade dos moradores daquela rua, que desde que ali se instalou o tal *maxixe*, ainda não puderam dormir sossegados" (*Novidades*, "Maxixe," September 21, 1887, 1).

17 Carlos Alberto Tavares Coutinho; Carlos Alberto Silva e Quintella; and Márcio Maso Panzani, "A cerveja no Brasil de 1851 a 1900," *Cervesia*, n.d.. Retrieved from https://www.cervesia.com.br/artigos-tecnicos/cerveja/historia-da-cerveja/7-a-cerveja-no-brasil-de-1851-a-1900-seculo-xvii-a-xix.html.

tion of "Praça de Touros" (bullfighting shows), referring to the maxixe house as a "den of debauchery" and a "focus of prostitution" where "vagabonds" and Afro-Brazilian street-fighters gathered for "illicit purposes." Another case reported on Senhor dos Passos Street, located in Rio de Janeiro's downtown, close to the central business district and the bohemian theatre district. It refers to the maxixe ballroom as "a latent danger" attended by "disorderly vagrants and licentious women from the lowest level," whose quarrels and fights could even culminate in murder.

> To His Excellency the chief judge of police – Impressed by the scenes that take place at the public ball, commonly called *maxixe*, the families living in the Senhor dos Passos Street resort to the criteria of His Ex. to free them from the danger to which they are exposed. In addition to seeking the same space in which the street is occupied by families – the serenity of which are most disturbed by the regulars of such a *maxixe*, in general, disorderly vagrants and licentious women from the lowest level – that ballroom is a latent danger, due to the disorders it has given cause. The murder committed by Victor in the last carnival had its origin there. In (18)78 or (18)79, still on the occasion of the carnival, a masked man was murdered at the *maxixe*'s door in a fight with another as they left the *maxixe* house. At any rate, it would be long to enumerate all disorders of harmful nature that have occurred or originated there; and they were such that, for a long time, the authorities, very much impressed, did not allow such [a] shithole to function.[18]

The case reported on the maxixe house at Senhor dos Passos Street reveals a significant condition of Rio de Janeiro's power relations, entangled by malfeasance and corruption among local authorities, either police officers or judges, and owners or managers of commercial establishments, either legal or illegal. The request published in the daily newspaper makes clear the corrupt practices that regulated the rights of the local population and social relations. The spokesman of the local population mentions the negligence of the deputy, the slackness of the inspectors, the abuse of power of an individual who claimed to be a police officer, and the misappropriation of authority by the manager of the ballroom. What was really happening there was an exchange of roles, by which the maxixe house's manager exercises police power while the official authorities enjoy the pleasures of that entertainment house.

---

18 "Ao S. Ex. o desembargador chefe de polícia – // Impressiona-nos pelas cenas que passam no baile público, vulgarmente denominado *maxixe*, as famílias moradoras à rua do Senhor dos Passos recorrem ao critério de S. Ex. Para que as livre do perigo a que por tal se acham expostas. / Além de procurar o espaço que naquela rua é ocupado por famílias, cujo sossego é perturbado pelos frequentadores do tal maxixe, em geral vagabundos desordeiros e messalinas da mais baixa esfera, aquela casa de baile é um perigo latente, pelas desordem a que tem dado causa. / O assassinato praticado por Victor, no carnaval passado, teve ali a sua origem; em [18]78 ou [18]79, ainda por ocasião do carnaval, foi assassinado à porta um mascarado, que, em luta com outro, dali saíra – enfim, seria longo enumerar as desordens de caráter grave que ali se tem-se dado ou tido origem; e tal foram elas que, por muito tempo as autoridades, impressionadas, não consentiram que funcionasse a tal espelunca" (*O Paiz*, February 16, 1887, 3).

> Lately, however, the current sub-delegate's objectionable condescension, and the *influence* of an individual who claims to be or is a police officer, the maxixe balls started again, and with them the procession of immoralities of which the neighbours are forced spectators. / However, the maintainer of that real lupanar boasts his power, scoffs at complaints, and even – the height of miseries !! – arrests and releases to his taste!! Under the pretext of ensuring the order, the inspectors go there; however, they spend more time entertaining themselves with observing the indecent wiggles of the *divas* in the can-cans, than fulfilling their duties as authorities; and some (at least two) just go there to accompany their lovers; is it necessary to name them?[19]

This kind of report on maxixe houses continued in the following decades, always mentioning prostitution, violence, corruption, abuse or misappropriation of power. At the turn of the century, a famous maxixe house at Marechal Floriano Street functioned without a license. In addition to house of prostitution, among its regulars were the most dangerous gangsters and slaughterers. Their ranks included "José do Senado," "Cardozinho," and a certain Carlos Moreira. On one occasion, Moreira was armed with a 62cm knife, made with an infantry sabre. His intention was to wreak revenge on certain maxixe haunters, but he was arrested by the police before he could carry out an assassination.[20]

19 "Ultimamente, porém, censurável condescendência do atual subdelegado, e *influência* de um indivíduo que se intitula ou é agente da polícia, recomeçaram os bailes e com eles o cortejo de imoralidades de que os vizinhos são espectadores forçados. / Entretanto, o mantenedor daquele verdadeiro lupanar blasona o seu poderio, zomba das reclamações, e até – cúmulo das misérias !! – prende e solta a seu talante!! A título de garantir a ordem, para ali vão os inspetores; porém estes entretêm-se mais em observar os indecentes meneios das *divas*, nos can-cans, do que em cumprir os seus deveres de autoridades; e alguns (dois pelo menos) só lá vão para acompanhar suas apaixonadas. Será preciso citar-lhes os nomes?" (*O Paiz*, February 16, 1887, 3).
The request continues: "Aproxima-se o carnaval e com ele as desordens, já ali fomentadas por ciúmes discutidos em voz alta e em linguagem descabelada, capaz de fazer corar até os mais imorais. / Permitirá S. Ex. que continuem a ser assim calcadas a moral e os bons costumes aos pés dessa escória social? Deixará que um *quidam* [uma pessoa qualquer], por ser ou ter sido agente, continue a abusar do nome das autoridades? Preferirá castigar o crime antes que preveni-lo? Queremos crer que não. Temos bastante confiança no critério de S. Ex. e mesmo no do Sr. subdelegado, que tem sido iludido nesta embrulhada pela lábia dos lourenços; e esperamos que serão dadas as providências, que pedimos em nome da moral e segurança pública." [Carnival is approaching and with it the disorders, already fueled by jealousy discussed aloud and in disheveled language, capable of making even the most immoral people blush. / Will Your Excellency allow morality and good manners to continue to be undermined by this social scum? Will you let a *quidam* [any person], being or having been an agent, continue to abuse the name of the authorities? Would you rather punish crime than prevent it? We want to believe that it is not. We have a lot of confidence in the criteria of S. Ex. And even in that of the sub-delegate, who has been deceived in this matter by misleading speech; and we hope that the measures will be taken, which we ask for in the name of public morality and security.] (*O Paiz*, February 16, 1887, 3).

20 "Existe, na rua Marechal Floriano, um celebérrimo maxixe que, além de funcionar sem licença, é um *rendez-vous* da classe mais desordeira da sociedade. / Pretende o presidente do tal maxixe ter a competente licença; porém, até hoje, ainda não a apresentou à autoridade local. / Dizem as más

One of the oldest reports describing the maxixe environment dates from the early 1880s. It speaks of female delinquency and corruption, most likely a conspiracy plan by the woman, her lover, and perhaps also the police chief:

> At the invitation of Silveira, on the 25th of June (of 1882), Mr. Tranquelino went to a maxixe ball on Rua Theophilo Ottoni, in the company of Venancia, who is Silveira's lover. / At the end of the ball, this Silveira invited him to sleep at his house, or at another, at Venancia's house, to which Tranquelino agreed. / He entered the room he was told, but he still hadn't closed his eyes, he heard some walking, and as he payed close attention, he saw Venancia approaching the hanger where his coat was standing, reaching her hands in its pockets, and then quickly leaving his bedroom. / Tranquelino quickly got up and went to check the money in his pocket. It missed a 100£000 rs bill and with the greatest presumption he went after Venancia, just when she entered the room where Silveira was. When she saw the man she had just stolen from, Venancia pretended an attack as a resource to attract the attention of her lover, who immediately woke up and after uttering

línguas que a politicagem não é alheia à continuação deste abuso. / O que é certo é que este ponto de reunião dos mais célebres desordeiros funciona às escancaras; e, como julgaram que a 2ª circunscrição pode não ser rondada, a autoridade policial é obrigada a fechar os olhos. / Todas as noites, ou no baile ou à saída dão-se desordens tanto mais graves que a tal casa é frequentada pelo 'José do Senado', o 'Cardozinho' e outros facínoras. / Mais dias, menos dias, os jornais registrarão um assassinato, se o delegado não tiver a energia necessária para mandar fechar este antro de prostituição e de desordens. / Esta madrugada, às 2 horas, ia-se dando um sério conflito, promovido por Carlos Moreira, o qual, armado de um facão de 62 centímetros, feito com um sabre de infantaria, pretendia tirar uma desforra qualquer de certos frequentadores do maxixe. / Moreira foi porém desarmado e preso pelo guarda noturno e a patrulha de cavalaria, sendo conduzido, após tenaz resistência, ao xadrez da 2ª delegacia urbana. / A 2ª circunscrição, a quem cabe o policiamento da Saúde, Gamboa, Praia Formosa e imediações da Estrada de Ferro, *não tem praças para rondar!* / Pudera! A maior parte das praças da brigada policial acha-se empregada no serviço de isolamento. / Entretanto, é preciso tomar providências." [There is, on Marechal Floriano Street, a famous maxixe that, in addition to working without a license, is a rendezvous of the most disorderly class in society. / The president of such a maxixe intends to have the competent license; however, to date, he has not yet presented it to the local authority. / The bad languages say that politicking is not unrelated to the continuation of this abuse. / What is certain is that this meeting point for the most famous troublemakers works wide open; and, as they thought that the 2nd district may not be round, the police authority is obliged to turn a blind eye. / Every night, either at the ball or at the exit, there are disorders that are all the more serious because the house is frequented by 'José do Senado,' 'Cardozinho' and other gangsters. / More days, fewer days, the newspapers will register a murder, if the delegate does not have the energy to close this den of prostitution and disorders. / This last dawn, at 2 am, a serious conflict was taking place, promoted by Carlos Moreira, who, armed with a 62cm knife, made with an infantry sabre, intended to take some rematch from certain maxixe goers. / Moreira was however defeated and arrested by the night guard and the cavalry patrol, being led, after tenacious resistance, to the chess of the 2nd urban police station. / The 2nd district, which is responsible for policing Saúde, Gamboa, Praia Formosa and the surroundings of the railway, has no guards enough to make the police round! / How could they?! Most police brigade officers are employed in the isolation service. / However, it is necessary to take action.] (*Cidade do Rio*, "O maxixe da rua Larga", December 20, 1901, 1).

> a few words he whistled. The police came, and they all went to the station. / Once there, despite the fact that Venancia had signed a term since she lived on Conceição Street, the station's lieutenant commander sent her back home, and put in jail Mr. Tranquelino, the one stolen from. / It is a case of saying: upon falling, kick.[21]

This early social context is important to understand the maxixe dance as cultural practice. Disrespect for social norms, both in the dimension of "public morality" and in the sphere of "public safety", often occurred as a generalized form of social behavior. The freedoms through which male and female bodies openly expressed themselves in public places were in parallel with the mostly unrestrained actions of maxixe's regulars in dealing with law and order. While the voluptuous movements of maxixe dance is often attributed to its Afro-Brazilian heritage, free body expression found a cheering drive in those social groups, not only because those gatherings were cultural melting pots but also because the maxixe balls could function as an extension of Carnival's suspension of social order and moral values. The maxixe as cultural practice was primarily understood as a way of dancing[22] the many popular genres in an ongoing process of "abrasileiramento" ("Brazilianization")[23] – such as the *polca*, the *schottisch*, the *habanera*, the *lundu*, and later the *tango brasileiro*. Maxixe's original social context is key to interpreting coeval utterances, such as João Chagas's blunt statement from 1897, "The *maxixe* can be defined as the impudent bond of two bodies (...) or (...) the indecorous conjunction of the two sexes,"[24] and by the writer who went by the pen name Tony's disparaging remark, "The scandal-

21 "À convite de Silveira, foi, no dia 25 de Junho, o Sr. Tranquelino a um baile maxixe da rua Theophilo Ottoni, em companhia de Venancia, que é amante de Silveira. / Findo o baile o tal Silveira convidou-o para dormir em sua casa, ou por outra, em casa de Venancia, ao que acedeu Tranquelino. / Entrou no quarto que lhe indicaram, mas ainda bem não tinha fechado os olhos sentiu passos, e prestando atenção, viu Venancia aproximar-se, pé ante pé, do cabide onde estava seu paletó, meter as mãos nos bolsos e sair. / Rapidamente levantou-se Tranquelino e foi conferir o dinheiro que tinha no bolso. Deu por falta de uma nota de 100$000 rs. e com a maior presteza foi ao encalce da Venancia, justamente quando ela entrava no quarto onde estava Silveira. Ao ver o homem a quem tinha roubado, achou Venancia, num ataque, recurso para chamar a atenção do amante que imediatamente acordou e depois de proferir algumas palavras apitou. Veio a polícia e foram todos de embrulho para a estação. / Ali chegados, apesar de Venancia ter termo assinado desde o tempo que morava na rua da Conceição, o tenente comandante da estação mandou-a embora e meteu no xadrez o Sr. Tranquelino, o roubado. / É o caso de dizer-se: em cima de queda, coice." (*O Carbonário*, "Cobras e lagartos", 'Rua Luiz de Camões', July 14, 1882, 4).

22 See, for instance, José Ramos Tinhorão, "Maxixe," in *Pequena História da Música Popular Brasileira: da modinha à canção de protesto* (Petrópolis: Ed. Vozes, 1974), 57, explains that the maxixe "nascido da maneira livre de dançar, os gêneros de música em voga na época" (was born as a free way of dancing the dance-musical genres in vogue at the time).

23 See Bruno Kiefer, *Música e dança popular, sua influência na música erudita* (Porto Alegre: Movimento, 1979) for the first systematic study on the nationalisation process of European dance music genres, involving the fusion with Afro-American musical elements up to the emergence of new Brazilian genres.

24 "O maxixe pode definir-se como o enlace impudico de dois corpos ... ou ... conjunção indecorosa dos dois sexos ..." (João Chagas, *De Bond*, Lisboa, 1897 quoted in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 51).

ous *maxixe* in which it is necessary for men to display immorality with fury and women to dismantle the joints of the pelvis in a waddling motion."[25]

Maxixe's original social context is also key to interpreting coeval iconography, such as Luiz Peixoto's drawing (fig. 2) that appeared in "Danças populares" ("Popular dances"), an article by João Phoca (pseudonym of José Baptista Coelho). It was published in *Jornal do Brasil* in 1912, accompanied by the justification that "Luiz was the one who drew with his double authority as a designer and author of *'Forrobodó,'*"[26] a 'burleta de costumes cariocas' ("custom musical comedy"), the title of which means a vulgar ball, a muddle environment or a clutter situation.[27]



Fig. 2: Cartoon "O Maxixe" by Luiz Peixoto to the article "Danças populares" by João Phoca, *Jornal do Brasil*, June 16, 1912, 16. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.[28]

25 "O escandaloso maxixe ... em que é mister que os homens exibam com furor a imoralidade e as mulheres desconjuntem as articulações da bacia num rebolar bamboleado." (*Don Quixote*, "Theatros", March 14, 1896, 7, assin. pseud. "Tony").

26 "Luiz que foi ele quem traçou com a sua dupla autoridade de desenhista e autor do 'Forrobodó'." (*Jornal do Brasil*, June 16, 1912, 16).

27 *Forrobodó*, a four-act operetta with text by Luiz Peixoto and Carlos Bittencourt, and music by the female pianist and composer Chiquinha Gonzaga, premiered on June 11, 1912 at the São José Theater in Rio de Janeiro.

28 The first recorded *maxixe*, under the title of "Será possível" ("Is it possible?"), by an unknown composer, performed by the Banda da Casa Edison [Edison House Band], Zon-o-Phone label (78 rpm, record plate number 1597) dates from 1902. Retrieved from Instituto Moreira Salles

The Heterogeneous Iconography of the Maxixe, from Rio de Janeiro's Popular Dance Balls to Paris's Ballrooms: The Cross Bordering of Social Classes and Ethnic Groups

The word 'maxixe' encapsulates cultural practices associated with pleasure – eating, partying, sex, dance, and music – and it is probably the fun and pleasure appeal embedded in those cultural practices that channelled the cross-bordering of social classes and ethnic groups, well depicted in the iconography.

The maxixe as cultural practice rapidly prevailed in Rio de Janeiro's diverse low-class leisure spots, taverns, dance houses, brothels, street and ballroom carnival, cabarets, and theatres, from the 1890s to the early 1920s. Notwithstanding, the maxixe dance disseminated very quickly and seduced all social strata. As the maxixe dance was appropriated by upper layers of society, it went through a stylisation process that minimised its most obscene body movements. The maxixe eventually reached Paris before World War I, as a rage that spread through the ballrooms of Europe and America, along with other "new dance genres" such as the American cakewalk, the Argentine tango, and the American Charleston. The maxixe was banned by Catholic Church authorities in 1914, but it continued to be danced for some time until it was replaced by the samba.[29]

The iconography of maxixe is very diverse in the ways it represented the many identities of social classes in continuous appropriation and remodelling of maxixe dance steps so as to conform to the moral values embedded in entertainment activities of each cultural group, as one can see, for instance, in figures 2, 3 and 4. There are many studies on the reception of the maxixe in other countries – mostly in Paris, and its rebounding to the United States[30] – showing the continuous stylisation of the dance towards the European sense of either "elegance" or "exotic". Notwithstanding the "softening" process of maxixe dance style as it spread throughout

---

https://discografiabrasileira.com.br/fonograma/733/sera-possivel; and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4D0tpByPhDw

29 See the first comprehensive history of maxixe in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada* (1974).

30 The first studies on maxixe's origins and dissemination abroad were carried by Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada* (1974) and Tinhorão, "Maxixe," in *Pequena História da Música Popular Brasileira* (1974). Recent studies on the reception of maxixe in Paris and in the US includes Luiz Carlos Saroldi "O maxixe como liberação do corpo," in Antonio Herculano Lopes (ed.), *Entre Europa e África: a invenção do carioca* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks / Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 2000): 35–47; Seigel "The Disappearing Dance: Maxixe's Imperial Erasure" (2005); Thompson, "What F. Scott Fitzgerald Knew about Maxixe" (2006); Velloso, "A dança como alma da brasilidade (2007); Velloso, "Narrativas da brasilidade" (2008); Shaw, "Afro-Brazilian Popular Culture in Paris in 1922" (2011); Lisa Shaw, *Tropical Travels: Brazilian Popular Performance, Transnational Encounters, and the Construction of Race* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2018); Alexandre Dias, many posts on Ernesto Nazareth, Brazilian tango, maxixe etc., in website "Ernesto Nazareth 150 Anos" (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Moreira Salles, 2012-present. Retrieved from https://www.ernestonazareth150anos.com.br/); Topine, "Os requebros do maxixe" (2018); and Cristina Fernandes Rosa, "The Curious Case of Maxixe Dancing: From Colonial Dissent to Modern Fitness," *Atlantic Studies* 17, no. 1 (January 2020): 13–39.



Fig. 3: Célio Barroso, "Dança o branco, dança o preto, vamos todos maxixar." ("The white dances, the black dances. Let's all dance the maxixe"), Rio de Janeiro, 1973, published in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 149.

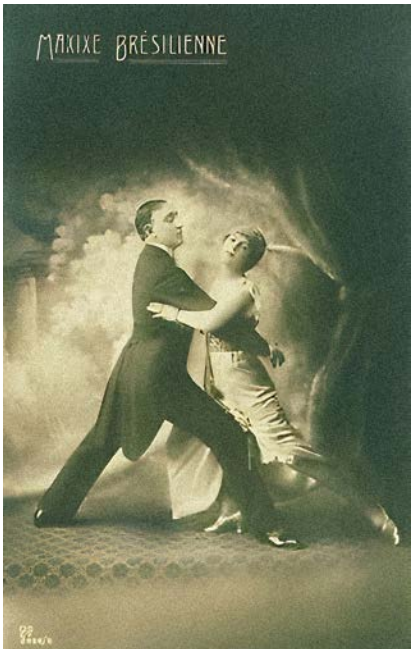


Fig. 4: "Maxixe Brésilienne," postcard, photo publisher GG Co., Series 2566, number 5, 1915. Private Collection.

middle and upper classes from above and below the equator, Curt Sachs still perceived the maxixe a watershed in cosmopolitan ballroom dances by the late nineteenth century: "the Brazilian maxixe of 1890 (...) broke up the patterns of turns and glides that dominate European round dances."[31]

The iconography of the maxixe has plenty of depictions of stylised dance steps performed by dancers whose outfit reveals compliance to elite codes of social behaviour, and whose body expression bears controlled boundaries of moral transgression. There is however a smaller portion of iconographic material depicting the maxixe as danced by the lower classes who originally created it, and by the middle-class that made it its own. Although they all demand source criticism concerning insider's or outsider's position of their representation, this portion of iconography offers a great deal of the kinemic movements of the maxixe. In addition to iconographical material, contemporary chronicles are full of references to the lascivious body movements of the maxixe dance, and acknowledge the differences between the authentic and the stylised types of maxixe dance. This inquiry

31 Curt Sachs, *World History Of The Dance*, transl. Bessie Schönberg (New York: W. W. Norton, 1937), 444–445).

is mostly interested in the iconography of the maxixe as it was danced in Rio de Janeiro before undergoing further stylisations during its European and American rage (a matter for a study on its own). However, a review of ballroom dance manuals is necessary to ascertain the ways in which they diverge from kinemic knowledge, and, unfortunately, they are not of much help in unveiling maxixe's native choreography, neither the old nor the new style.

Contemporary ballroom dance manuals[32] were mostly published abroad, targeting by and large foreign apprentices. Maurice Mouvet's perception of the emic elements of the Brazilian maxixe dance did not preclude him from suppressing them in his instruction book *The Tango and the New Dances* (1914). The statement "The maxixe is splendid physical exercise for the waist and hips, and, in fact, there is hardly a muscle in the body which is not splendidly developed in the inveterate maxixe dancer"[33] is followed by the warning "In dancing all these new dances to syncopated rhythms, the point to remember is that bodily contact between partners must be avoided. And this avoidance is easy. Bear in mind that in all the dips, and the swirls, and the kicks the partners use alternate feet".[34] From the iconographical perspective, Mouvet's dance manual offers diagrams that provide visual instructions for feet movements on the floor (fig. 5), but no visual instructions concerning waist and hip movements, missing precisely the kinemic movements of the maxixe. Considering the immediate understanding provided by visual information in dance instructions, the few words in the main text or in the diagrams' subtitles explaining the relation of the waist with other parts of the body movement, with no words about the hips, certainly undermine kinemic movements of the maxixe.

Castle's dance manual *Modern Dances* (1914) does the same, and from the iconographical perspective, the sequential photographs – referred to as "moving pictures" – are mostly attached to European ballroom conventions and detached from maxixe's Afro-Brazilian practice. Some dance steps described in Castle's manual did not even belong to maxixe's native practice and were most likely borrowed

32 Vernon Castle and Irene Castle, *Modern Dances* (New York: World Syndicate Co., 1914. Retrieved from the Library of Congress https://www.loc.gov/item/89108372/); J. S. Hopkins, *The Tango and Other Up-to-Date Dances: A Practical Guide to All the Latest Dances, Tango, One Step, Innovation, Hesitation, etc Described Step by Step by J. S. Hopkins; Illustrated with Photographs Posed by Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Castle, Joseph C. Smith … and Many Other Famous Dancers* (Chicago: The Saalfield Publishing Co., 1914. Retrieved from the Library of Congress https://www.loc.gov/item/14010455/); Maurice Mouvet, *The Tango and the New Dances for Ballroom and Home …* by Maurice [pseud.] *… Illustrated with Photographs and Diagrams. All Steps Described so Plainly Anyone Can Readily Learn Them* (Chicago: Laird, 1914. Retrieved from the Library of Congress https://www.loc.gov/item/14009539/); Albert W. Newman, *Dances of To-Day … An Expert's Full Directions, with Illustrations and Diagrams, for Learning or Teaching the Tango, Hesitation, One-Step, Boston, Maxixe and All Other Modern Dances* (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co., 1914. Retrieved from the Library of Congress https://www.loc.gov/item/14009840/). See also the reconstruction of the maxixe dance in The Library of Dance site https://www.libraryofdance.org/dances/maxixe/.

33 Mouvet, *The Tango and the New Dances*, 21, bold is mine.

34 Mouvet, *The Tango and the New Dances*, 32, bold is Mouvet's.

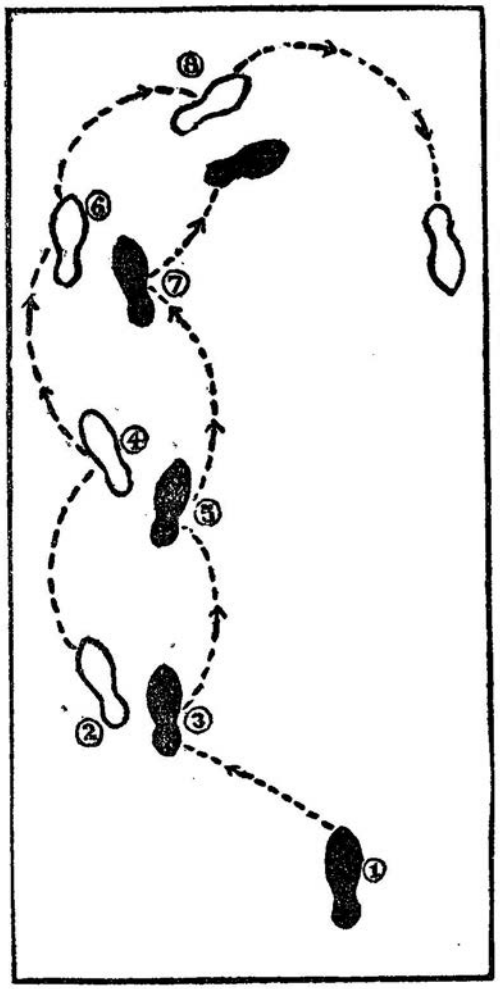


Fig. 5: Mouvet's ballroom dance manual, 1914, 23. Diagram on the maxixe's "First Figure." Source: Library of Congress.

from other popular dances in vogue such as the Argentine tango or even the long-standing polka. Castle's sequence of dance figures and steps (fig. 6) never came up in the iconographic material related to the maxixe's early local practice, so they belong to neither Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge nor maxixe kinemic movements – as shown below in this study.

Newman's manual *Dances of To-Day* (1914), presented as an "expert's full directions, with illustrations and diagrams, for learning or teaching," makes clear the expurgating process that "modern ballroom dances" underwent in cosmopolitan spaces. It warns in the foreword that its instructions comply with only those that "have found in favour with Society in New York and Philadelphia, the two greatest centres of Social Dancing in America, as suitable for the ballroom."



Fig. 6: Castle's Dance Manual, 1914, 127. Sequential photographs of the maxixe's "Turn" and "Changing Hands." Source: Library of Congress.

Hopkins's dance manual *The Tango and Other Up-to-Date Dances* (1914), "illustrated with photographs posed by (...) many famous dancers," provides another example of the suppression of kinemic knowledge of maxixe dance not only by eliding any instruction concerning waist and hips, but also by placing emphasis on the "position of the heel" (fig. 7), which is something that never comes up in the descriptions or criticism about the maxixe as danced in its original contexts – as shown below in this study. Also, the way that the man holds the woman, in open position, side to side, walking forward, is not a kinemic movement of the Afro-Brazilian maxixe – as shown below in this study – since it never appears in the iconographic material representing maxixe's early local practice.

Even the ballroom dance manual *Danças de Salão*[35] (Ballroom Dances) (1915) by the Portuguese journalist and writer, who lived in Rio de Janeiro, Artur de Matos (1890–1923), better known under the pen name Xico Braz,[36] incurs the same bias, stating clearly his attachment to cosmopolitan appropriation of the Brazilian dance "as it is danced in the Parisian and American halls." Working along the lines of the

35 Xico Braz, *Danças de Salão* (Rio de Janeiro: Quaresma, 1915). Source: Instituto Moreira Salles.

36 Adriano da Guerra Andrade, *Dicionário de pseudónimos e iniciais de escritores portugueses* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, 1999), 280, 391.



CARLOS SEBASTIAN AND JOAN SAWYER
Dancing the Maxixe, which M. Sebastian originally created in New York. (Notice position of the heel.)

Fig. 7: Hopkins's Dance Manual, 1914, 111. Source: Library of Congress.

expurgating process of the Afro-Brazilian dance, Xico Braz informs the reader that the "Maxixe Brasileiro para Salão" (Brazilian maxixe for ballrooms) is a "happy modification of the national maxixe (…) taking away (…) a great deal of lust only proper to theatre stages and carnival balls." Braz guarantees that "the salon maxixe preserves the scent of the national maxixe, the melodic grace of the steps without the excesses which are incompatible with family gatherings." Moreover, Braz presents the "Brazilian maxixe theory," describing in detail the "five classical, fundamental figures" of the maxixe dance, clarifying that "the movement of the hips and shoulders must be delicate and done with ease."[37] As far as body space is concerned, Braz (1915) gives the same advice as Mouvet (1914). In the chapter "Manners to hold the ladies," the Braz warns: "in this position they begin to dance taking care to avoid as much as possible that their torso stay in touch, and their faces touch each other."[38] As we will discuss later, Braz's directions are exactly the opposite of the kinemic behaviour depicted in the cartoon "Maxixe lesson," discussed below.

Coeval sources offer important hints about the continuing process of appropriation of the many local dances turned into cosmopolitan ballroom dances. Hopkins's dance manual (1914) states right at the introduction: "To describe each and every dance would be impossible for the reason that every dancer and every teacher has originated steps of their own in combination with steps which they have learned from different sources."[39] From that explanation one can infer that "modern dances" resulted from the cultural practice of cosmopolitan demeanour applied to national dances plus the blending of personal inventions and recreations. This kind of evidence impels us to rethink the extent to which personal styles and approaches to dances from multifarious origins have coined dance manuals for cosmopolitan ballroom milieus.

---

37 "Maxixe Brasileiro para Salão […] é uma feliz modificação do maxixe nacional […] tirando, porém, […] grande quantidade de lascívia só própria para os palcos e bailes carnavalescos. O maxixe de são conserva o perfume do maxixe nacional , a graça melódica dos passos, sem os excessos incompatíveis com as reuniões familiares. […] O movimento dos quadris e dos ombros deve ser delicado e feito com desenvoltura," quoted in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 50, passim). Rosa Maria Barbosa Zamith, *A quadrilha, da partitura aos espaços festivos: música, dança e sociabilidade no Rio de Janeiro oitocentista* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora E-papers, 2011), and Marta Abreu, *Da senzala ao palco: canções escravas e racismo nas Américas, 1870–1930* (Campinas: SciELO – Editora da Unicamp, 2017) discuss Xico Braz's dance manual in the context of the Brazilian *quadrilha* and the American cakewalk, respectively. Juliana da Conceição Pereira, *Clubes Dançantes e Moralidades no Rio de Janeiro da Primeira República* (Master's thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Programa de Pós-graduação em História, 2017. Retrieved from http://www.historia.uff.br/stricto/td/2111.pdf) discusses Xico Braz's dance manual in the context of dancing societies in Rio de Janeiro from 1889 to 1920.

38 "Modos de segurar as damas: […] nessa posição começam a dançar tendo o cuidado de evitar, o mais possível, que o tronco de ambos fique em contato e que os rostos se toquem." (*Correio da Manhã*, February 26, 1953, 10, "Escritores e livros" ("Writers and books"), "Visita ao sebo" ("A visit to a used book store"), signed by J. C.)

39 Hopkins, *The Tango and Other Up-to-Date Dances*, 14.

Brazilian sources of the maxixe have also revealed that this process on maxixe dance was propelled not only by foreigner dancers, such as the above-mentioned authors of dance manuals, but also by native dancers, who were presumably knowledgeable about the national tradition. This was the case of the Brazilian dancer Antônio Lopes de Amorim Diniz (1884–1953), better known as Duque (fig. 8), who made the maxixe a rage in Paris, and whose dance style was targeted with harsh criticism by the Brazilian journalist Fernando Mendes de Almeida Junior in a series of articles, published in French and Brazilian newspapers by early 1914:

> Professor Duque, wanting to transform the maxixe into a series of more or less academic, more or less eccentric steps, did not notice that he completely denatured it, making it, if not unrecognizable, at least extremely grotesque and disgraceful. The maxixe does not lend itself to the figures of the classical dances that the Brazilian *danseur* wanted to introduce, denatured and without purpose. As beautiful and graceful as the *danseuse*, with which such figures are performed, this dance becomes unbearable if one introduces into it what naturally Duque must call the step of the *trembling jamegão*, the *cafuné*, the *window*, or the variations of *umbigada*, or of the *enter now*, which are nothing more than insertions, more or less national, more or less spiritual, of certain figures of classical dances, Greek or Egyptian, denatured or wrecked by movements of a feeling more than doubtful.[40]

Furthermore, this piece of criticism reveals that traditional ballroom dances coexisted with, were transformed by, and were replaced by a complex fusion of gestures, steps, choreography, and dance styles drawing from reimagined antiquity, imagined local or exotic cultures, usually mediated by dancers who had some kind or degree of agency in coining those "modern dances."

The "step of the maxixe" that Duque dances with Mlle. Gaby Desly (fig. 8) is arguably a kinemic movement of this Afro-Brazilian dance, since – as shown below in this study – there is no iconographic material depicting the maxixe in its early local practice showing the couple in open position, the woman giving her back to be held by the man.

The need to adjust the maxixe dance to traditional moral values in order to be accepted in some social circles is clearly explained by the same critic who disapproved Duque's distorted version of the national dance: "The maxixe – do not

40 "... o professor Duque, querendo transformar o maxixe em uma série de passos mais ou menos acadêmicos, mais ou menos excêntricos, não notou que assim completamente o desnaturava, tornando-o, se não irreconhecível, pelo menos extremamente grotesco e desgracioso. O maxixe não se presta às figuras das danças clássicas que nele quis introduzir, desnaturadas e sem propósito, o *danseur* brasileiro. Por muito bonita e graciosa que seja a *danseuse,* com a qual tais figuras são executadas, essa dança torna-se insuportável se nela se introduz aquilo que naturalmente o Sr. Duque deve chamar passo do *jamegão tremido,* do *cafuné,* da *janela,* ou as variações de *umbigada,* ou do *entra já* e que não são outra coisa que aplicações, mais ou menos nacionais, mais ou menos espirituais, de certas figuras de danças clássicas, gregas ou egípcias, desnaturadas ou achincalhadas por movimentos de um sentimento mais que duvidoso ...". (Fernando Mendes de Almeida Junior, *Jornal* do *Brasil*, February 1, 2 and 6, 1914 quoted in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 57).



Fig. 8: *A Illustração*, Rio de Janeiro, February 1, 1914. Subtitle reads, "A "step" of the "maxixe" that Duque dances with Mlle. Gaby Desly." Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

create illusions – is a completely amoral dance, and even very immoral (...) The maxixe is of such an extreme lust that it is necessary, for it to be pleasant to be seen danced or to be danced, that all its figures be executed according to rules."[41] Once more coeval sources spelled out that taming eroticism was one of the "civilizing" strategies of so many ballroom dance academies, manuals, and lessons for outsider apprentices of the maxixe dance.

41 "O maxixe, que não se criem ilusões, é uma dança completamente amoral, e mesmo muito imoral ... é de uma lascívia extrema, e é preciso, para que seja agradável de se ver dançar ou de ser dançada, que todas as suas figuras sejam executadas segundo regras ...". (Fernando Mendes de Almeida Junior, *Jornal* do *Brasil,* February 1, 2 and 6, 1914 quoted in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 56).

The scene in the autobiographical film *Whirl of Life* (silent movie, 1915)[42] showing Vernon and Irene Castle dancing their version of the maxixe corroborates the role of personal choices in forging the cosmopolitan style of modern dances. And despite the Castle couple's misrepresentation of kinemic movements of the maxixe as an Afro-Brazilian dance, their body movements – as other famous maxixe mediators – did express the "break up of patterns" perceived by Sachs (1937), mentioned earlier in this chapter, as a watershed in cosmopolitan ballroom dances at the time. Even though cosmopolitan ballroom versions entailed a greater or lesser degree of misrepresentation of the kinemic movements of the maxixe, there must have been some sort of kinemic knowledge absorbed in those cultural practices that released body demeanour from social conventions.

The misrepresentation of kinemic movements of the maxixe – or the erasure of Afro- diasporic affiliation, as proposed by Seigel's mindful study about the maxixe in the United States – was a cultural practice within a broader ideological context:

> Promoters and performers who introduced the maxixe to the United States characterized it in ways bound to erase its association with things African – or Brazilian, a category easily conflated with "African" in North Atlantic eyes. (...) Maxixe was stripped of its Afro-diasporic or Brazilian affiliations, celebrated as kin to tango and to France, and finally absorbed into jazz as jazz itself was increasingly proclaimed a racially neutral, "American" form. (...) Music industry executives, performers, and audiences in the United States sanded its Afro-associated edges to fit it to the expected gamut of multiple, generic exotics.[43]

Another important point to understand is that the terminological ambiguity of the maxixe – also referred to as "tango brasileiro," "tango brésilienne," or "la mattchiche" – was not only a way of disguising its "low origins" or "lascivious undertones" by "upgrading" it with more appealing terms for national or international markets, but also that those linguistic variations reflected the continuous process of appropriation and expurgation that the maxixe underwent in new contexts and cosmopolitan spaces.[44] Moreover, the maxixe – as other "modern ballroom dances" – can be better understood as cultural practices involving body expression through music which are at the core of complex relations between cosmopolitanism and Afrodiasporic processes.

---

42 Silent film, *Whirl of Life* (1915), Oliver D. Bailey (field director); Vernon Castle, 1887–1918 (author and performer); Irene Castle, 1893–1969 (performer); Catherine Carr (screenwriter); Museum of Modern Art (New York, N.Y.) (owner); Cort Film Corp (producer). The New York Public Library. Jerome Robbins Dance Division, *The New York Public Library Digital Collections*. Retrieved from https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/ad1ed8f0-f875-0130-26af-3c075448cc4b. It shows Vernon and Irene Castle dancing the maxixe, from 25:30 to 27:15.

43 Seigel, "The Disappearing Dance: Maxixe's Imperial Erasure," 99.

44 On the conflation of the maxixe with Argentine tango and Frenchness in the United States, see Seigel, "The Disappearing Dance: Maxixe's Imperial Erasure," 99–103.

The Maxixe Has Science, or at Least It Has Art

Rio de Janeiro's contemporary press had plenty of statements about the the maxixe as dance. It is interesting to note that quite a number of writers and illustrators were so knowledgeable about the maxixe's choreography and overtones. One may speculate that these "men of letters and arts" had experienced the maxixe either as dancers or spectators very frequently in their urban lifestyle in the Federal Capital. Their condition as "insiders" or "outsiders" is not clear-cut. On the one hand, these writers and illustrators did have a literacy level and a citizenship status that most of the Afro-Brazilians maxixe practitioners of their approach did not have. On the other hand, men of the middle-class were regulars of the cultural spaces in which the maxixe was practised – brothels, dance halls, music theatres, and carnivals. As journalists, writers, critics, playwriters, designers, and artists, these men enjoyed free transit in nearly all social classes. Therefore, one may consider that these mediators of the maxixe had an ambiguous condition as insiders/outsiders. Moreover, these writers and illustrators experienced the clash of cultural and moral values among different social spaces, from top to bottom, so one may expect that, to some extent, their representations convey the perspectives, appreciation, and value judgements that were in play.

"Cartas para a terra: X. O Maxixe" ("Letters to the Land: 10th. The Maxixe"), signed by (pseud.) Amelio, published in the magazine *Cidade do Rio* in 1901, is a rich historical testimony of the cultural meaning of the maxixe. Consisting of a literary piece linked to the literary traditions of *glosa* poetry and criticism of customs – a genre that permeated Brazilian magazines during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century – it expresses the recognition of maxixe as a dance style with its own merits with the *mote* "The maxixe has science, or at least it has art," borrowed from *Fandanguassu*, a very popular *cançoneta* by Augusto Fábregas.

O maxixe tem ciência,	*The maxixe has science,*
ou pelo menos tem arte:	*or at least it has art:*
requebra somente em parte,	only partly **breaks down**,
requebra do corpo só.	**body shaking** only.
Esse passo de moscidras (sic: mossidras),	This step of moscidras (sic: mossidras),
que tem esquisito alcunha,	which has a weird nickname,
nem é do siri sem unha,	neither is it the crab without nails,
nem é do jogodó	nor is it the *jogodó*
(…)	(…)
em vendo **requebrar** juntos	seeing it **shatter (swaying hips)** together
agarrada a mulher ao homem	**clinging** woman to man
(…)	(…)

Fandanguassu, cançoneta lyrics signed by Augusto Fábregas, published in the magazine, *O Rio Nú*, October 7, 1899, 2, "Theatro do Rio Nú." (bold is mine; *mote* in italics).

"O maxixe tem ciência …
Ou pelo menos tem arte …"
Diz o Leonardo, no Fandanguassú e grande verdade diz.
Ciência tem, tem arte, olé se tem.
Das danças todas é o maxixe a mais humana, a mais sincera, a mais original, a mais dança.
É bela a valsa, a schottisch gentil, o pas de quatre fidalgo, a quadrilha solene, a polka saltitante, a mazurka langorosa, o galope impetuoso.
Pois o maxixe é ao mesmo tempo tudo isso, e mais fogoso, vivo, empolgante, mele, **sensual**, **voluptuoso**.
Os que o dançam, **agarram-se**, **enroscam-se**, unificam-se, fazem de dois **corpos** um copo só.
E é um corpo só que gira, **ginga**, **remexe**, contorce-se, volteia, abaixa-se, curva-se, ergue-se, **bamboleia**.
Antes de cair no maxixe, o par alheia-se de tudo mais. Cerra os olhos, como que adormece.
Depois, começa o viravoltear e tem-se a impressão de que é um casal de sonâmbulos atados de estranha doença, que anda por ali, na inconsciência do sonho, a rodar, a rodar insensivelmente.
A música é toda ela irregular: tem alegres, fortes, corridas rápidas e movimentos flácidos, paradas.
As **pernas** dos maxixeiros marcam o compasso, n'um batutear bizarro.
Quando a banda corre precipite, veloz, sobre o rufo barulhento das caixas, com fortes tremendos nos metais, a **perna** curva-se pelo joelho, atira-se para traz, rapidamente, como a dar um coice: depois, quando o bombo pesado e soturno bate compassado, parecendo ceder à fadiga, a **perna** se estica, dura, direita, hirta, o **pé** estendido e varre, **raspa o chão como um**

"The maxixe has science …
Or at least it has art …"
So says Leonardo in Fandanguassú, great truth he says.
(Maxixe) has science, it has art, alas it has it all.
Of all dances, the maxixe is the most human, the most sincere, the most original, the most dance.
The waltz, the gentle schottisch, the noble pas de quatre, the solemn quadrille, the jumping polka, the languid mazurka, the impetuous gallop are all beautiful.
For the maxixe is all of this at the same time, and more fiery, alive, exciting, luscious, **sensual**, **voluptuous**.
Those who dance, **hug tight**, **curl up**, unify, coalesce two **bodies** into one.

And they are one bounded body that rotates, **swings**, twists, twitches, turns, stoops, bends, rises, **waddles**.
Before falling into the maxixe, the pair is oblivious to everything else. Close their eyes, as if they fall asleep.
Then, the turn-around begins and one has the impression that it is a couple of sleepwalkers tied up with a strange disease, walking around, unconscious of the dream, spinning, spinning insensibly.
The music is all irregular: it has cheerful, strong, fast runs, and flabby movements, stops.
The maxixe dancers' **legs** mark the time, in a bizarre batting.
When the music band runs, precipitate, fast, on the loud noise of the drums, with strong tremendous in the brass instruments, the **leg** bends by the knee, throws back, quickly, as if to kick: afterwards, when the heavy and sombrely drum and beats steadily, seeming to give in to fatigue, his **leg** stretches, stiff, straight, stark, his **foot** extended and sweeps, **scrapes the ground like an alfange**

alfange a cortar um gramado.
Os peitos arfam, as têmporas batem em pancadas céleres e fortes, os hálitos confundem-se, confundem-se os suores. Quem quisesse saber qual dos corações palpita mais não conseguiria. Os corações estão também confundidos, são um só coração.
Não há etiqueta, não há comedimento: há prazer, há loucura, espontaneidade. O maxixe é bárbaro, é selvagem, é primitivo, é humano, é sinceramente humano.

cutting the lawn.
The breasts are heaving, the temples beat in swift and strong strokes, the breaths mingle, the sweats mingle.
Whoever wanted to know which of the hearts flutters most would not be able to. Hearts also mingle, they are one heart.
There is no etiquette, there is no restraint: there is pleasure, there is madness, spontaneity. The maxixe is barbaric, it is wild, it is primitive, it is human, it is sincerely human.

"Cartas para a terra: X. O Maxixe," ("Letters to the land: 10th. The Maxixe"), signed by (pseud.) Amelio, in *Cidade do Rio*, December 4, 1901, 1 (bold is mine; *mote* in italics).

Amelio's "Letters to the Land: 10th. the Maxixe" is a fine example of the dialogue between cosmopolitanism and local cultural practices, as it compares the maxixe with other European dances by asserting: "Of all dances, the maxixe is the most human, the sincerest, the most original, the most dance. The waltz, the gentle schottische, the noble *pas de quatre*, the solemn quadrille, the jumping polka, the languid mazurka, and the impetuous gallop are all beautiful. For the maxixe is all of this at the same time, plus more fiery, alive, exciting, luscious, sensual, voluptuous." This idea was often reiterated in other historical sources, literary and iconographic. Furthermore, historical sources point to the distinctive way that native people danced the maxixe.

The joint reading of iconographic and literary material addressing maxixe's dancing styles as close as possible to its early practice in Rio de Janeiro provides key information about maxixe's kinemic knowledge and kinemic movements. As much as images are interpreted in the light of historical sources, it turns out that maxixe's native dancing style was actually two: the "old" style and the "modern" style. Moreover, the interdisciplinary approach proposed here has revealed which are the maxixe's kinemic movements – its science and its art – that had remained unspoken in historical studies so far, for what we call them "indiscrete truths."

Maxixe Lesson: Kinemic Knowledge and Kinemic Movements

The cartoon "The Maxixe Lesson" (fig. 9), published in the magazine *Fon-Fon* in 1910 seems to be one of the few drawings of the closest original context of this Afro-Brazilian dance, since it depicts a couple of low-class maxixe dancers. The cartoon's subtitle quotes a popular song from Bastos Tigre's[45] and Baptista Coelho's

45 Manuel Bastos Tigre (Recife PE 1882 – Rio de Janeiro RJ 1957) : librarian, journalist, poet, composer, humourist, and prominent publicist.

music theatre piece, *O Maxixe* (1906): "She … **her face** all tender / **sticks in the face** of the riff-raff guy / Then, **legs with legs**, / they both fall in lascivious fun*!"[46] The language mode used in the cartoon's subtitles describing the scene with humour indicates that its author most likely does not consider himself belonging to the same social class although it is very empathetic. The language mode of the cartoon's subtitles matches a phonetic transcription of the Afro-Brazilian illiterate low-class people's speaking, the idiosyncrasies of which will (unfortunately) be missing in my translation. Note in the illustration's subtitle that the Brazilian slang "perereco" – whose literal translation would be "frog" but here translated as "lascivious fun" – evokes the female sexual part (pubis), and the movement of coitus. According to the chronicler Raul Pederneiras (1906), this is the *miudinho* step, the first step of the maxixe in its original environment (see discussion below).

The analysis of collected images of the "native" maxixe reveals that the most remarkable feature of maxixe's kinemic movement is clearly depicted in this cartoon (fig. 9): entwined legs, to be precise, the male dancer places one of his legs between the female's legs, so closely that eventually touches and rubs her pubis. This is the most pervading kinemic movement of the maxixe comprising this dance's "indiscrete truths." **Entwined legs, eventually rubbing**, are fully depicted in figures 1, 2, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 19; and mitigated in figures 3 and 4.

The anecdote "No carnaval," signed by Armando Sacramento, and published in the erotic magazine *O Rio Nú* (Naked Rio de Janeiro) (1900) enhances the entwined legs as an appealing quality of the maxixe dance: "The music, however, broke an extremely tasty maxixe. A maxixe! Who would be the calmest guy who would remain immobile before the crevice of an **entwine of legs**?"[47] This quotation mentions explicitly maxixe's kinemic movement and evokes the female sexual part with the metaphor "rochuras," here translated as "crevice." Sexual connotations are often in coeval texts about the maxixe.

Another behaviour typical of the maxixe dance, depicted in the cartoon "Maxixe lesson" (fig. 9), concerns body contact: more specifically, not only the couple's bodies but also their faces stick together. This body behaviour can also be considered one of the maxixe's kinemic movements, since it is mentioned in many articles, illustrations, and their respective subtitles. Bound bodies and faces are depicted in most of the illustrations of the maxixe dance in its original environments, both low- and middle-class (figs. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 12 13, 14, and 17), and upper-class (figs. 18 and 19). Faces and bodies release from each other only for a few moments when the dance movement requires jumping together (fig. 15). Bound bodies and faces are poetically described by Amelio's magazine article "Letters to the land: 10th. The Maxixe" (*Cidade do Rio*, 1901): "Those who dance, **hug tight**, **curl up**, unify, **coalesce** two **bodies** into one. And they are one bounded body that rotates, **swings**,

46 "Ella, a cara toda telna [terna] / Grúda na cara do méco [moleque] / E despois [depois], pelna com pelna [perna com perna] / Cáe os dois no pereréco!" [underline is mine] (*Fon-Fon*, February 4, 1910).

47 "A música, entretanto, rompeu um maxixe ultra gostoso. Um maxixe! qual será o sujeito mais pacato que fique imóvel ante as rochuras de um **entremeado de pernas**?" (*O Rio Nú*, February 28, 1900, 1).



Fig. 9: Cartoon "Lição de Maxixe" ("The Maxixe Lesson"), *Fon-Fon*, February 4, 1910. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

twists, twitches, turns, stoops, bends, rises, **waddles**". On writing for a monthly magazine (*Kosmos*, 1906) about dances in Rio de Janeiro's neighbourhoods, enhancing each social stratum with well-defined demeanours,[48] Olavo Bilac states, under the pseudonym Fantasio: "Here (maxixe dance at Cidade Nova), the **bodies** do not simply touch each other: they **are glued together. Faces in ecstasy**, 'eyes closed in sweet lust' with beatitude on their lips, they both look 'on the same tree, two branches ... on the same branch, two fruits"[49] (fig. 11). This body behaviour is also stressed by João Phoca's newspaper article "Popular Dances" (*Jornal do Brasil*, 1912), which starts out stressing the man's and woman's bound bodies, and cheek to cheek. All these images and descriptions of the maxixe dance corroborate our understanding of the couple's **close body contact with faces sticking together** as kinemic to the maxixe pertaining to its "indiscrete truths."[50]

48 On the cartography of the city expressed by Bilac in *Kosmos* 1906's article, see Velloso, "Narrativas da brasilidade," 160–162.

49 "A Cidade Nova não lhes inveja as riquezas, porque possui o maxixe. Aqui, já não se tocam apenas os corpos: colam-se. **Faces em êxtase**, 'olhos cerrados na volúpia doce' com um sorriso de beatitude nos lábios, os dois parecem 'na mesma árvore, dois galhos ... no mesmo galho, dois frutos ...'" (*Kosmos*, May 1906, "A dança no Rio de Janeiro," by Olavo Bilac signed with pseudonym Fantasio).

50 *O Maxixe*, Grupo Terror dos Facões, Casa Edison / Odeon, 120692, 1913. Retrieved from Instituto Moreira Salles https://discografiabrasileira.com.br/fonograma/4614/o-maxixe; and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i3GBfCllqxY.

Illustrations, especially the cartoons, of the maxixe as danced in its early cultural contexts also reveal another body behaviour that can be considered part of the kinemic movements of the maxixe dance: the man's arms wrap around the woman's waist while his **wandering hand goes down** and rests or even grabs her **buttocks**. This "indiscrete truth" of the maxixe is depicted with a dash of humour by Luiz Peixoto in the cartoon "O Maxixe" to João Phocas's article "Popular Dances" (fig. 2) suggesting that the old man is grabbing the old woman's buttocks; also by Kalixto[51] (fig. 11) depicting the middle-aged man resting his hand on the middle-aged woman buttocks; and by Alfredo Storni[52] showing clearly, even with some sarcasm, the man's pleasure in grabbing the woman's buttocks in the cartoon "Week's Salad" (fig. 12). Other images subtly suggest this dance code; for instance, the illustration by Célio Barroso[53] (fig. 3) depicting the young black man's leaning over the young white lady as his hand slides and smoothly rests on her buttocks. The boldness of the young black man over the white woman is enhanced by the cheek-to-cheek evolving to lips-to-lips that occurs between people of different ethnicity and social classes (fig. 3). The man's facial expression depicted by Kalixto (figs. 13 and 14) suggests that the couple took this kinemic movement seriously, and their pleasure seems to arise from the overall virtuosity of their body movements, highly demanded by so many difficult dance steps (considering the full set of drawings, including figs. 15 and 16), in which hands on buttocks is just a small part of their mutual realisation. The gesture of the man's hands on the woman's buttocks is also depicted with subtle elegance in the four-drawings set of the ballroom maxixe by Célio Barroso (fig. 18), and with a cunning moral license in the black man and mulata woman couple, referred to in the cartoon as "criouléu" (fig. 17). Another illustration by Barroso (fig. 10) shows a curious situation, in which the smooth sliding of the hands, from the waist to the buttocks, encounters an obstacle in the back lace on the dress's skirt.

A combination of these dance features – here proposed as kinemic movements of the maxixe – occurs simultaneously in many illustrations, and are often mentioned by contemporary critics: (1) rubbing legs between legs or rubbing entwined legs; (2) man and woman with close body contact; (3) man and woman cheek to cheek; and (4) the man's arms wrapped around the woman's waist while his wandering hand goes down to her buttocks. These are the kinemic movements of the maxixe lingering as its "indiscrete truths."

---

51 Calixto Cordeiro (Niterói RJ 1877 – Rio de Janeiro RJ 1957): caricaturist, designer, illustrator, lithographer, painter, and instructor. Pen names: Kalixto, K.Lixto. Retrieved from http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/pessoa8643/k-lixto.

52 Alfredo Storni (Santana do Livramento, RS 1881 – Niterói RJ 1966): designer, caricaturist, and cartoonist. Retrieved from http://www.guiadosquadrinhos.com/artista/alfredo-storni/4947 and http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/pessoa208718/storni.

53 Célio Barroso (Niterói, RJ, 1929 –): artist, illustrator, and painter. Retrieved from http://atelier-celiobarroso.blogspot.com/.



Fig. 10: Drawing signed by Célio Barroso, Rio de Janeiro, 1973 published in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 65.

There is another layer of body behaviours described by historical sources that are related not only to the maxixe, but also to Afro-Brazilian dances in general, for which we propose them as kinemic knowledge. In that respect, it is worth mentioning the perception of the broadcaster, writer, and poet Luiz Carlos Saroldi (1931–2010), who sums up the cultural meaning of the "maxixe as release of the body": "the choreography of the maxixe implied, for the first time, the acceptance of a fact hitherto suppressed by hips, coats and corsets: the existence in the human body of the so-called "lower parts," represented by the belly, genitals and buttocks."[54] The many literary genres – poetry, criticism, reports – published in newspapers and magazines testify coeval perception of Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge along the lines of Saroldi's perception.

54 "A coreograia do maxixe implicava pela primeira vez na aceitação de um fato até então reprimido por anquinhas, casacas e espartilhos: a existência no corpo humano das chamadas "partes baixas", representadas pelo ventre, genitais e nádegas." (Saroldi, "O maxixe como liberação do corpo," 37–38).

Flexible bodies in sinuous movements are the subject of many reports on Rio de Janeiro carnival at the time; for instance: "The Golden Serpent Group convulsively **snaked** their **flexible bodies** in beautifully stunning maxixe-manner **wiggles**."[55]

Swinging hips are described in many different ways and metaphors. The short poetic portrait "Acrobacia," (signed by pseud. Cri-Cri), published in the erotic magazine *O Rio Nú* (Naked Rio de Janeiro), evokes "when the **hips swing** in the good maxixe".[56] In the poetry competition launched by the same magazine, poets and dilettantti express their fascination by the Afro-Brazilian kinemic movement: "In this wiggling hips of pleasure / The little woman is brave."[57] Another literary piece of the same competition goes even further: "Oh what a dance by S. Guido! / Black woman moans on the spike! / The thief (man) puts science, / In a stirred maxixe! / **Swing** your **hips**, dear angel / At the front conjunction / The little woman is brave."[58] Swinging hips are often associated with the idea of sexual intercourse, often evoked by metaphors, such as "spike" referring to the male sexual part, and "front conjunction" referring the female sexual part. Historical sources reveal that the maxixe dance was very prone to sexual intercourse, as if this dance was part of a seduction game that could end up in carnal realisation. Among other historical sources corroborating this social behaviour, one may mention another poetic competition launched by the same erotic magazine a few years later that received replies such as: "Sinhá, Fragoso's wife / as she danced with me an insolently ferocious maxixe yesterday / whispered in in my ears / – How delicious! ... How delicious! ... / **Swing** more, my dear, / because I am almost there reaching my peak of pleasure … / But I didn't want to feel / some stick hitting on my back / So I said in a hurry / – Don't let your husband listen! ..."[59]

Dexterity of the legs was considered typical of carioca (Rio de Janeiro) body culture at that time, and "pernadas cariocas" are often mentioned. Raul Pederneiras (1906) states the maxixe "was born in the same corner where *choro*, *sorongo*, *arrastado*, and *gravanço* arose, which a dictionary will later shelter in its observant and erudite bosom, within the choreographic classification of the **pernadas cariocas.**"[60]

55 "O Grupo Serpente de Ouro **serpenteou** convulsivamente **os flexíveis corpos**, em uns **meneios** maxixeiros e belamente mirabolantes." (*Jornal do Brasil*, February 24, 1903, 3, "Carnaval, o derradeiro dia").

56 "[…] quando **balança** no bom maxixe **os quadris.**" (*O Rio Nú*, December 5, 1900, 5).

57 "Nesse **rebolar** de gozo / A pequenita é valente." (*O Rio Nú*, January 17, 1900, 3, column "Motte a Concurso," poetry signed by Deiro Senior).

58 "Ai que dança de S. Guido"! / Geme negra no espigão! / Mete a ciência ladrão, / N'um maxixe **remexido**! / **Rebola** anjinho querido / Na conjunção pela frente / A pequenita é valente." (*O Rio Nú*, January 17, 1900, 3, column "Motte a Concurso," poetry [signed by] Armando Sacramento).

59 "Sinhá, mulher do Fragoso / Num maxixe desabrido / Me disse ontem no ouvido / – *Que gostoso!* ... *Que gostoso*! ... / **Remexe** mais, meu dengoso, / Que estou já quase a fruir… / E eu não querendo sentir / Algum pau pelo costado / Fui lhe dizendo apressado / – *Não vá seu marido ouvir!* ... (*O Rio Nú*, October 24, 1903, 7, column "Motte a Concurso," poetry [pseud.] Fedelhinho).

60 [O maxixe] "nasceu no mesmo canto onde surgiram o *choro*, o *sorongo*, o *arrastado*, o *gravanço*, que um dicionário mais tarde há de abrigar no seu seio observador e erudito, na classificação coreográfica das **pernadas cariocas**." (Raul Pederneiras, "O Maxixe," *Século XX*, Ano I no. 8, May 1906, 43; bold is mine).

So, chroniclers of urban life who appreciated the Federal Capital's popular culture would have no doubts in naming the "pernadas cariocas" as peculiar to Rio de Janeiro's body culture associated with the Afro-Brazilian population, which has been observed at least since the early nineteenth century.[61] At the fin de siècle, carnival reports were plenty of references to the flexible body and legs skills of the revellers: "The Queen of Gold Group, experienced people with **flexible body**, also appeared, **breaking up their legs** in some maxixe-manner dances."[62] A poetry submitted to the erotic magazine competition of mote poetry even mentions that short legs are better than long legs for dancing the maxixe: "In a stirred maxixe / The little one is brave / I doubt that a **long-legged** guy / can support himself / In a stirred maxixe / For sure / It disturbs us a lot / This is why I doubt / – In a stirred maxixe / The little one is brave".[63]

The following table offers a one-glance view of Afro Brazilian kinemic knowledge, and maxixe kinemic movements, according to historical sources from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

Table 1. Interdisciplinary approach to kinemic knowledge and movements of maxixe's early practice.

Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge	**Maxixe kinemic movements: "indiscrete truths"**
• sensuality / voluptuousness • flexible, sinuous body movements • centrality of waist, hips and buttocks • swinging hips (*rebolar*, *remexer requebrar*) swing the body as a whole (*bambolear*) • skilled leg movements ('*pernada'*) • "mix the legs" ("*misturar as gambias*")	• entwined (eventually rubbing) legs • bound bodies • cheek-to-cheek • The man's arms wrap around the woman's waist and his "wandering hand" touches her buttocks • swinging hips • sexual innuendo on the edge of realisation • breaking up their legs

One may easily identify all these Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge and maxixe kinemic movements in the article extensively transcribed above – "Letters to the land: 10th. The Maxixe," by Amelio, published in *Cidade do Rio* (1901), developed on the motto "*The maxixe has science … or at least it has art,*" – also in the article "The Balls," by João Phoca, published in the *Jornal do Brasil* (1905), discussed below, as well as in all illustrations selected in this study for representing the maxixe dance in its native practice.

61 José Ramos Tinhorão, *Cultura popular temas e questões* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2001, 42) shows how the *pernadas cariocas* transformed the Portuguese *fado* into *fado batido* by the time of D. João VI's return to Portugal. The *pernada carioca* also relates to the *capoeira*.

62 "A Rainha de Ouro, pessoal experimentado e desempenado, apareceu também, desmanchando as ,**gambias** em umas danças maxixescas" (*Jornal do Brasil*, February 24, 1903, 3, "Carnaval, o derradeiro dia").

63 "N'um maxixe **remexido** / A pequenita é valente / Duvido que se sustente / *N'um maxixe remexido* / Um *cabra* que por cumprido / De pernas, Pois certamente / Atrapalha muito a gente / Eis aí porque duvido / – N'um maxixe remexido / *A pequenita é valente*" (*O Rio Nú*, 17 January 1900, 3, column "Motte a Concurso," poetry signed by Adolfo).



Fig. 11: "Na Cidade Nova," drawing signed by Kalixto to the article "A dança no Rio de Janeiro" (Dances in Rio de Janeiro), by Fantasio (pseudonym used by Olavo Bilac), *Kosmos*, May 1906. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.



Fig. 12: Cartoon (cut-out) "Salada da Semana," drawing signed by Alfredo Storni, *O Malho*, April 10, 1915. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

The contemporary critic Baptista Coelho, who signed with the pen name João Phoca, and was a regular contributor to *Jornal do Brasil* between the 1900s and 1910s, provides important information about the changes of the maxixe choreography as he describes the maxixe dance in low and rising middle-class environments. Permeated by the usual humour of the chronicles of those times, the acknowledgement of two types of maxixe choreography – the "old" style, and the "modern" style – stands out in João Phoca's descriptions. Phocas's article "The Balls" (1905) describes Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge, and maxixe kinemic movements.

> The gentleman and the gentlelady **hug each other** with such a will, **face to face**, **body to body**, his left arm and her right arm stretched out, and they sweat as they sway over the **old** or the **modern dance styles** of the maxixe. The old one is the *maxixe corrido* (speedy dance), one step only, breaking the bodies now to the left, sometimes to the right. But this is almost abolished. The modern way is all neatness. The movement of the feet is that of the French polka, in larger strides. When

> the maxixe male dancer steps forward, he lowers his left shoulder, bends over the strap, and the maxixe female dancer imitates him. In the other step, the two rise like a seesaw, and so they go. From time to time, they turn to the left in dizzying turns so fast that they give the impression that the two will fall, as if they could not sustain themselves in that crazy spin. All this, however, is done with grace, with smooth and charming gestures, with **flexuosity in sinuous body movements**.[64]

The transformations of the maxixe dance is also pointed out by João Phoca in a later article, "Popular Dances" (1912):

> The real people, the flower of my people, the very good negress ... throws themselves with soul, body, heart, and the rest (...) to the maxixe, in all its various forms: by the **old style**, by the **modern style** *peneiradinho* (sieve), to raise his leg, to spin still as a pivot, to turn left, etc., etc.[65]

João Phoca identifies the *maxixe corrido* (speedy maxixe) – explaining that it is a one-step dance – as the old style; and the *peneiradinho* (sieve) – made up of many movements, turns, spins, raising legs – as the modern style. João Phoca also informs the reader that the modern style of the maxixe dance adopts the two-step of the French polka. This information leads us to the conclusion that the basic difference between the old and the new style is that the former was a one-step dance with plenty of Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge, and the latter was a two-step dance, also full of Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge, but gradually creating new kinemic movements, and appropriating some steps or gestures from other cosmopolitan ballroom dances as well.

There are four literary sources whose joint reading with iconographical material can provide some new understanding of maxixe old and modern styles and their steps: João Phoca's articles "The Balls" (1905) and "Popular Dances" (1912); Raul Pederneiras's article "O Maxixe" (1906), whose explanations of maxixe dance steps is illustrated by four drawings by Kalixto; and Flax's "The Evolution of the Maxixe" (1914). Maxixe's old and modern dance styles, and its steps, can be listed as follows so far: the *miudinho* step; the *passo largo* step; the *feniano* step; the

64 "O cavalheiro e a cavalheira abraçam-se com vontade, cara com cara, corpo com corpo, o braço esquerdo dele e o direito dela esticados e lá suam a remelexar ou pelo antigo ou pelo moderno. O antigo é o maxixe corrido, de um passo só, quebrando os corpos ora para a esquerda, ora para a direita. Esse está quase abolido. Pelo moderno é outro asseio. O movimento dos pés é o da polca francesa, em passos mais largos. Quando o maxixeiro dá o passo para diante, abaixa o ombro esquerdo, curvando-se pela cinta, e a maxixeira o imita; no outro passo, erguem-se os dois como uma ponta de gangorra, e assim vão. De quando em quando, rodopiam para a esquerda em voltas vertiginosas tão rápidas que dão, a quem aprecia, a impressão de que os dois vão cair, não se poderão sustentar naquele doido gira-girar. Isso tudo, porém, é feito com graça, com suavidade nos meneios, com flexuosidade nos coleios ...". (João Phoca, "Os Bailes" [The Balls], *Jornal do Brasil*, January 5, 1905).

65 O pessoal de verdade, a *flor da minha gente*, a *negrada* mesmo boa ... se atira d'alma, corpo, coração e o resto ... ao maxixe, em todas as suas formas várias: pelo antigo, pelo moderno peneiradinho, de levantar a perna, de dormir sereno como pião, de rodar esquerda, etc., etc ..." (João Phoca, "Danças Populares" [Popular Dances], *Jornal do Brasil*, June 16, 1912).

descaído step; and the *passo cobra* step. Most of the information about the maxixe steps are brief comments scattered in a large number of periodicals ranging about four decades and must be collected and put together for analysis and interpretation. Raul Pederneiras aimed at some historical appraisal of the maxixe, and his article is among the few sources describing with words and illustrations the maxixe dance and its steps, including four of them – the *miudinho* step; the *passo largo* step; the *feniano* step, and the *descaído* step.

The "maxixe miudinho requebrado" (maxixe's tiny step with swaying hips), is mentioned in other sources reporting carnival in 1903,[66] and by Raul Pederneiras's article (1906) as the first step of the old style of maxixe dance: "The first one used was the *miudinho* (fig. 13) very well described in slang rhyme by Bastos Tigre,"[67] and it follows the same quotation of the cartoon "Lição de Maxixe" (fig. 9), proving the popularity of that song.

A contemporary critic, pen name Flax, mentions in his article "The Evolution of the Maxixe," published in the magazine *O Imparcial*, February 11, 1914, makes a comment that deserves much attention: "However, a generation of aesthetes of dance emerged, and the maxixe was taken to perfection, imposing steps on it, chasing away those *requebradores* (dancers who knew how to swing, that is to say, old style maxixe dancers) who were content with prosaic turns of the dancing."[68] This appraisal by Flax (1914) together with another comment by Fernando Mendes de Almeida Junior (1914) reproaching the figures and steps inserted in the ballroom maxixe by Duque (see transcription above), plus the careful word-choice by Pederneiras (1906) about "the modalities of steps and shakes began to appear, the variations of the movements and turns" of the early maxixe[69] – all these sources lead us to the conclusion that in the maxixe's old style, body movements prevailed that did not form fixed figuration steps, and the style consisted of a one-step dance that freely expressed shakes and turns associated with Afro-Brazilian kinemic knowledge gradually shaping into maxixe kinemic movements. So, *miudinho* step must have been a quick one-step dance with plenty of body contact, swinging of the hips, and entwined legs, as summarised in Table 1. By looking closely to the two iconographical sources (figs. 9 and 13) – and noting that we consider Kalixto's drawing of the *miudinho* step in the historical source rather than the switched drawing as appears in the ground breaking study by Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada* (1974) – one may see how these two drawings depict the same maxixe step; so, that is the *miudinho*.

66 *Jornal do Brasil*, February 24, 1903, 2, "Carnaval, o derradeiro dia."

67 "O primeiro usado foi o *miudinho* muito bem descrito em gíria rimada por Bastos Tigre." (Raul Pederneiras, "O Maxixe," *Século XX*, Ano I no. 8, May 1906, 44).

68 "Surgiu, porém, uma geração de estetas da dança e o maxixe caminhou para a perfeição, impondo os seus passos, afugentando da primeira linha aqueles requebradores que se contentavam com volteios prosaicos da dança que se transformava." (*O Imparcial*, February 11, 1914, "A evolução do maxixe" ("The Evolution of the Maxixe"), signed by pen name Flax).

69 " ... as modalidades de passos e saracoteios, as variantes dos meneios e voltas." (Raul Pederneiras, "O Maxixe," *Século XX*, I, no. 8, May 1906, 44).



Fig. 13: "Miudinho," drawing signed by Kalixto to the article "O Maxixe" by Raul Pederneiras, *Século XX*, I, no. 8, May 1906, 43. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. This illustration appears in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 53) where it is labelled differently from its historical source, replacing its subtitle as "Feniano – uma das figurações coreográficas do maxixe."



Fig. 14: "Feniano," drawing signed by Kalixto to the article "O Maxixe" by Raul Pederneiras, *Século XX*, I, no. 8, May 1906, 44. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. This illustration appears in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada,* 53) where it is labelled differently from its historical source, replacing its subtitle as "Miudinho, outro passo infernal, às vezes, macio e envolvente").

Considering the few descriptions of the maxixe steps in historical sources, it is worth transcribing Raul Pederneiras's accounts on three other steps. After the *miudinho* step, the chronicler says, "then came the *passo largo* step (stride), martial, energetic wobble, with fast and dizzying drops."[70] In fact, Kalixto's drawing (fig. 15) for Pederneiras's article displays the male dancer stretching his legs for a large step as he leads the female dancer. The man's facial expression shows confidence while the woman's facial expression shows enjoyment. There is no clue however in Kalixto's drawing of an impending, sudden fall. This is the solo mention of *passo largo* step found in historical sources, both literary and iconographic, so far.

70 "Surgiu depois o *passo largo* (stride), bamboleio marcial, enérgico, com descaídas rápidas e estonteadoras." (Raul Pederneiras, "O Maxixe," *Século XX*, I, no. 8, May 1906, 43).



Fig. 15: "Passo Largo," drawing signed by Kalixto to the article "O Maxixe" by Raul Pederneiras, *Século XX*, I, no. 8, May, 1906, 45. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

Pederneiras description of the maxixe's third step goes as follows: "then came the *feniano* with an equal cadence (to *passo largo* step), a more flabby wobble, and a little step similar to that of a mazurka that suddenly stops".[71] According to Kalixto's drawing (fig. 14), there is a great difference is that the couple does not hold one of the hands, but both hands are touching each other: the woman holds on the man's shoulder, and the man places booths hands on the woman's buttocks. Considering that Pederneiras's description of the *feniano* mentions some basic similarities with the *passo largo* step and some borrowing from the mazurka, one may suppose that this drawing catches the exact moment of *feniano*'s sudden stop.

71 "seguiu-se o *feniano* com igual cadência, bamboleio mais flácido, e um passinho semelhante ao de uma mazurka que se suspende de repente." (Raul Pederneiras, "O Maxixe," *Século XX*, I, no. 8, May 1906, 44).



Fig. 16: "Descaído," drawing signed by Kalixto to the article "O Maxixe," by Raul Pederneiras, in *Século XX*, I, no. 8, May, 1906, 46. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. This illustration appears in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 102) with the subtitle "O maxixe era dançado a rigor. Este passo era o descaído."

Pederneiras's last description of a maxixe step refers to the *descaído*: "extraordinarily crazy, exhausting, and dizzying is the *descaído* (sudden downward) step, where there are some electric jumps like a frisky cat, demanding such leg skills that leave out of sight the tired cancan, the macabre cake walk and other exotic choreographies."[72] Kalixto's drawing (fig. 16) shows the dancers in quick, high jumping together.

72 "Supinamente louco, exaustivo, estonteante é o passo descaído, onde há alguns saltos elétricos de gato assanhado, exigindo uma destreza de gambias que deixa a perder de vista o estafado cancan, o macabro cake walk e outras coreografias exóticas." (Raul Pederneiras, "O Maxixe," *Século XX*, I, no. 8, May 1906, 45).



Fig. 17: Drawing by Célio Barroso, published in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 156. Subtitle reads: "No crioulêu também o maxixe era quente" ("Among Black people also the maxixe was hot").This is most likely the *passo cobra* step.

In his article about the evolution of the maxixe dance, Flax (1914) also mentions "a more recent step" – therefore belonging to the modern style – the *passo cobra* (snake step): "New ways of dancing appeared, some, at first, detested, like the *passo cobra*, so badly received and, however, in a short time accepted as the most voluptuous and most elegant step of the dance that should soon invade the Old World halls."[73] A later documentary film *Maxixe, a dança perdida* (Maxixe, the lost dance) (1980) shows the *passo cobra* movements, from which one can infer that Célio Barroso's drawing of the "maxixe at crioléu" (fig. 17) depicts this "snake" step. This is among the few instances in the iconographical study of the maxixe's native practice in its original environment for which available sources allow the triangulation between literary description, picture, and moving images. So, the *passo cobra* can be briefly explained as the leaning and twisting waist together making circular movements of the couple's joint bodies.[74]

The above-mentioned documentary film *Maxixe, a dança perdida* was produced in 1980 under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture. It enjoyed the invaluable contribution of Jota Efegê, the researcher and specialist on maxixe, whose ground-breaking book on maxixe was published in 1974. The documentary

73 "Apareciam novas formas de dançar, algimas, a princípio, detestadas, como o *passo cobra*, tão mal recebido e, no entretanto, em pouco tempo, aceito, como o fôra de que tão, o passo mais voluptuoso e mais elegante da dança que devia invadir, dentro em breve, os salões do Velho Mundo." (*O Imparcial*, February 11, 1914, "A evolução do maxixe" ("The evolution of the maxixe"), signed by pen name Flax).

74 *Maxixe, a dança perdida* (documentary film, 1980) shows *passo cobra*, from 1:26 to 1:45 and from 11:45 to 12:33. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6iQ_yDCOFk8.



Fig. 18: Drawing by Célio Barroso, 1973, published in Jota Efegê, *Maxixe, A Dança Excomungada*, 5.

included the testimony of some maxixe musicians and dancers who were still living at the time and used some videos of the maxixe as danced after the 1920s.[75] This documentary film however does not answer most of the questions concerning maxixe's dance steps before the 1920s, an earlier period in which maxixe "indiscrete truths" were bluntly exposed through body movements.

Historical sources have consistently mentioned that the maxixe dance emerged from the lower classes and rose to the upper classes. And it became common understanding in historical studies that the Brazilian upper classes practised a tamed style of the maxixe dance, expurgated from its obscene movements, following the moral codes and the body demeanour recommended by the manuals of "modern ballroom dances" as practised in cosmopolitan spaces. However, this interdisciplinary iconographic approach to historical sources has revealed that the core of

75 Documentary Film *"Maxixe, a dança perdida"* (1980). Produced by SEAC/MEC and Embrafilme. Filmdirector: Alex Viany. Research: Jota Efegê, Alex Viany, and Fabiano Canosa. Narration by Sérgio Cabral. Testimonials and special participations: Jota Efegê, Kito (Manoel Martins), Paulista (José de Matos), Vadeco (Osvaldo Eboli), Solange Diniz, Lucie, Leo Venâncio, Nélvia Pinheiro, and Hugo Bidet. Illustrations by Jota Carlos, Calixto Cordeiro, Luiz Peixoto, Raul Pederneiras, Bambino, and Antônio Paim.



Fig. 19: Cartoon "O Maxixe," *O Rio Nú*, August 22, 1903, 4. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. Subtitle reads: "This is the sublime magic, the delight that never tires of a good fantasy ball, where the maxixe is danced. That's dance, readers! It has bumps, it has passions, it has voluptuousness, it has high complications! You dance like this, clinging, in the toughest and most tender way, always taking care to keep leg between leg. There's nothing better in the word than *maxixe*. And whoever doesn't think like that is an idiot! ... Screw it!"[76]

maxixe's kinemic movements did not remain confined to the entertainment spaces of the lower classes but overflowed to the upper classes. This can be clearly observed in the four-drawings set of the ballroom maxixe by Célio Barroso (fig. 18), and doubly enunciated by image and words in the cartoon "O Maxixe" in *O Rio Nú* (1904) (fig. 19).

Célio Barroso's set (fig. 18) depicts a couple of dancers certainly belonging to the upper social class, considering their physical characteristics and garments indicating their European origins. The ornaments framing the dancers also suggest a sophisticated atmosphere of their leisure. The elegant movements of the dancers expressing a European body demeanour overlap with nearly all maxixe kinemic movements concerning body contact: namely, there is a bold depiction of bodies sticking together, cheek-to-cheek evolving to lips-to-lips, man's hands on waist down to woman's buttocks, except for the entwined rubbing legs, which are de-

76 "Eis a subime magia, / A delicia que não cansa, / De um bom baile à fantasia / Onde o maxixe se dança. // Isso é que é dança, leitores! / Tem requebros tem paixões / Tem da volúpia os ardores, / Tem altas complicações! // Dança-se assim, agarrado, / Da forma mais rija e terna / Tendo-se sempre o cuidado / De manter perna entre perna. // No mundo não há, enfim, / Coisa melhor que o *maxixe* / E quem não pensar assim / É palerma! ... Que se lixe!"

picted in a disguised manner in the first and last drawings of the set. In addition to these, the leaning and twisting waist together may be considered the *passo cobra*, but there are some gestures than can be related to the Argentine tango. Perhaps the most interesting glance to the Brazilian elite, provided by Barroso's drawings, is the merging of different cultural values – "high" and "low" – into one place.

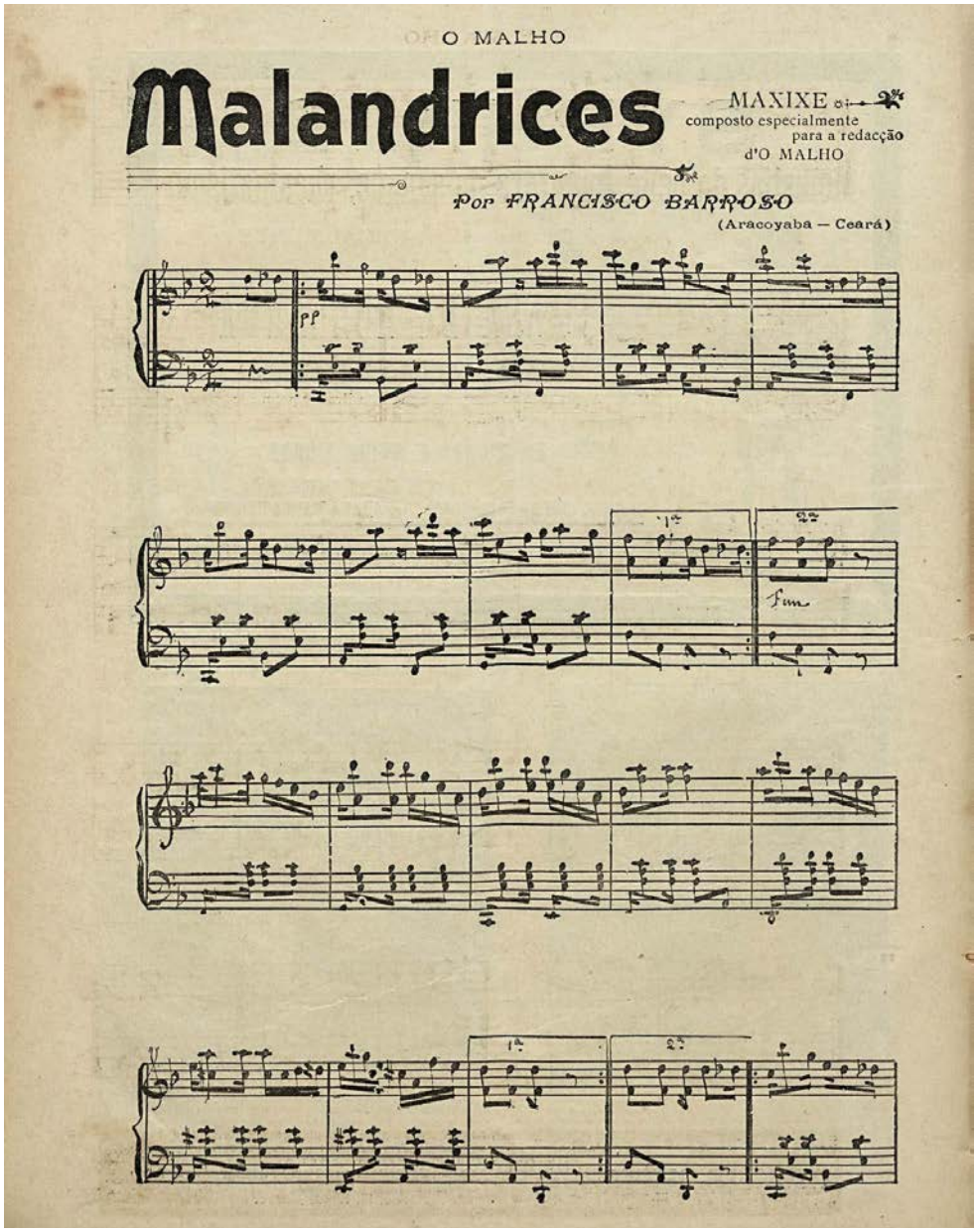
An emblematic example of the border crossings of maxixe's "indiscrete truths" from the low class to the middle and upper classes is the cartoon "O Maxixe" (fig. 19), published in the erotic magazine *O Rio Nú* (1904), that depicts a fantasy ball crowded by gentlemen wearing suits and hats – one of them even with a top hat – dancing with almost all fair-skinned women, commented by a poetic subtitle emphasising the incommensurate delight of the maxixe dance by "always taking care to keep leg between leg". Meanwhile the drawing shows in its foreground the pairs of dancers clinging, face-to-face or lips-to-lips, entwined legs, and hands sliding down on buttocks.

The music sheet "Malandrices" (fig. 20) has been selected as an example in this study because its title well expresses the "moral trickery" necessary to easily live with the "indiscrete truths" of the maxixe. Also, it presents the main defining characteristics of the maxixe kinemic movements that were reflected in musical rhythm, namely, syncopated anacruses in a syncopated melodic line superposed on syncopated bass and chords accompaniment – noting that the rhythms notated in the score are just patterns to be enriched by more varied and complex combinations in actual performance. This music sheet, published as a supplement in a magazine, followed a tradition in Rio de Janeiro's editorial market dating back to the nineteenth-century that would finish a few decades later.[77]

The historical sources, both literary and iconographic, approached in this study, are not completely new to historians and musicologists, but the hermeneutical approach from the perspective of an interdisciplinary iconography, as proposed here, has proved more effective in bringing to light new interpretations of the information contained in those sources, revealing more clearly kinemic knowledge and movements that made up the "indiscrete truths" of the maxixe dance, particularly in its little described and little depicted native practice. The contribution of this interdisciplinary iconographic study lies in a new way of interpreting historical sources. Therefore, it is more a matter of hermeneutics than of discovering unknown sources. Although iconographical sources concerning the maxixe's early native practice is very limited as far as kinemic steps and choreography are concerned, interdisciplinary iconography provides some further understanding of its kinemic movements. The methodological possibilities of interdisciplinary

77 On editorial strategies and content marketing approaches by music publishing in nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro, see Maria Alice Volpe, "Music Publishing in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro: Music Making, Cultural Values, and the New Market," in *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Roberto Illiano and Maximiliano Salla (Bologna: UT Orpheus Edizione, 2010), 441–468.

iconography have proved to be indispensable for revealing with greater accuracy the specificities of multi-layered processes of cultural appropriation. The methodological challenges of unveiling the "indiscrete truths" of the "excommunicated dance" has shown that musical iconography is undeniably a central source to musicological research of a "disappearing" dance style.


O MALHO

Malandrices

MAXIXE
composto especialmente
para a redacção
d'O MALHO

Por FRANCISCO BARROSO
(Aracoyaba — Ceará)

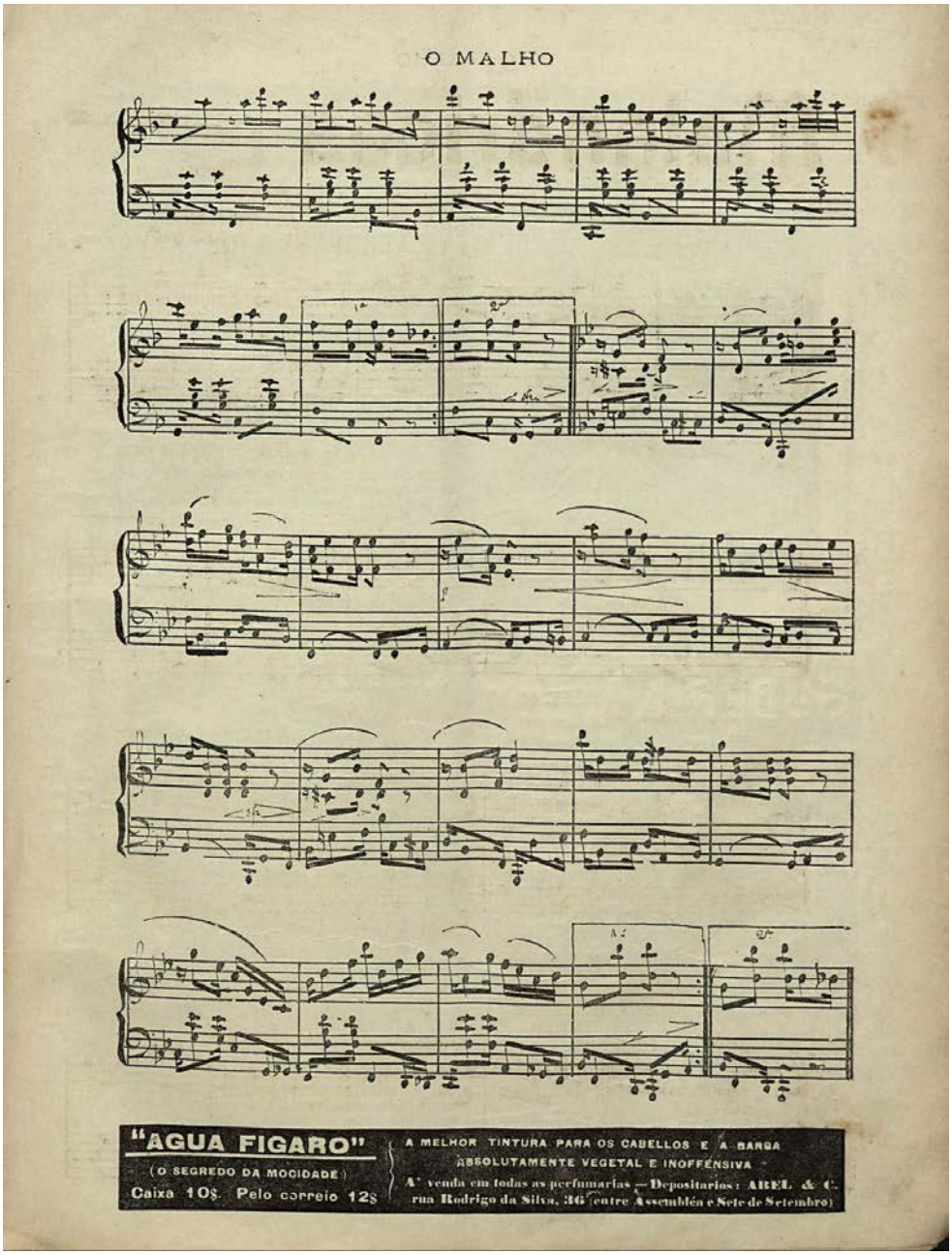


Fig. 20: Sheet of "Malandrices," maxixe by Francisco Barroso in *O Malho*, 1911. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

SEEING THE UNSEEABLE LIGHT: HOW STOCKHAUSEN'S OPERA CYCLE *LICHT* EXPRESSES HIS BELONGING AND DETACHMENT AS COMPOSER AND MAN

Ian Parsons

Despite being one of the most influential composers of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Karlheinz Stockhausen is not a particularly well-known figure other than amongst people who listen to avant-garde art music. Outside those circles, he tends to be famous for three things: his face is on the cover of the Beatles *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album; he wrote a string quartet that is performed in four flying helicopters; and he made a comment a few days after 9/11 that it was the greatest work of art in the cosmos. While none of these are anywhere near the most important things about his music, in a way they each signify something that is essential to him.

His face on the Beatles album is a reminder of his huge influence on modern culture especially on the edgier parts of pop culture, where many musicians emerged in the 1960s and afterwards, wanted to claim him as an influence. Artists such as Björk, Prince, Pink Floyd, Frank Zappa, Miles Davis, Kraftwerk, Can, and, of course, The Beatles (listen to 'Revolution 9' from the *White Album* and you would swear it was an outtake from Stockhausen's 1968 electronic masterpiece, *Hymnen*). He has been called the papa of techno.[1] Through these musicians he has a connection to a huge world of people who have never even heard of him.

Those helicopters – which, incidentally, are just one scene from one opera in a cycle of seven,[2] – are in a way iconic of Stockhausen's reputation as a crafter of strange music ideas: of things outlandish, whacky and fascinating.

Stockhausen's comments regarding 9/11 are perhaps, whatever you think of them, and whatever you understand them to mean, an indicator of a man who in many ways was seen to live in and think in a different domain to everyone else. Even he, at the time, said people will have to adjust their brains to prepare for what he was about to say.[3] I do not think it occurred to him that some people would

1 Robert Baumanns, "Papa Techno wird 75," in *Karlheinz Stockhausen Texte Zur Musik Band 17 1998–2007*, ed. Imke Misch (Kürten: Stockhausen-Verlag, 2014), 250–252.

2 They appear, in fact, in the third scene (*Helicopter String Quartet*) of *Wednesday From Light*. The piece was composed in 1992–1993.

3 The full interview is published as Benedikt Stampa, "Pressegspräch, 16. September 2001," in *Karlheinz Stockhausen Texte Zur Musik Band 17 1998–2007*, ed. Imke Misch (Kürten: Stockhausen-Verlag, 2014), 209–235.

be offended. Not because he was callous and unsympathetic to human suffering, but because he was just a person whose daily life was often far removed from the everyday. His life was spent in a kind of artistic/spiritual bubble that was not often cognisant of how people thought on the outside.

When these are combined – the connection with populism, the whacky innovator of avant-garde composition, and the composer living in a strange and removed world –contradictions emerge. Of course, these are always part of all of us, and often especially of artists, but I think for Stockhausen they were especially pronounced. He was a composer and human being who had a fractured, wavering, ambivalent relationship with the world, both engaged and disengaged at once.

Let's just think of how this manifested itself in his life and work. The world-engaged Stockhausen had, despite the audacity of some of his compositions, a very practical side to him. He knew he had to be respected to be performed, so he worked hard at making his music understandable to people;[4] often the instrumentation in his works, even from scene to scene of a single opera, would be dictated largely by the commissions he received, not necessarily by any higher artistic vision. He would adapt music for different performance possibilities.[5] We saw the world-engaged Stockhausen in a man who, alongside his esoteric spiritual beliefs, lived a very carnal life.[6] He was engaged with the cultures of the world – I have been through much of the archives in his home town of Kürten in Germany and seen, how mixed in with the endlessly fascinating workings-out of scores, are also clips of things that interested him about a remote culture in Polynesia, or an ancient tradition from Australia's Indigenous people, or the practice of monks in Japan. The world, from which he was in many ways so dislocated, interested him deeply.

And then there's the disengaged side. The man who lived away from town in the hills outside of Kürten and tended to avoid people other than for making music with them; the man who had highly idiosyncratic ideas about God and spirituality; the man who believed he had had his musical education in his home star system of Sirius;[7] the man who had such an extraordinarily unconventional creative musical output that each new composition constantly defied the expectations that even his own music had set. He described his life on earth as that of a prisoner in the universe.[8]

4 This is particularly manifest in the extensive prefaces that Stockhausen wrote for his published scores, typically giving extensive information about the background to the music, its structure, and detailed instructions regarding performance practice.

5 Many of the scenes, and even sub-scenes, of his *Licht* opera cycle exist in a number of versions, enabling different performance possibilities, depending on the resources available to the performers.

6 For a detailed account of this aspect of Stockhausen's life, see Mary Bauermeister, *Ich hänge im Triolengitter: Mein Leben mit Karlheinz Stockhausen* (Aalen: Random House, 2011).

7 Karlheinz Stockhausen, "Die Essenz des Alls," in *Karlheinz Stockhausen Texte Zur Musik Band 14 1991–1998*, ed. Imke Misch (Kürten: Stockhausen-Verlag, 2014), 321–322.

8 Karlheinz Stockhausen, "Zur Evolution der Musik," in *Karlehinz Stockhausen Texte Zur Musik Band 9 1984–1991*, ed Christoph von Blumröder (Kürten: Stockhausen-Verlag, 1998), 600–601.

This wavering, unsettled relationship with the world can arguably be seen in many of Stockhausen's works where concepts of conflict and ambiguous relationships between the here-and-now and the beyond are at play.

But I want to focus in this essay on one his major works – if we can call it "a work" – and that is his massive opera cycle *Licht*, (or *Light*) composed from 1977 to 2003. It is a cycle of seven operas, each representing one day of the week, and all revolving around three universal energies or forces: Michael the cosmic creator and translator between gods and humans; Eve, the mother of the earth and the nurturer of humanity; and Lucifer, the anarchist, atheist angel who despises the bastard world of human beings as hideous comprises of spiritual purity. Each opera is devoted to one, or a specific combination, of Michael, Eve, and Lucifer. *Monday* is, for example, Eve's day and Eve's opera. *Tuesday* is about Michael and Lucifer. *Wednesday* is about all three collaborating. *Thursday* is about Michael. And so on.

The aspect of *Licht* I want to focus on particularly is its name. It is really the most striking and assertive visual symbol you can think of. Light. It is what brings everything to vision. Without it we would see nothing. And yet in this huge opera cycle that bears its name, light is staggeringly elusive. We never really get to know just what "light" is, much less ever really see it. In commentaries about *Licht,* Stockhausen sometimes referred to the opera cycle as being about "God as Light," just as his incomplete cycle of chamber and electronic works that followed *Licht* – *Klang* (or *Sound*) – was described as "God as sound."[9] So there is certainly a link with God, at least in Stockhausen's thinking, although this is never made explicit in the operas. Much less is it actually seen. How can something so visually striking, so visually assertive, be kept so invisible?

To me, Stockhausen is presenting us here with a universal human condition, one that is steeped in dichotomy and ambiguity between engagement and disengagement, location and dislocation, belief and ignorance, all dichotomies that were, as we have seen, so entwined in his own life. This "light," this god, that humans strive for is never knowable, never seeable, and we get a hint of this in Stockhausen's own intolerance for the religions of the world that attempt to give definition to what cannot be defined.

We are then, as Heidegger has suggested, like earth-dwelling mortals, looking to the gods in the sky, a fourfold tension that keeps us forever both connected and disconnected, between how we live and what we imagine.[10] It is a tension that can give rise to some pretty crazy things, in lives where we are rooted and grounded, in the very opposite of the things we strive for. If we, as humans, all share this fascination with what might lie beyond us, this curiosity about how we came to be here, on earth, as mortals, all these questions of why and how – and it does seem

9 Karlheinz Stockhausen, "Music is the most spiritual of all the arts," in *Karlheinz Stockhausen Texte Zur Musik Band 17 1998–2007*, ed. Imke Misch (Kürten: Stockhausen-Verlag, 2014), 328.

10 Martin Heidegger, "Building, dwelling, thinking," in *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings*, ed. David Farrell Krell (London: Harper Perennial Modern Thought, 2008), 351.

that whatever culture you examine, they will be asking these questions – then it is hardly surprising that the world is rich with belief systems that attempt to give answers to that question. We see it in everything from the religions and ritualistic practices of the world, to political ideologies: things that attempt to explain everything. It is hardly surprising that people are drawn to them. This thing, this all-encompassing signifier of meaning is what French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan has referred to as the Master-Signifier, a concept I shall return to shortly.[11]

But the crazy bits arise from the conflict, the inability to grasp gods in the skies, and Stockhausen's *Licht* is replete with crazy bits, mixtures of the sublime and the ridiculous. In *Monday*, a huge statue of Eve, the mother of the world, is impregnated by a piano that is played a huge budgerigar, before giving birth to seven divine children. In *Wednesday*, while intergalactic delegates meet to elect a new President of the cosmos, their favoured candidate appears as a camel who defecates seven planets and then turns into a bass-singing Zen monk. In *Friday*, as Eve and Lucifer engage in a complex and devastating seduction, weird pairs of people, animals, and things engaging in sex, surrounding the stage and auditorium – from the conventional man with a woman, to the slightly disturbing dog with a cat, to the positively bizarre typewriter with a photocopier machine. In *Saturday*, a huge wind orchestra is placed vertically on stage to form the shape of a gigantic human face, where different sections stand for eyes, and cheeks, and lips, and so on, and move in strange discordant grimaces with the music. Lucifer tells humanity that the only way to the light is to face dissonance, but before the light is reached, the orchestra goes on strike, complaining that they have been playing too long.

A constant bizarre mix of the profound and the banal. It is one of the few operas that cannot be made more visually weird, or visually arresting, without needing an eccentric stage producer to do it. In fact, the staging of a Stockhausen opera that gave rise to the greatest ire of the Stockhausen diehards was in Basel in 2016 when the Thursday opera was presented in what looked like a pretty ordinary opera set in a pretty ordinary world.[12] The visual weirdness of Stockhausen's ideas go far beyond what even the most crazy stage directors might think of. 'Light' is constantly being mentioned throughout Stockhausen's opera cycle. Although we never know quite what it is, and although we never see it, it is always being venerated, everyone seems to be striving for it. It seems to provide the purpose for everything. In that sense, it is the symbolic driver of the operas – but the musical driver is something else entirely.

11 While Lacan does not directly define his concept of Master Signifier, Lacanian philosopher Slavoj Žižek describes its societal functions extensively in his own work. See, for example, Slavoj Žižek, *Absolute Recoil: Towards a New Foundation of Dialectical Materialism* (London: Verso, 2014), 122.

12 This production, under the direction of Lydia Steier, instead of portraying Michael as a cosmic angel, presented him as a delusional human and, instead of setting the final Act as one where angels celebrate his return to his home on Sirius, portrayed a throng of hysterical fans worshiping their all-too-human cult leader.

The musical driver of *Licht* lies in a single page of music. It is called the Superformula. It consists of three layers – one for each of Michael, Eve, and Lucifer – and nineteen bars. The bars correspond to the days of the week and the Acts or scenes of the operas. So, for example, the first three bars correspond to the three Acts of *Monday*. In a complex way that could (and in fact does) fill whole books, the material of this Superformula provides the basic genetic material for the entire seven operas.[13] Relationships between pitches, durations, dynamics, tempi, etc., within the Superformula, then inform relationships at larger levels in scenes, acts, and entire operas. It is an astonishing thing that Stockhausen, composing a twenty-nine hour opera cycle over twenty-six years, was able to work with this single sheet of music in such unendingly creative and different ways, giving the whole thing a level of both unity and diversity. I do not think this has been achieved anywhere else, ever, at least not on such a massive scale. It is incredible how he finds different ways of working with this material.

But the Superformula itself is incredible. It is based on three basic rows of twelve pitches, each containing the twelve notes of the Western chromatic scale. Each row has its own distinctive intervallic characteristics, and, of course, each corresponds to either Michael, Eve, or Lucifer. When these notes are organised in their three rows, and then vertically separated into three limbs of twelve notes each you find that not only is every note of the chromatic scale in each row, but also in each limb. Rather like a Sudoku square. But then Stockhausen removes one note – a D – from the Lucifer row and places it in the Michael row, so Michael has two Ds and therefore 13 notes, Eve 12, and Lucifer 11. From there, he elaborates those three tone rows with a great deal of ornamentation, variation, rhythmic development, insertions of different types of noise, such as clicks and breathing or kissing sounds, and voiced counting. That is what gives us the Superformula.

This very compact bit of musical DNA has embedded in it an exceptional degree of material, of completeness, of integration. It is the genetic code for *Licht*, but it is always broken up throughout *Licht*. We never hear it performed just as the Superformula, although we do get close to it in one exquisite moment at the end of *Wednesday* when six voices sing the Superformula fairly close to its original form, although transposed up a tone and at a much slower tempo. And even then, immediately after it is sung, the singers disperse, still singing the same thing, but now no longer in sync with one another.

This Superformula is disintegrated in the operas. The completeness and integration it encapsulates is never really fully realised. Even though the music is always being informed and driven by the Superformula, it never really reaches it, never finds – and certainly never holds onto – the completeness out of which it grew. It is like a driving force, a motivating energy, that propels things towards something that cannot be reached.

13 The most detailed analysis of this is to be found in Rudolf Frisius, *Stockhausen: Die Werkzyklen 1977–2007* (Mainz: Schott, 2013).

The French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan had a term for this in the functioning of human personality: the *objet petit a*, that little "something" that is hidden beneath the goals that we think will help us to find it, and that keeps on driving us on and on in search of it.[14] That little something we cannot quite name, so we seek fulfillment in things that we think will represent it but do not: the new house, the perfect family, the little red sports car, the complete works of Stockhausen. And so we keep seeking, finding more and more ways to name the nameless until we eventually get to that which has a name, but actually names nothing, the thing that Lacan called the Master Signifier. The word that means both everything and nothing at once. The *objet petit a* is like a thing that has no signifier, and the Master Signifier is like a signifier that has nothing to signify.

In *Licht*, this is exactly what I see to be the roles of the Superformula and of "light": the Superformula acts as that drive, that perpetual energy towards that which cannot be named or found; and "light" gives a name to that which does not actually exist. The Superformula as *objet petit a*, and light as Master Signifier. Two elements essential to the opera cycle: one musically dense and integrated, constantly generating things from it; the other visually all-encompassing, constantly drawing things to it; neither of them able to be realised or held. Both creating a tension towards and from each other.

We all know this tension. The lifelong urge for that certain "je ne c'est qua" which we think we need and which we seek to find in the daily pleasures that do not ultimately satisfy us and drive us to seek out the big universal answers of gods and ideologies that constantly promise us that they will make sense of it all, but never really do. It is a tension that I see as being writ large in the music and life of Stockhausen, the eternally earth-rooted, cosmos-headed, engaged, disengaged composer.

Licht I think becomes a depiction of the eternal spiralling nature of that tension. It is a cycle that Stockhausen said goes on and on.[15] Unlike Wagner's *Ring*, there is no beginning and end to the *Licht* cycle. Such an endless search might seem disheartening, but the immense optimism of the music suggests that maybe this is ultimately a positive thing. It is the impossibility of resolution that keeps us going and growing: surely itself not a small part of Stockhausen composing such a massive and ambitious work as *Licht*. And maybe it is this that can ultimately send us spiralling like helicopters into the sky. But the helicopters always have to land, and yet their journey always beckons us again. As we fly, sometimes we will see the terror of Luciferian dissonance in unspeakable human violence – towers collapsing in what Stockhausen described as cosmic art. But we will also see the mark we leave in unexpected places: like that famous face five places from the left in the back row of the cover of *Sergeant Pepper's*.

14 While Lacan himself tends to talk about the *objet petit a* in terms of its functions in human personality, he never defines it succinctly. This is however done by Lacanian scholar and musicologist Michael Klein in his *Music and the Crisis of the Modern Subject* (Indiano: Bloomington, 2015), 13.

15 Jonathon Cott and Karlheinz Stockhausen, *Stockhausen: Conversations with the Composer* (London: Robson Books, 1974), 108–109.

PLUCKED OR BOWED? TWO EARLY STRING INSTRUMENTS IN THE TOWERS OF SAINT SOPHIA IN KIEV, THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY*

Dorothea Baumann

The earliest bowed string instruments that emerged in Byzantium in the eleventh century closely resembled plucked string instruments. This article aims at defining typical characteristics for either way of use based on early iconographic documents in the Byzantine tradition. In particular, the frescos on the inner staircase walls of the two towers that provided direct access from the governor's palace to the balcony on the first floor of the church of Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev (eleventh or early twelfth century) which display a plucked and a bowed string instrument (fig. 1).[1] These instruments are compared to other early bowed and plucked instruments found along the trade routes from Central Asia through Kiev to the North and Northwest in order to shed more light on where bowing came from and how it spread to the Western cultural world.

In September 2008, a group of scholars was allowed to see the wall paintings in the spiral staircases in the two towers of the church of Saint Sophia. Normally these are not open to the public due to their deteriorated condition.[2] The profane decorations show scenes of court life, such as trading, hunting, combat, and scenes similar to those from the Hippodrome of Constantinople with chariot races, dancing, acrobats and musicians (fig. 2).[3]

---

* Revised version of a paper presented at the 14th International RIdIM Conference, Pera Museum, Istanbul, 5–7 June 2013 on *Visual Intersections: Negotiating East and West*.

1 "St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev," last accessed December 14, 2020, polnaya.info.

2 The reason for the visit was a a paper presented by Tilman Seebass at the 2008 Symposium of the International Musicological Society in Kiev. Tilman Seebass, "Die Musikszene in den Wandmalereien in der Sophienkathedale zu Kiew: alte und neue Aspekte der Interpretation," *Musicology Today: Problems and Perspectives* 80 (2009) ed. Olena Zinkevych (Kiev, 2009): 275–291; and published in Russian: "Muzykal›nye sceny na freskah Sofijskogo sobora v Kieve: Starye i novye aspekty interpretacii," *Opera Musicologica* 2, no. 4 (2010): 6–20. My thanks go to Elena Zinkevych in Kiev for obtaining permission to access the paintings and subsequent photography, to Tilman Seebass for his important paper, and to Elena Abramov-van Rijk for her translation of Russian texts and inspiring discussions.

3 Elena Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome, the Performance of Power in Kiev's St. Sophia," *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 3 (2009): 283–301, with extensive bibliography.

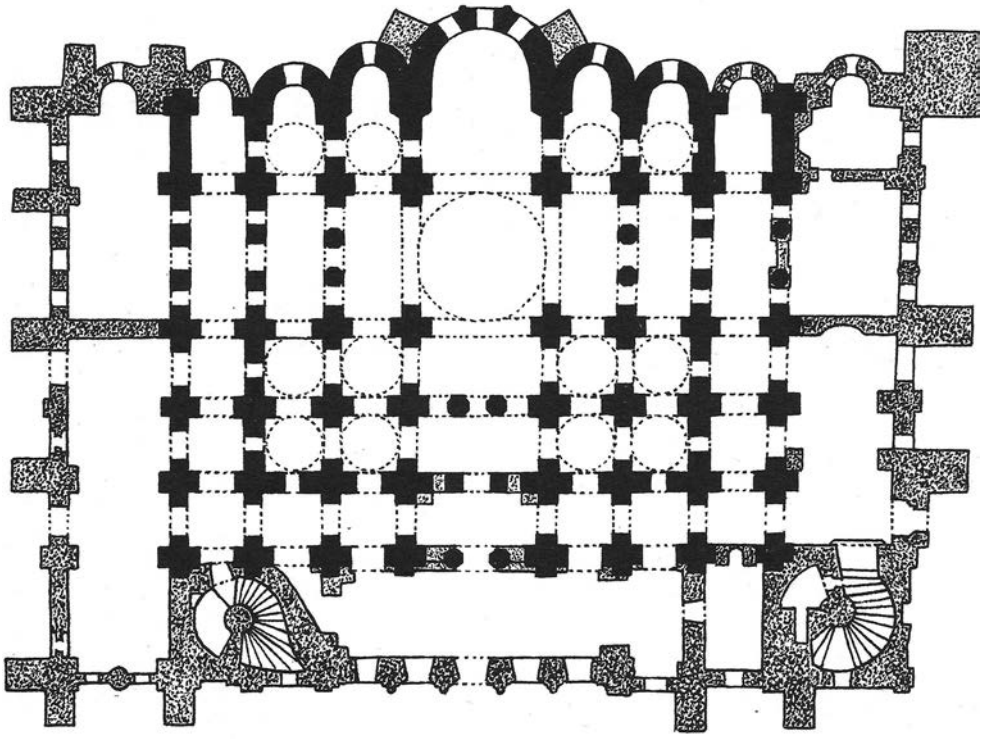


Fig. 1: Saint Sophia, Kiev, ground-plan.[4]

The scene with *skomorochi* (a group of dancers, acrobats, and musicians) in the south tower, shows in the middle a person playing a transverse flute, on the right two players with wind instruments, directly below a musician playing a long-necked string instrument, and below them a sitting person with a psalterium or harp-like instrument between the knees. André Grabar's reconstruction design (made in 1935 after a black-and-white photo with heavy nineteenth century overpainting)[5] shows more details (fig. 3).[6] The two people between the musicians are dancing; on the right there are two acrobats; above, between the flute and the two wind

4 Hubert Faensen, *Kirchen und Klöster im alten Russland* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1982), 34.

5 Viktor Nikitich Lasarew, "Die Malerei und die Skulptur der Kiewer Rus," in *Geschichte der russischen Kunst,* ed. Igor Emmanuilovic Grabar et al. (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1957), vol. 1, 108. The overpainting was removed in the 1950s. See Faensen, *Kirchen und Klöster im alten Russland*, 33–43, 39–40.

6 André (Andrej Nikolajewitsch) Grabar, "Les fresques des escaliers à Sainte-Sophie de Kiev et l'iconographie impériale byzantine" (1935), reprinted in *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Age*, 3 vols. (Paris: Collège de France, 1968), vol. 1, 252–263. More recent images in Sergej A. Vysockij, *Svetskie freski Sofijskogo sobora v Kieve* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1989), 113 and 159.



Fig. 2: Saint Sophia, Kiev, South Tower, group with musicians and dancers (photo Dorothea Baumann, 2008).

instruments with conical tubes,[7] a dancer with crotales. The person turned to the left sitting in front of a case was identified by Werner Bachmann as a player of a Byzantine organ and on the left of the case are two bellow treaders.[8]

This painting is related to the relief on the Theodosius obelisk in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, erected in 390 and still on site in spite of the demolition of the rest of the Hippodrome in 1204 during the fourth crusade.[9] The obelisk shows below the Byzantine emperor with his entourage and two rows of spectators watching the horse races, acrobats, and dancing, a row with musicians and dancers, as described in the chronicle of emperor Constantin VII Porphyrogennetos (written in the first half of the tenth century, transmitted in a parchment manuscript of

7 Due to deterioration of the painting the mouthpieces of the instruments are not visible any more.

8 Werner Bachmann, "Musikdarbietung im Hippodrom von Konstantinopel," *Imago Musicae* 21/22 (2004/05): 192–227; Tilman Seebass, "Die Musikszene."

9 Werner Bachmann (2004/05), "Musikdarbietung im Hippodrom"; Tilman Seebass, "Die Musikszene"; Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome."

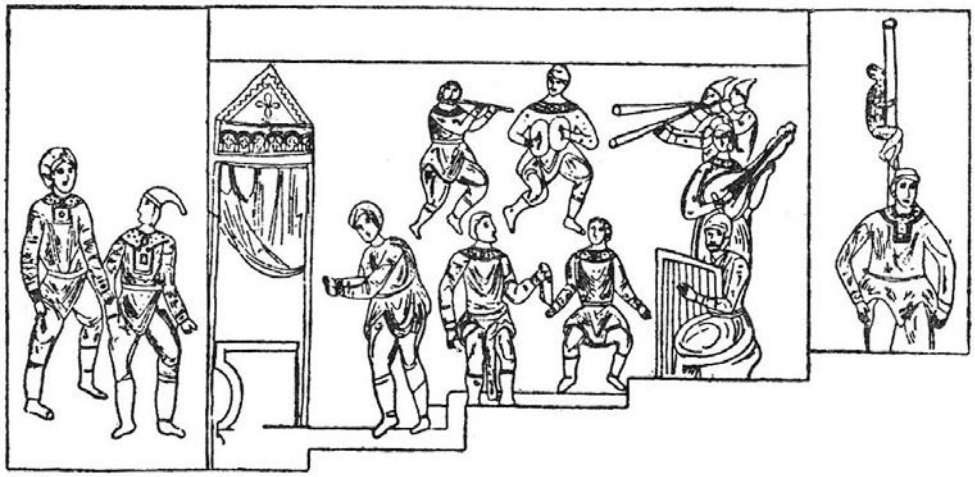


Fig. 3: Saint Sophia, Kiev, South Tower, dance scene, detail (reconstruction André Grabar, 1935).[10]

the twelfth century).[11] The reconstruction of the row with the musicians shows a dancer with crotales, a double aulos player, a horn player, an organ with its player looking from behind and the two bellows-treaders to its right. According to the chronicle, the double aulos announced the opening of the festival. Three organs, the emperor's organ and the organ of the red and the green party, announced the horse races and played the melody of the winner's party which was sung by all spectators. It was up to the emperor's organ to give the dancers of the winner's party the sign to dance in the arena.

The analogy of the Kiev painting becomes evident in Grabar's reconstruction design (fig. 3). A participation of plucked string instruments is mentioned in the chronicle of Constantin VII Porphyrogennetos but not shown on the Hippodrome relief. All these elements clearly show a direct Byzantine association.

Less known is the unfortunately more damaged wall painting in the staircase of the north tower, a figure which due to its gesture clearly plays a bowed string instrument: the bow in the player's right hand is still visible as a black line crossing the strings as well as the outline of a pear-, or rather gourd-shaped instrument held up to the chest, with the player's left hand somewhere in the upper end of the instrument's short neck (fig. 4).

Several question arise here. What is the reason for these secular scenes on the walls of the spiral staircases to the balcony of the metropolitan church of Santa Sophia in Kiev? Why do these scenes have a relation to Byzantium?

10 Grabar, "Les fresques des escaliers," 254.

11 Ilse Rochow, "Bemerkungen zu der Leipziger Handschrift des Zeremonienbuches des Constantinos Porphyrogennetos und zu der Ausgabe von J. J. Reiske," *Klio* 58 (1976): 193–197, referring to University Library Leipzig, UB Rep. I 17, f. 21 verso f.



Fig. 4: Saint Sophia, Kiev, North Tower, bowed string instrument (photo Dorothea Baumann, 2008).

The Santa Sophia church, the metropolitan church and the place of all important State ceremonies, was built between 1037 and 1050 during the reign of Jaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince of Rus' (ca. 978–1054). The church decoration with mosaics in Byzantine style was finished around 1050. Jaroslav's mother Anna was the sister of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. With her Greek-Byzantine Christian culture she entered the Kievan reign. Jaroslav's son Iziaslav (†1078) was married to a princess of Poland and among his sons-in-law were the Kings of Norway, Hungary, and France. He enlarged the court buildings of Kiev after the model of Constantinople. The two towers presumably were decorated or maybe even built later, during the reign of Vladimir Monomach (reigned 1113–1125), Grand Prince of Kievan Rus', grandson of Jaroslav the Wise, son of Vsevolod I and Anastasia, a close relative of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos.[12]

12 Dating by the Russian art historian Lasarew (1957), "Die Malerei und die Skulptur die Kiewer Rus," 108, for stylistic reasons; see also Faensen, *Kirchen und Klöster im alten Russland*, 39–40, based on actual

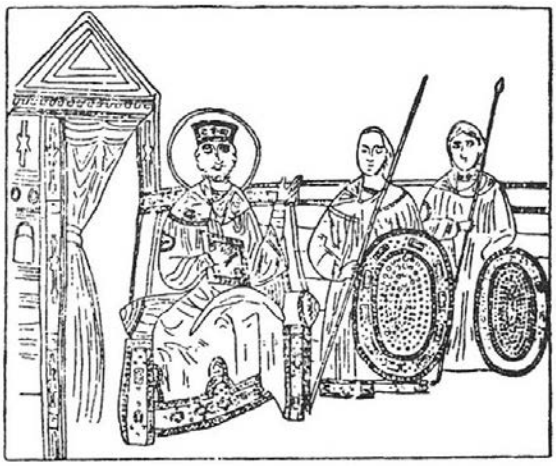


Fig. 5: Saint Sophia, Kiev, South Tower, fresco with the Byzantine emperor and two guards (reconstruction André Grabar, 1935).[13]

The two towers at the time had no access to the ground floor of the church. They were not part of the church but they provided direct access from the governor's palace to the balcony on the first floor of the church, exclusively used by the court.[14] Hence the decoration symbolising the presence of the closely related Byzantine emperor at the palace and in the church of his relative. The stairs of the south tower were reserved for the male members of the princely family, those of the north tower for the female family members. The emperor's portraits in the church and on the wall of the south tower's staircase (fig. 5) confirm his presence as a symbol of power and of Christian faith. The nimbus is a symbol of his god-like function.

Russian publications; Werner Bachmann, *Die Anfänge des Streichinstrumentenspiels* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1966), 47, and Bachmann, "Musikarbeitung im Hippodrom." For the early dating of the frescos in the towers to 1050 see Grabar, "Les fresques des escaliers," 252. This early dating was also adopted by Joachim Brown, "Musical Instruments in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts," *Early Music* 8, no. 9 (1980), 312–328: 322. Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome" mentions a possible later dating but follows the early dating, adding that all dates due to loss of documentation are conjectural. According to S. O. Visotsky and I.F. Točkaja, "News on the Fresco of the 'Skomorochi' at Saint Sophia of Kiev," in *Culture and Art of the Ancient Rus'* [in Russian], (Leningrad, 1967), 50–57, the frescos of both towers are devoted to an important event in the life of Kievan Rus in the mid-tenth century: the meeting of Princess Olga, great-grandmother of Yaroslav the Wise, and Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which took place in Constantinople. See also Irma Fantinovna Točkaja, "I musici dell'affresco detto degli 'skomorochi' nella cattedrale della Santa Sofia a Kiev," in *Arte profana e arte sacra a Bisanzio,* ed. Antonio Iacobini and Enrico Zanini (Rome: Argos, 1995), 281–314. My thanks go to Christa Markovits for a copy of Točkaja's 1995 paper and of the chapter on the organ in the fresco of the *skomorochi* in the south tower of Saint Sophia in Kiev by Michael Markovits, *Orgelbau im Mittelalter,* unpubl. manuscript, Basel 2009 with a detailed analysis of the scene and the organ.

13 Grabar, "Les fresques des escaliers."

14 Nikolai N. Woronin, "Die Baukunst der Kiewer Rus," in *Die Geschichte der russischen Kunst* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1957), vol. 1, 79. The situation was similar to Venice where the doge at least since the twelfth century had direct access from the *Palazzo dei Dogi* to the church of San Marco.

Plucked or Bowed? Comparison to Other Pictures

As mentioned, the Hippodrome reliefs in Constantinople do not show any string instruments, although such instruments were mentioned by the chronicle of Constantin VII Porphyrogennetos and well known in late Antiquity and Byzantine culture. According to Werner Bachmann, a reason could be that they were played by women and therefore prohibited during public performances or simply for acoustic reasons.[15]

As outlined, the scene in the south tower of St. Sophia shows a long-necked string instrument which, due to the playing position, is clearly plucked (fig. 6), while the short-necked string instrument in the north tower – in spite of its lute-like shape and its large dimension – is clearly bowed (fig. 4).



Fig. 6: Saint Sophia, Kiev, South Tower, long-necked lute (photo Dorothea Baumann, 2008).

15 Bachmann, "Musikdarbietung im Hippodrom von Konstantinopel," 202.



Fig. 7: Saint Sophia, Kiev, North Tower, short-necked, bowed string instrument, overpainting from the nineteenth century (photo Grabar, 1935).

Documents and images give evidence that the bow was known in central Asia, the Byzantine Empire, and the Islam reign since the tenth century, although depicted more often since the eleventh century.[16] The first known descriptions of bowing appear in the Arab treatises by Al-Fārābi (872–950), born in Wasij, district of Farab, in present-day Turkmenistan, east of the Caspian Sea, or in Faryab, in present-day Afghanistan, and died in Damaskus, Syria;[17] by Ibn-Sina or Avicenna (980–1037), born in Bukhara, in present-day Uzbekistan and died in Hamadan, Iran; as well as later by Avicenna's pupil Ibn-Zayla and Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), living in Tunis, Fes, Granada, and Egypt.

Unfortunately, many details of the Kiev painting of the bowed instrument disappeared, probably also due to cleaning from a heavy overpainting in the nineteenth century, still visible in a photo published by Grabar in 1935 (fig. 7). We can trust neither the overpainted costume of the player – who was according to the cited documents rather a woman than a man, also because the fresco is in the tower

16 Brown, "Musical Instruments in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts," 322.

17 David C. Reisman: "Al-Fārābī and the Philosophical Curriculum," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 52–71: 53.

reserved for the courtly women – nor the number of strings, or the string holder without tailpiece or a separate bridge outlined by the nineteenth-century painter. The importance of the painting does not lie on such details, but rather on whether it can shed more light on where bowing came from and how it spread to the Western cultural world.

If we compare the two Kiev instruments to traditional plucked and bowed instruments of the present in this region, it becomes clear that this kind of pear-shaped or rather pumpkin-shaped string instrument with hollow neck is still known in Central Asia, although images of traditional instruments from the twentieth century show less voluminous bodies and a smaller number of strings (fig. 8).[18]

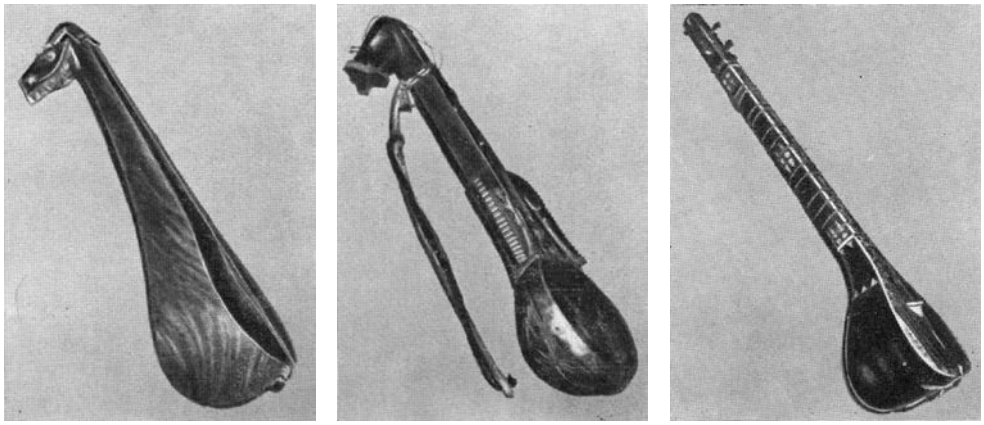


Fig. 8: Plucked and bowed instruments from Usbekistan, published in Vyzgo (1980).[19]

Joachim Brown, in his paper on musical instruments in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts from libraries in Jerusalem and Mount Sinai,[20] compared the short-necked instrument to the Ukrainian *kobza* and the Moldavian *kobza* or *kobiz*, the Dagestanian *ahach-komuz* and similar instruments used by the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghizs, and Karakalpaks.

The long-necked plucked instrument in the south tower of Saint Sophia in Kiev (fig. 6) resembles the actual tambura or *saz*. Brown noted that, at the present time, Central Asian instruments of this kind are rather bowed while Southern and Central Russian instruments at present are rather plucked.

Tamara Vyzgo published images of sculptures of early plucked instruments of a similar shape from Pakistan, Turkestan, and Uzbekistan (fig. 9).

18 Tamara Vyzgo, *Muzykal'nyje instrumenty Sredney Azii: Istoricheskije Ocherki [Musical Instruments of Central Asia: Historical Essays]* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1980), 19–20.

19 Ibid., figures 62, 66, 67.

20 Brown, "Musical Instruments in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts," 322.



Fig. 9: Early plucked instruments, from left: first century India, first-second centuries Pakistan, second-third centuries Turkestan, published in Vyzgo (1980).[21]

Later instruments, such as a relief of a plucked lute from Iran from between the sixth and ninth centuries are close to the four-string Arab *'ūd* as described by al-Fārābi, besides the neck which is not set off from the body (fig. 10).[22]



Fig. 10: Lute with four strings, Iran, sixth-ninth centuries, published in Vyzgo (1980).[23]

21 Vzygo, *Muzykal'nyje instrumenty Sredney Azii: Istoricheskije Ocherki*, 2 (figures 2–3), 3 (figures 4–5).

22 See Max Haas, "Arabische Stimmung der Laute," in *Aussereuropäische Musik, (Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 9) Teil 2 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1984), 142–145, referring to al-Fārābi: vol. 3 of *Kitābu' l-Mūsīqī al-Kabīr* (before 950).

23 Vzygo, *Muzykal'nyje instrumenty Sredney Azii: Istoricheskije Ocherki*, figure 36.

Joachim Brown published a miniature of an eleventh century large, pear-shaped lute, apparently from Constantinople, which does not appear to have a separate neck or lateral pegs, also noting its similarity to the Kievan short-necked instrument in the north tower.[24]

Early Bowed Instruments

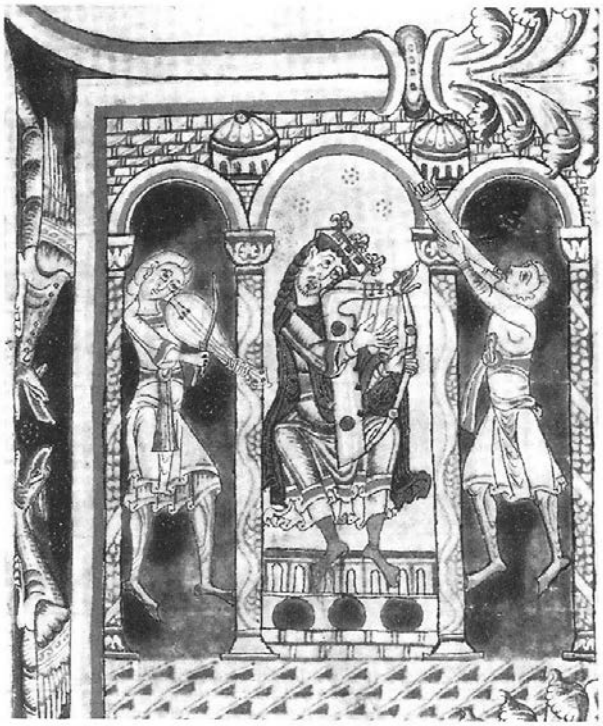
Among Western bowed instruments, only few show similarities, such as the following playing figure of bone-like material from the eleventh century Gloucester table sets documented by Mary Remnant: a figure with a bow in the right hand and a rebec held against the left shoulder (the arm holding the rebec is – due to difficulties of perspective – set in front of the instrument). The instrument's pear-shaped body is vaulted, while the short neck and the small peg plate are not set-off. It clearly shows a string holder: the strings are ending just below the bow, hiding how they were connected to the end of the string holder. It seems they were passing over an invisible separate bridge below the bow or the vibration was transmitted to the top plate of the resonance body through studs below the string holder (fig. 11).[25]



Fig. 11: Figure with rebec, Gloucester table sets, late eleventh century (photo Museum of Gloucester).

24 Brown, "Musical Instruments in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts," 321, figure 5b, "The Son of King Joasaph," Codex Hagios Stavros 42, f. 164v, Constantinople, eleventh century.

25 See also Mary Remnant, *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), plate 3 and her comment; and Ian J. Stewart and Malcolm J. Watkins, "An Eleventh Century Bone Tabula Set from Gloucester," *Medieval Archeology* 28 (1984): 185–190.



14 David plays the harp and his minstrels the rebec and horn (note the studs on the tailpiece of the rebec); from a Bible, *c.*1130.

Fig. 12: Rebec from a Bible, ca. 1130. London: British Library (MS Royal 1 C. vii: Rochester Bible, f. 92r).[26]

Similar elements are visible in a rebec from an English Bible produced around 1130. It shows studs on the tailpiece, but no visible bridge. According to Remnant the studs permitted lifting single strings for separate playing. If they went down to the top plate they transmitted the strings' vibration (fig. 12).

Closer resembling the shape of the bowed instrument in the Kievan north tower is the rebec on the late twelfth century so-called Bazylevski's bowl, a gift by the Byzantine emperor Emanuel I Komnenos to a Kievan prince (figure 13) although the scene belongs to another social context.[27] Playing several strings with a heavy bow gripped by the whole fist the player is walking or even dancing. This is a contrast to the intimate character of the precious Kievan court instrument played with a much lighter bow and overhand grip. The court instrument's high level of craftsmanship is still visible despite the lost details of the wall painting in the north tower's staircase of Saint Sophia.

26 Remnant, *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times*, plate 14.

27 Vladislav P. Darkevic, Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii: proizvedenija vizantijskogo Chudoz. Remesla v Vost. Europe X - XIII Veka (Moskva: Isskustvo, 1975), fig. 97; Dorota Popławska, "String instruments in Medieval Russia," *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 21, no. 2 (1996): 63–70, fig. 11.



Fig. 13: Rebec player on the so-called Bazylevski's bowl, late twelfth century, gilded silver. St. Petersburg: Hermitage Museum, East-Asian Department no. 72.

Plucked or Bowed – Construction Details

It is interesting to speculate about the construction details of these instruments, which for a long time and in traditional music – even up to our times – could be either plucked or bowed. Typically, the bow was equipped with horsehair. Its playing position, in a steep angle (as in figures 4, 7, 11 and 12) in order to play the uppermost string only, is characteristic for instruments with a flat bridge. The peg box in figure 4 is invisible and therefore was rather small. It had frontal or lateral pegs for thin, flexible strings made of silk or gut. A bowed instrument needs a separate bridge, or at least a connecting element between the strings and top plate like studs to provide good transmission of the so-called "forced string vibration" (activated with the resined bow). If more than one string was played with a heavier bow its playing angle was square over the strings (as in figure 13).

Typical for plucking, besides the playing position of the right hand (with or without a plectrum), is a solid, straight or turned-back peg-box, a bridge directly acting as string-holder, strings with relatively high tension in order to provide best transmission of the impulsively excited, so-called "free or damped string vibration." Musicians and instrument makers knew how to best adapt these elements to their acoustical and musical needs.[28]

Transfer of Bowed Instruments from East to West

From these pictures two things become evident: the bowed instrument from the northern palace tower in Kiev is an important testimony of the ways bowed instruments spread through Central Asia during this time with periods of cruel war.[29] Further images of voluminous and large rebecs of Central Asian origin give evidence of the use of such early bowed string instruments in the realm of Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth century. Their shape is different from the early rebecs that reached Europe from Northern Africa. Similar to the Arab *rabāb* they were less voluminous and mostly of smaller size.

Neither of the two hypotheses can be further assessed within a short paper. But some additional arguments for the Central Asian origin of the Byzantine large rebec can be added here. Joachim Brown mentions that the music loving nomads serving as soldiers for the warlords brought their bowed instruments with them. Once in the region these instruments seem to have followed the trade routes which, until the middle of the eleventh century, were controlled and protected by the Khazars. Up to then the Khazar Khaganate, which adopted the Jewish religion,

28 See Emile Leipp, *Acoustique et musique,* 4th revised ed. (Paris: Masson, 1989), 187–195 (*les cordes frottées*), 196–205 (*les cordes pincées*); Dorothea Baumann, "Streichinstrumente des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, bautechnische, dokumentarische und musikalische Hinweise zur Spieltechnik," *Music in Art* 24 (1999): 29–40.

29 Bachmann, *Die Anfänge des Streichinstrumentenspiels,* 53–70.

together with the Christian Byzantine Empire, the Rus' States and the Muslim Caliphates were the main powers in the region. The Khazarian capital city and customs station was Atil (Turkish Itil) located along the Volga delta at the north-western corner of the Caspian Sea (fig. 15).[30] The Radhanites, Jewish merchants who had permission to cross religious borders, continued to use these trade routes to the North, East, South, and West until the invasion of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. One route went from Constantinople through the Black Sea, following the Dnieper northwards through Kievan territory on the old trade routes of the Vikings or Varangians through Novgorod towards Scandinavia, Ireland and England,[31] eastwards to Central and East Asia (Silk Road), southwards to North Africa and Spain, and westwards to Central Europe.

Two small scenes depicted on the walls of the palace towers give evidence of direct trade exchange between Kiev, at the time one of the most important trade centres, and Central and East Asia through the territory of the Khazars. Both scenes show a two-humped Bactrian or Mongolian camel with a basket for merchandises between the humps guided by a camel leader (fig. 14).[32]

This well protected and shortest connection from the Silk Road passing north of the Caspian Sea through Kiev and along the Dnieper river to the North and West of Europe has not yet been discussed as a way of transmission of such sophisticated string instruments. So far the only considered itineraries went through the Middle East to Constantinople and through North Africa to the South and West of Europe, to Sicily, France and Spain (fig. 15).[33]

30 Douglas M. Dunlop, "The Khazars," in *The World History of the Jewish People*, II, 2: Medieval Period, ed. Cecil Roth (Tel-Aviv: Massadah Publishing Co., 1966), 325–356. Peter B. Golden, "Khazars," in: *International Encyclopaedia for the Middle Ages-Online. A Supplement to LexMA-Online* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2005).

31 "Byzantinisches Reich, Aussenbeziehungen mit Skandinavien," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 2 (Munich and Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1983), cols 1313–1314. On the importance of the Khazars, see B. Grékow, *La culture de la Russie de Kiev* (Moscou: éditions en langues étrangères, 1947), 18. On the Varangian trade routes, see Irène Sorlin, "Voies commerciales, villes et peuplement de la Rusia au Xe siècle d'après le De administrando imperio de Constantin Porphyrogénète," in *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient,* ed. Michel Kazanski et al. (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 2000), 337–355.

32 Grabar, "Les fresques des escaliers," plate 68 d and e. The two-humped Bactrian or Mongolian camel is different from the single-humped Arabian dromedary camel.

33 Bachmann, *Die Anfänge des Streichinstrumentenspiels,* 70.

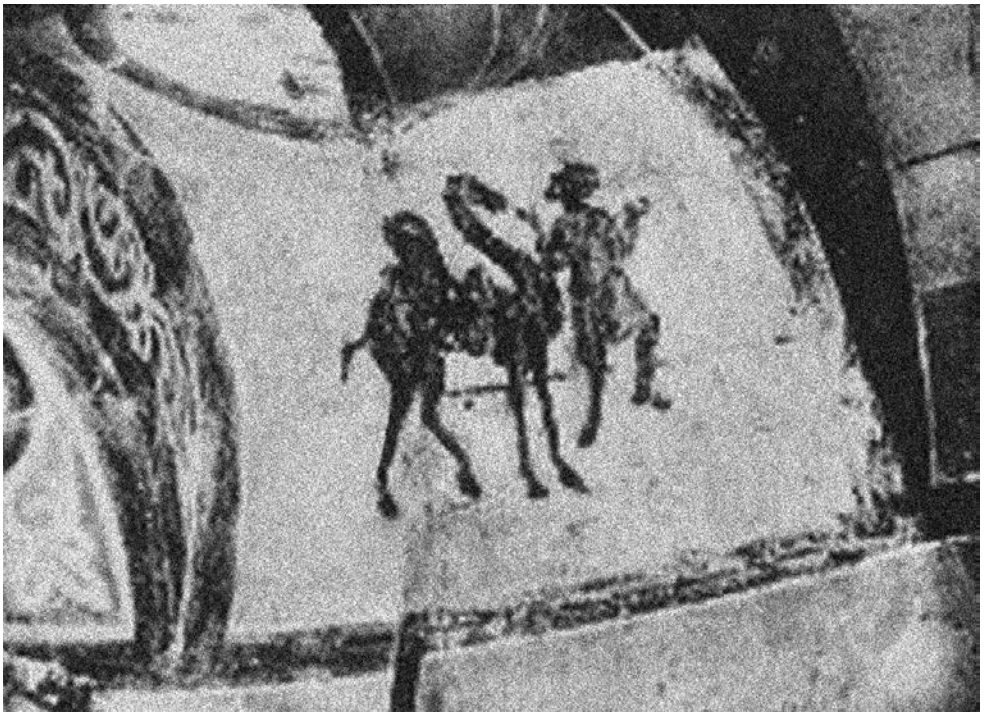


Fig. 14: A Bactrian or Mongolian camel with a chest for merchant goods between its two humps. Fresco on the wall of the staircase in the North Tower of Saint Sophia in Kiev (photo Grabar, 1935).[34]

Conclusion

After examining many aspects in this essay, we see that one small detail is crucial to forming an interpretation. Among the wallpaintings with real scenes of court life, the images of Bactrian camels shed light on the importance of Kiev as an independent trade centre north of Constantinople. Kiev was the crossroad that connected the routes from the dry steppes of Central Asia directly via the Dnjepr to the various north-western river courses. Among the precious goods transported on the camels' backs were silk and other cloth, pottery, spices, perfume and musical instruments. The scenes with dancing, acrobats and musicians but also the horse races in the hippodrome pay reference to the Byzantine emperor. The church of Saint Sophia represents the adoption of the Christian religion. This, for Russian princes, opened the doors to relations with the reigning nobility of Europe. The Byzantine large rebec of Central Asian origin reflects the highest level of cultural life at the Kievan court and in this context is a symbol of power and wealth.

34 Grabar, "Les fresques des escaliers," plate 68 d.



Fig. 15: Map of Khazaria and Central Asia before the arrival of the Mongols (drawn by CARTA, Jerusalem).

BYZANTINE AND WESTERN MEDIEVAL ROYAL DANCES: DANCING FOR THE KING – THE KING'S DANCING

Angeliki Liveri

Introduction

The Christian Church's attitude in both cultural areas (Eastern Roman Empire/Byzantine Empire/Byzantium and West) towards theatre and dance was very hostile, especially during the first Christian centuries. The Church perceived these spectacles as connected to the ancient Greek and Roman pagan worship, customs and morals.[1] Generally, the Church and the faithful believed that these spectacles represented another morality. Nevertheless, in medieval Western Europe, unlike in Byzantium, where the orthodox Church was more conservative, the dance had a special role in the liturgy (liturgical dances) and in the lives of faithful Christians, who in many cases became ill from excessive dancing. This became a major social phenomenon, known as "dancing mania", "dancing plague", "*choreomania*", "St. John's Dance", and "St. Vitus's Dance", all occurring in Europe between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] Perhaps these positions and contrasts in the West will contribute to a better understanding of our subject.

1 Carl Andresen, "Altchristliche Kritik am Tanz: Ein Ausschnitt aus dem Kampf der Alten Kirche gegen heidnische Sitte," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 72 (1961): 217–262; Ottorino Pasquato, *Gli spettacoli in S. Giovanni Crisostomo: Paganesimo e Cristianesimo ad Antiochia e Constantinopoli nel IV secolo*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 201 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1976), *passim*; Leonardo Lugaresi, "Tra evento e rappresentazione. Per una interpretazione della polemica contro gli spettacoli nei primi secoli cristiani," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 30 (1994) : 437–464; Leonardo Lugaresi, *Il teatro di Dio: il problema degli spettacoli nel cristianesimo antico (II–IV secolo)*, Adamantius, Supplementi 1 (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2008), *passim*; Ruth Webb, "Salome's Sisters: The Rhetoric and Realities of Dance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Genders in Byzantium*, ed. Liz Jones (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 119–148; cf. Gisela Fuchs: *Auflehnung und Fall im syrischen Buch der Stufen (Liber Graduum). Eine motivtraditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 19 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 40–49, esp. 46–49.

2 Teresa Berger, *Liturgie und Tanz. Anthropologische Aspekte, historische Daten, theologische Perspektiven*, Pietas liturgica Studia I (St. Ottilien: Eos, 1985); for medieval *choreomania* see Gregor Rohmann, *Tanzwut: Kosmos, Kirche und Mensch in der Bedeutungsgeschichte eines mittelalterlichen Krankheitskonzepts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2013), 171–180 and *passim*; for religious Byzantine dances see Angeliki Liveri, "Der Tanz in der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Kunst," in *Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger*, eds. Wolfram Höradner, Johannes Koder, and Maria Stassinopoulou (proceedings of the symposium held in Vienna, December 4–7, 2002), Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia XXIV (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science Press, 2004), 297–298.

Although the Byzantine society was a conservative Christian society, Byzantine artists represented dances in various genres of art, especially on miniatures of illuminated manuscripts, occasionally on icons, frescoes, small objects (such as jewellery, ivory caskets or boxes) and on stone-reliefs.[3] However, the number of Byzantine dance representations is very small compared to the countless Western ones. Among those inspired by common subjects, are those that exhibit a greater innovative iconographic variety in Western than in Byzantine art.

The selected examples which represent courtly dances are inspired by religious texts taken from the Bible, secular literature including the romance of Alexander the Great, and by courtly life. In the latter, historical and contemporary events including celebrations and receptions of royalty are represented. This essay is divided into two parts: the first part will present illustrations of dances performed in honour of a King and the second, scenes with a King dancing himself. The study aims to show similarities and differences in the subject's iconography between these scenes while focusing on common themes.[4]

I. Dancing for a King

Biblical Themes: Representations of Salome's Dance in Byzantine Art

The most famous and popular biblical dance is arguably Salome's dance at Herod's banquet. It is mentioned in the New Testament by the evangelists (*Mark* 6: 21–23 and *Matthew* 14: 6–8) and the Judean historian Flavius Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*,

3 On Byzantine dances see Thomas Steppan, "Tanzdarstellungen der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Kunst. Ursache, Entwicklung und Aussage eines Bildmotivs," *Cahiers Archéoloqiques* 45 (1997): 141–163; Webb, "Salome's Sisters," 119–148; Ioli Kalavrezou, "Dance as Ritual, Dance as Performance," in *Greek Ritual Poetics*, eds. Dimitrios Yatromanolakis and Panajotis Roilos, Hellenic Studies Series 3 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), 279–296; Liveri, "Tanz," 287–298; Efthalia Rentetzi, "L'iconografia della danza nell'arte bizantina in Venezia," in *Arti e storia*. Studi in onore di Renato Polacco, eds. Letizia Caseli, Jacopo Scarpa and Giordana Trovabene (Venezia: Antiquità Pietro Scarpa, 2005), 173–179; Angeliki Liveri: "Fu-lin Dances in Medieval Chinese Art – Byzantine or Imaginary?," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Institute* LVI (2019): 82, 84, 87, and 89; Angeliki Liveri, "Dance Music" in Byzantium and in the Balkans," *Series Musicologica Balcanica* 1, no. 2 (2021): 23–51.

4 This article is a version of my presentation at the 14th International RIdIM Conference on Music Iconography held in Istanbul, June 4–7, 2013. See Angeliki Liveri, "The King's Dancing – Dancing for the King: Remarks on the Iconography of these Scenes in Byzantine and Western Art," (*Visual Intersections: Negotiating East and West*, Istanbul, June 4–7, 2013), conference programme with abstracts, 43–44. The term royal is used to describe, emperors, and kings, as well as their female counterparts. The term "royalty" includes all members of the imperial and royal families. I prefer to use "king" in the subtitle of my paper since the official title of the Byzantine Emperor was *βασιλεύς* (basileus), i.e. king: see Evangelos K. Chrysos, "The title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in Early Byzantine International Relations," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978): 29–75; Alexander P. Kazhdan: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 264, 413. Additionally, the Byzantine Emperor and other Christian rulers were also associated with King David.

Book XVIII, Chapter 5.4).[5] The latter is named "the dancing girl" (the *korasion*, in the original Greek text, or *puella* in the Latin Vulgate), Salome.[6] However, regarding the dancer's name and her relationship with Herod and Herodias modern researchers argue that the information in the sources is neither clear nor does it correspond to the historical data.[7] The view has also been expressed that perhaps the dance was not a historical event, and, as such, never took place.[8]

Salome's macabre dance is linked to the beheading of John Prodromos (the Forerunner/the Baptist), and therefore to his iconography. The Prodromos' cult and scenes of his life were widespread and included in the iconographic program of the churches in Cappadocia, Palestine, Georgia, Syria, and especially Armenia. In the capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, representations of Herod's symposium with the dancing Salome are not preserved, although numerous churches, chapels, and monasteries were dedicated to John Prodromos. These include the nominal Studios Monastery, which was founded before 454.[9] However, the Abbot Theodoros Stoudites (759–826),[10] describing the monastery's decoration, mentions a representation with Salome's mother, Herodias, receiving dancing the Prodromos' head (*Patrologia Graeca* 99, st. 767 A–B). This could be associated with the information from the so-called *Letter of Herod to Pilate* in the New Testament's *Apokrypha* (middle of the fourth century), stating that the dancing girl was Herod's daughter,

5 Flavius Josephus, *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, trans. William Whiston (A.M. Auburn and Buffalo: John E. Beardsley, 1895). *Jewish Antiquities* was composed between 93 and 94 AD.

6 Étienne Nodet, "Jesus et Jean Baptiste selon Josèphe (IIIe part)," *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985): 521; Claudine Gauthier: *Saint Jean et Salomé: Anthropologie du banquet d'Hérode* (Tours: Lume, 2007), 45; cf. John P. Meier, "John the Baptist in Matthew's Gospel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99, no. 3 (1980): 383–405; Hartmann: *Tod Johannes des Täufers: Eine exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studie auf dem Hintergrund narrativer, intertextueller und kulturantropologischer Zugänge*, Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge/SBB 45 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2001), 254–355; Camille Focant, "Les mises en récit par Marc et par Flavius Josèphe de la mort de Jean le Baptiste," *Graphè* 16 (2007): 15–26; Barbara Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance in Medieval and Early Modern Iconology*, Studies in Iconology 7 (Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2016), 12; Rosina Neginsky, *Salome: The Image of a Woman Who Never Was; Salome: Nymphe, Seducer, Destroyer* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), ch. 1.

7 Silke Petersen, "Salome. Die Tochter der Herodias tanzt und bekommt einen Namen," in *Tanz und Religion: theologische Perspektive*, eds. Marion Keuchen *et al*. (Frankfurt am Main: Otto Lebeck, 2008), 65–70; cf. and previous note.

8 Ibid., 74; cf. Neginsky, *Salome*, 10–12.

9 Cyril Mango, *Byzantinische Architektur* (Mainland: Electa Editrice, Stuttgart: Belser, 1974, 1975), 61, figs. 62–65; Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantium, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17. Jh.* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977); Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary*, 1960–1961; cf. "Stoudios Monastery," https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/stoudios (accessed Sept. 21, 2021).

10 See portraits of Theodoros Stoudites in Doula Mouriki, "Portraits of Theodore Studites in Byzantine Art," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 20 (1971): 249–280, figs. 1–19; Doula Mouriki, *Τα ψηφιδωτά της Νέας Μονής Χίου*, 2 vols. (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 1985), vol. 1, 82–83, 106, 172–173, 177–180; vol. 2, pls. 75, 230, 232.

Herodias.[11] The iconography of Herod's banquet with Salome's dance in Byzantine art varies. In most examples, Salome's dance is included at the banquet. However, in other instances it is either omitted entirely,[12] depicted without the banquet, or the dance is combined with Prodromos' beheading and the offering of his severed head.

Finally, in other examples, the banquet and the dance are separate.[13] Sometimes Salome dances carrying above her head Prodromos' head on a plate or bowl, perhaps a motif based on a narration for a second dance after the decapitation. Studying the preserved representations of Salome's dance, the distinguishable dance performance components can be identified. These include the use of percussion instruments, such as long *crotales* (i.e., *crotales* or clappers or castanets with a long handle), long sleeve dresses, veils waved like bands or scarves, and short handkerchiefs.

A monastic wall painting in St. John at Çavuşin of Cappadocia (dated from the beginning or the second half of the seventh century) belongs to the first category.[14] It is the earliest depiction of Salome's dance in Byzantine art. It includes the *symposion* in which Herod, wearing a Persian head-cover, is situated among and his guests around a table. They are placed left below a schematic arcade, representative of the palace. They gesture towards a female dancer, who occupies the middle of the space, and holds long *crotales*/clappers with a long handle in each raised hand. An inscription identifies her as ΔΑΛΗΔΑ, paraphrasing the Syrian Talitha and translated as "young girl." To the right, Prodromos' beheading and subsequent presentation of his severed head on a tray is depicted. This object is held and flanked by two standing young women, whose faces are damaged. The painter depicted realistic contemporary details, such as the shape of the table, seats with thick pillows, the oriental garments, and the head covers. This early depiction is comparable with the miniature on the Gospel from Sartres (see below).

Salome's dance performance, wearing a long dress with the characteristic long and frequently wide sleeves, was depicted more often than the other dance forms. This costume is typical for Byzantine dancers. Such sleeves allowed the dancer to feel comfortable, and to manipulate them into various formations. This image of Salome, taken from the Middle and Late Byzantine period (especially from the twelfth century onwards), frequently decorates wall paintings, but is rarely

11 Neginsky, *Salome*, 24; cf. Angeliki Katsioti, *Οι σκηνές της ζωής και ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος του Αγίου Ιωάννη Προδρόμου στη βυζαντινή τέχνη* (PhD diss., University of Ioannina, 1996; Athens: Angeliki Katsioti, 1998), 126, note 514.

12 On the 6th century Gospel of Sinope (Codex Sinopensis, suppl. Gr. 1286, fol. 10v), Paris, Bibliothèque National de France: André Grabar, *Les peintures de L' Évangéliaire de Sinope (Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. Gr. 1289)*, Réproduites en Facsimilé, (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1948), fig. 1; Katsioti, *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 124–126, fig. 3; Neginsky: *Salome*, 26, fig. I–2–1; Barbara Baert, "The Dancing Daughter and the Head of John the Baptist (Mark: 6: 14–29) Revisited: An Interdisciplinary Approach," *Louvain Studies* 38 (2014), 15, ill. 1; Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 11–12, ill. 2.

13 Katsioti, *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 124–126.

14 Nicole Thierry, *Haut Moyen Âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la region de Çavuşin*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geutner, 1983), 86–90, fig. 34; Katsioti, *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 124–128, 130, fig. 6; Liveri, "Dance Music," 25.

found in miniatures of illuminated manuscripts, reliefs, and icons.[15] Stylistically the aforementioned examples are represented in a provincial manner.

However, the focus here is on the iconography of the actual dance. Sometimes the dancer wears the costume with long, wide sleeves above another dress with more narrow sleeves, but with decorated cuffs (Prodromos' Monastery at Serres). On other occasions Salome dances while carrying a plate or bowl above her head containing Prodromos' head, her award for her exceptional dance skills. This *dance macabre* is visible in many pictures, as e.g. in Chrysapha, Gardenitsa Mesa Manis, Alepochori, Serres, Valsamonero and in Thessaloniki (see below). The dancer is placed on either side of the table. In Alepochori (Attica), Salome dances in the foreground, before the table depicted in smaller scale than Herod and his guests.

In the aforementioned examples, Salome's movements are generally conservative or repetitive, with some exceptions. Usually, her dance is indicated by rather modest movements of hands and feet. Exceptionally, Salome dances more vividly and boldly on the wall painting in the Maria church in Chrysapha (Laconia, 1270)[16] and on the Florence evangelium miniature (cod. Laur. VI 23/or Ms Plut.6.23, fol. 29r, ca. 1100) (fig. 1).[17]

In both cases she is placed at the table's right. In Laconia, Salome is depicted inelegantly wearing a long white, richly decorated with small quadrate patterns, and brown belted dress. In addition, an ochre coloured long veil-like textile-accessory falls over the shoulder and on her breast. The sleeves are extra-long and wide in the lower part. Salome turns his head to the right, moving her body to the left, while at the same time she stretches her left foot elegantly and bends her right, raising her right arm and leaving her left down. The gestures dominate this dance.

The Florence miniature includes more episodes of the Prodromos' story. Here Salome's dance is followed by Prodromos' beheading and the head is then offered to her by a soldier. She wears a long blue dress with extra-long and wide sleeves, and a shorter white mantle with golden patterns above it, a red head-cover, and red shoes. Her dance movements are similar to the previous scene. Nevertheless, they are represented antithetically, as she dances to the right with a great stride, bending her body backwards and turning her head to the left, towards the symposium's table where Herod and his three symposiasts are sitting. Simultaneously, Salome

15 See examples in Doula Mouriki, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Σωτήρα κοντά στο Αλεποχώρι της Μεγαρίδος* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 1978), 38–39, figs. 50–53; Katsioti, *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 120–131, figs. 135 (Alepochori), 137 (Chrysapha), 191 (Prodromos Monastery), 221 (Sotiras Gardenitsas), 231 (Hagios Onoufrios, Valsamonero); cf. figs. 125, 144 (Armenian miniatures); Liveri, "Tanz," 289–290, fig. 2; cf. Liveri: "Fu-lin dances," 87, 89, figs. 16–18.

16 Mouriki, *Τοιχογραφίες Σωτήρα*, 137; Jenny P. Albani, *Die byzaninischen Wandmalereien der Panaghia Chrysaphitissa-Kirche in Chrysapha – Lakonien*, Hefte zur Byzantinischen Archäologie und Kunst 6 (Athens: Christliche Archäologische Gesellschaft, 2000), 53–54, pl. 21b.

17 Andreas Xyngopoulos, "Σαλώμη(;)," *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 12 (1936): 274–275, fig. 5; Kerstin Merkel, *Salome. Ikonographie im Wandel*, Europäische Hochschulschriften XXVIII, 106 (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris: Peter Lang, 1990), 367, fig. LVI; Katsioti: *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 119, 129, fig. 83.
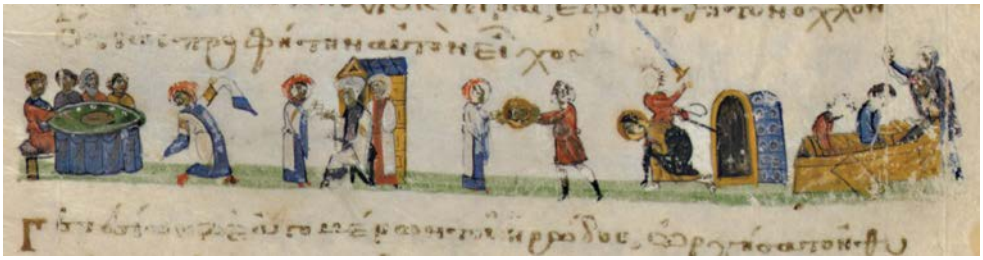


Fig. 1: Salome's Dance at Herod's Banquet. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Laur. VI 23/or Ms. Plut.6.23, fol. 29r, ca. 1100, Photo courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana © Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

gestures intensively raising her left bended arm and lowering the right. Despite its small size, the miniature's illustration surpasses the Chrysapha's wall painting in vivacity and elegance.

The third dance form which Salome performs is the Dance with waved veils, bands, or scarves. It was a very popular dance, originating from an ancient motif that was used mainly in mythological scenes. Salome performed this dance holding a veil or scarf with both hands that form an arc behind her, on the side of her body, and above her head. This Salome dance form appears on Palaeologian miniatures (manuscript from Mytilene, fol. 12v, thirteenth century),[18] and wall paintings (Hagios Georgios in Kouneni/district of Chania, Crete).[19] On the first example she holds the veil above her head with a vigorous body movement. On the Cretan image, Salome dances holding the veil behind her, only its edges visible, resting her hands at her waist. This is similar to the Late Byzantine ivory *pyxis* in Washington, mentioned below.

The fourth dance form, called Handkerchiefs' Dance, performed with short handkerchiefs, is represented on a wall painting of the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki (early fourteenth century, 1310–1320).[20] This is arguably the most beautiful dance performance. Salome carries a plate with the Baptist's head on her head, and holds a small folded handkerchief in each hand, while a third handkerchief is visible in her belt. She moves to the right turning her head to the left.

18 Panayotis Vocotopoulos, "L'évangile illustré de Mytilene," in *Studenica et l' art byzantine autour de l' année 1200:* à l'occasion de la célébration de 800 ans du monastère de Studenica et de 100e anniversaire de l'Académie serbe des sciences et des arts, Sept. 1986, ed. Vojislav Korać, Colloques scientifiques XLI (Classe de Sciences Historiques 11), Beograd et Studenica 1986 (Belgrad: Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts, 1988), 381, fig. 15; Katsioti, *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 120, fig. 109; Liveri, "Tanz," 289.

19 Kostas E. Lassithiotakis, "Δύο εκκλησίες στο νομό Χανίων,"*Deltion Christianikes Archaiologikes Etaireias* 4, no. 2 (1960–1961): 49–50, pl. 26.3, fig. 9; Katsioti: *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 120, 125–126.

20 Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou, *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΤΕΧΝΗ. Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S. A., 1994, 1995), 243, fig. 126; Liveri, "Tanz," 290, fig. 2.

Representations of Salome's Dance in Western Medieval Art

Numerous representations of Salome's dance are represented in Western Medieval art. The majority are depicted on paintings (wall paintings, miniatures of illuminated manuscripts, and stained glass windows), sculpture (architectural sculpture, such as capitals and tympana, and doors) and other artistic works. The Medieval dance forms are much more varied than those in Byzantine art. However, some shared iconographical motifs of the theme are found in both. These commonalities include the essential compositional elements associated with the final events of St. John the Baptist's life: Herod's banquet, Salome's dance, John's imprisonment and beheading, the offering of his severed head to Salome, and the burial.

The earliest preserved depiction of Herod's symposium in Western art is dated from the ninth century, almost two centuries later than the Byzantine examples. It decorates the miniature of a Carolingian illuminated manuscript in Paris, the so-called Gospel from Chartres (Par. Lat. 9386, fol. 146v).[21] Generally this illustration looks somewhat similar to the aforementioned wall painting in Cappadocia, combining the symposium, the dance, the Baptist's beheading and burial in an analogous manner that perhaps indicates a common iconography of remote areas with Palestinian origins. Only the burial is missing in the Byzantine image. Salome dances with upraised hands in both representations, without an instrument in the Carolingian missal, but with long *crotales* (i.e., *crotales* or clappers with a long handle) in the Cappadocian wall painting. The long dress shows similarities as well, whereas the composition's arrangement and the artistic style are different. Salome dances left to right in front of the table on the miniature and near the middle of the scene on the early Byzantine wall painting.

In the eleventh through to the fifteenth centuries, a few common iconographical elements relating to the dance form are identified. Salome dons a dress with long sleeves of various widths, and performs the dance while carrying the Baptist's head on a platter or in a bowl in some depictions, or, while empty handed in others. The first of two examples of the latter are found in the Cathedral of Hildesheim/Lower Saxony, Germany (c. 1020). Bernward's Romanesque bronze relief on the "Christ's or Bernward's column"/"Bernwardssäule" represents an ecstatic, whirling type of dance. Salome is accompanied by a pipe-player situated to her left.[22] A

21 Paris, Bibliothèque National de France; Bertrand Davezac, "L'Evangéliaire de Chartres B. N. Lat. 9386: contribution à l'étude de la peinture monastique carolingienne," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 27 (1978): 41–60, figs.19, 20; Katsioti, *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 125, fig. 15; Neginsky, *Salome*, 26, fig. I–2–2; Baert: "Dancing Daughter," 16–17, ill. 2; Baert: *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 12, fig. 3; Barbara Baert, "When the Daughter Came in and Danced": Revisiting Salome's Dance in Medieval and Early Modern Iconology," in *Interruptions and Transitions: Essays on the Senses in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Barbara Baert (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), 176–177, fig. 68.

22 "Christussäule" ("Christ's column") in Marien Dom/Cathedral Hildesheim, https://www.dom-hildesheim.de/en/content/christs-column-bernwards-column (accessed Sept. 21, 2021); Merkel, *Salome*, 383–386 (includes this representation of Salome's whirling dance/Drehtanz. She mentions other examples as well); Michael Brandt, *Bernwards Säule. Schätze aus dem Dom zu Hildesheim* (Regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner GmbH, 2009); Jochen Hermann Vennebusch, "Lebensentwürfe 'auf der

second example of Salome without the decapitated head is found on a wall painting in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo in Spoleto (twelfth century).[23]

Examples of Salome with the severed head are found in an eleventh century silver bookbinding relief from the Baptistery of St. John in Florence in the Vatican's Museums,[24] the ceiling fresco in the Baptistery of Parma (1255),[25] and in the mosaic in the northern chapel of the Baptistery of San Marco in Venice (fourteenth century).[26] However, it is strange that on the silver relief Salome holds snakes, perhaps an evil symbol that associates her with Eve. In other cases Salome dances holding an object, such as a sword, a ball, a flower, and a musical instrument.[27] Additionally, the subject has more similarities with Italian artworks, based in Byzantine models, especially the so-called Italo-Byzantine. Examples of the latter are found on a *dossal* of the Baptist in the Art Gallery of Siena, on the frescoes in the Baptistery of Parma, and on the mosaics of the Baptistery of San Marco in Venice.[28] The latter is closer to Byzantine art, but with Romanic and Gothic elements. Paolo Veneziano created it during the first half of the fourteenth century (1343–1345).[29] On the banquet's left side Salome dances moving to the right, carrying on her head a disc with the Baptist's head. She holds the disc with her right hand. Salome wears a very beautiful and elegant dress, super bright red, with white fur lining. High-quality jewellery completes her fashionable image and underlines her beauty. Salome is represented twice in the Baptistery of San Marco, but in a different artistic manner in two separate scenes: dancing and offering the Prodromos' head to Herod and his guests.[30]

Kippe', entscheidende Erlebnisse und ein Moment der Ewigkeit: Narrative Modi der Hildesheimer Berwardssäule und die Visualiesierungsstrategien theologischer Grundzüge," *VISUAL PAST: A Journal for the Study of Past Visual Cultures* 3, no. 1 (2016): 543–547, figs. 7–8, http://www.visualpast.de/archive/pdf/vp2016_0529.pdf (accessed Sept. 21, 2021).

23 Merkel, *Salome*, 366–367, with other examples; Serena Romano, "Alberto So", Il gruppo di opere, e una croce quasi sconosciuta," in *La pittura su tavola del secolo XII; riconsiderazioni e nuove acquisizioni a seguito del restauro della Croce di Rosano*, eds. Cecilia Frosinini, Alesio Monciati and Gerhard Wolf (Firenze: Edifir, 2012), 174, fig. 4.

24 Merkel, *Salome*, cat. 332, fig. 19; Baert, "Dancing Daughter," 18, ill. 8; Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 31– 32, ill. 10.

25 Merkel, *Salome*, 387, no. 287, fig. 13; Baert, "Dancing Daughter," 18, ill. 9; Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 31–32, ill. 9.

26 Nanette B. Rodney, "Salome," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, new series, 11, no. 7 (Mar. 1953): 191; Merkel, *Salome*, 387, fig. 20; Katsioti, *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, 128–129, 178, figs. 178, 179; Liveri, "Tanz," 290; Neginsky, *Salome*, 25–26, 29, fig. I–2–3; Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 31, 33–34, 75–76, ills. 11, 25; Baert, "Dancing Daughter," 18, ill. 7; Baert, "When the Daughter," 191, fig. 76.

27 Merkel, *Salome*, 391–407.

28 Miklós Boskovits, *The Mosaics of the Baptistery of Florence* (Florence, Milan: Giunti, 2007), 299; cf. 300–301, 447–448, pls. CIII–CV (Mosaics in the Baptistery of Florence: here Salome dances accompanied by a dancing viol-player and a characteristic handgesture).

29 See note 23 above.

30 Otto Demus *et al*., *San Marco*: *Die Mosaiken, Das Licht, Die Geschichte* (Munich: Metamorphosis, 1993), pl. on 182; Katsioti, *Εικονογραφικός κύκλος Προδρόμου*, fig. 180; Henry Maguire, "The Aniketos Icon

Among the various representations of Salome's dances, some of the more acrobatic interpretations are of particular interest and enjoy great popularity. In these dances her body positions are very unusual and seemingly dangerous. Salome's positions either resemble an arch, where occasionally she holds an object (e.g. a sword), or her stance is vertical. In those cases, Salome is standing on her hands while dancing with her head down or, in other variations.

Salome's first acrobatic position is the "hysterical arch" or "*arc-de cercle*." It was associated with real performances of troubadours and *jongleuses* at the feudal courts of the Middle Ages.[31] In the medieval period, European artists were inspired by these themes and depicted Salome's dance. Examples are found in Austria, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. The arched posture is identified in various works including the left bronze door of San Zeno Maggiore in Verona (fig. 2) (c. 1100),[32] and French stained-glass panels, for instance those found in the church of Saint-Martin in Breul-le-Vert (c. 1235).[33]

In the latter example, Salome holds also a sword over her head. On the Romanesque wall paintings of the Basilika Maria Himmelfahrt in the Benedictine Abbey in Seckau, Austria (c. 1280),[34] Salome is depicted twice: first, she is dancing in the foreground, before the table, almost in the middle of the scene. In the next image to the right, Salome is found again, this time standing, holding a bowl with the Baptist's head, and presenting it to the symposium's participants.

Salome appears on miniatures in the same acrobatic arched position in various manuscripts. Such depictions are found on a Psalter from Oxford in Munich, the so-called "Munich Golden Psalter" (Cod. Lat. Clm 835, fol. 66, no.137, 1st qu. thirteenth century),[35] and on the festal missal from Amiens in The Hague, attributed

---

and the Display of Relics in the Decoration of San Marco," in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, eds. Henry Maguire and Robert S. Nelson (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 108–109, fig. 3.9; Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 31, 33–34, ill. 12.

31 Catherine Ingrassia, *Danseurs, acrobats et saltimbanques dans l'art au Moyen-Âge: Recherches sur les representations ludiques, choréographiques et acrobatiques dans l'iconographique medieval* (PhD diss., Université Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1989), 57–66; Baert, "Dancing Daughter," 17–18; Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 20–21, esp. note 35; Baert, "When the Daughter," 182–188 with examples; Neginsky, *Salome,* 26.

32 Rodney, "Salome," 191; Julia Zimmermann: "'Histrio fit David'. Königs David Tanz vor der Bundeslade, in der Ikonographie und Literatur des Mittelalters," in *König David – biblische Schlüsselfigur und europäische Leitgestalt*, eds. Walterand Dietrich and Hubert Herkommer, proceedings of the 19th Colloquium der schweizerischen Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften (Freiburg/Schweiz: Kohlhamer, 2003), 536–537, fig. 2; Merkel, *Salome,* 431, ill.1; Baert, "Dancing Daughter," 17–18, fig. 6; Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 20–21, fig. 6; Baert, "When the Daughter," 182–183, fig. 71; cf. a similar Salome's dance on churches' doors, e.g. in Saint Lazare d'Avallon in Burgundy, San Vallès in Catalonia, cathedral of Rouen and on the windows of the Saint-Jean Chapel in the Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrant: Neginsky, *Salome*, 26.

33 Jane Hayward and Walter Cahn, *Radiance and Reflection*: *Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 156–161, no. 59B.

34 Beart, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 21–22, ill. 7; Beart, "When the Daughter," 185, fig. 73. (Beart changed Seckau with Müstair in the captions.)

35 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00012920/image_137 (accessed Sept. 21, 2021); Nigel J. Morgan, *Der Goldene Münchner Psalter – The Munich Gold-*



Fig. 2: Salome's Dance at Herod's Banquet. Italy, Verona. Left bronze door of San Zeno, relief, 11th or 12th c. (ca. 1100) (Photo of the author).

to the illuminator Petrus de Raimbeaucourt (The Hague, KB, 78 D 40, fol. 108r, dated in 1323).[36] In the latter, Salome performs an extremely abnormal dance. Her body forms a closed curve while she is serenaded by a fiddler at her left (fig. 3a–b).

In other cases, Salome executes a vertical movement, such as on two *bas-de-*

en Psalter, Clm 835, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Faksimile Edition (Luzern: Quaternio, 2011), 69–119, fig. 137.

36 Baert, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 36, fig. 14; Baert, "When the Daughter," 194–195, fig. 79; more references in https://manuscripts.kb.nl/search/literature/78+D+40 (accessed Sept. 21, 2021).



Fig. 3a: Left, Herod's Banquet with Offering of the Baptist's Head; right: Salome's dance. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek – National Library of the Netherlands, Cod. KB 78D40, fol. 108r, early 14th c. (Photo: Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek © Koninklijke Bibliotheek – National Library of the Netherlands).

page miniatures of the manuscripts in the British Library. The first is found on the so-called Queen Mary's Psalter (Royal 2B VII, fol. 264v, fourteenth century); and the second in Yates Thomson 13, fol. 106v (2nd quarter of the fourteenth century).[37]

Similarly, Salome is depicted on the wall painting of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint John in Müstair of Switzerland (1160). There she accompanied by two musicians, a horn-player and a harpist.[38] In the latter representation, she is again depicted twice and placed closely together, dancing and offering her trophy to Herod. The scene's composition includes Saint John's the Baptist's beheading on the left, with the musicians who accompany Salome's *macabre* dance. To the right, depictions of the banquet and the offering of the Baptist's head are presented. Salome stands on her hands and dances with her head down on the capitals that came from the chapter house of Saint Georges de Boscherville, displayed at the Museum of Antiquities in

37 London, British Library: "Queen Mary Psalter," https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=53506;
and "Yates Thomson 13," https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=29145 (both accessed Sept. 21, 2021).

38 Beart, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 21, ill. 7; Beart, "When the Daughter," 183, fig. 72. (Beart changed Seckau with Müstair in the captions.)

Rouen.[39] The same repetitive dance movements might imply that the artists had the same models that circulated through drawings notebooks. Many researchers argue that such acrobatic dances had a therapeutic function for some sickness as well, and associated them with social phenomena as *choreomania*, *tarantism*, etc.[40]

Herod's banquet with Salome dancing was depicted in a completely different fashion/manner by artists of the Renaissance onwards. Salome's image was transformed from evil and *dangerous into a young beautiful woman, a nymph, and a muse for artists*[41] *such as* Benozzo Gozzoli (1461–1462)[42] and Filippo Lippi (1452–1460)[43] in Italy and an anonymous Catalan painter (the "San Diego Master?," mid. fifteenth century).[44]

Gozzoli depicted a picture in tempera, which is displayed in the National Gallery of Art in Washington. Lippi a fresco in the Cathedral of Prato, on which he placed many figures around a U-shaped table. Salome appears three times: near the centre of the table performing her *nymphic* dance, at the far left receiving the Baptist's head and, finally, at the far right presenting it to her mother, Herodias. The Catalan painter offers another version of the subject in his painting (fig. 4). Here, the banquet appears to be a royal banquet at the Aragonese/Spain palace and Salome moves slowly as a cult dancer, playing a fiddle with elegance and modesty.

In conclusion, the iconography of the representations with Salome's dance at King Herod's symposium are in many cases a copy of similar musical and dance

39 Neginsky, *Salome,* 26 with more examples, fig. III–7–6 (door of Cathedral of Rouen).

40 Baert, "When the Daughter," 185; cf. note 2 above. Among the popular dances were the carol dance (a circle, chain or linear dance) and tarantella (an almost orgiastic, dionysiac dance), both originated in Italy; *tarantism* derives from *tarantella*. For medieval dances see Agapi Evangelidi, *Χοροί του Μεσαίωνα και της Αναγέννησης* (Athens: Nepheli, 1991); Ingrassia, *Danseurs, acrobats et saltimbanques*; Catherine Ingrassia, Christophe Deslignes and Xavier Terrassa, *La danse médiévale*: Volume 2, *Histoire de la danse au Moyen Age: la fête, 20 reconstitutions de danses et partitions musicales*, with 1 CD audio (Le lOcal, 2010).

41 Merkel, *Salome*, 317–319, 430–436 with many examples.

42 Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, no. 1952.2.3: www.nga.gov-collection-gallery-gg4-gg4-41582-lit.html (accessed Sept. 21, 2021); Diane Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996), 112, 124, pls. 135, 140, cat. no. 26).

43 Giuseppe Marchini, *Filippo Lippi* (Milano: Electa, 1975), 99–102, 210, pls. 130–137; Ruda Jeffrey, *Fra Filippo Lippi*: *Life and Work with a Complete Catalogue* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993), 464, pls. 155, 157, 161–162, 327–330, 391, cat. no. 56e; Neginsky, *Salome*, 29, fig. I–3–2; Beart, *Revisiting Salome's Dance*, 48, 50, ill. 18; Baert, "When the Daughter," fig. 83; cf. Paula Nuttall, Geoffrey Nuttall, and Michael Kwakkelstein, eds, *Filippino Lippi: Invention and Intelligence*, NIKI Studies in Netherlandish-Italian Art History, vol. 13 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020).

44 Rodney, "Salome," 196; Katherine Baetjer, *European Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Artists Born Before 1865: A Summary Catalogue* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 149, ill. 32.100.126–128; Young identifies the painter with the "San Diego Master;" however, some researchers do not agree. Eric Young: "Spanish Painting: From International Gothic to Goya," *Apollo* 115 (1982), 433–434; cf. Martin E. Petersen, Letter to Mary Springson December 22, 1982, at the above mentioned MET website-references: Petersen "… judging from photographs, comments on differences between the MMA Salome panels and the San Diego retable of Saint John the Baptist, suggesting they were not painted by the same artist." cf. Jordi Ballester, "Past and Present of Music Iconography in Spain," *Music in Art* XXVII/1–2 (2002): 7–11; Jordi Ballester, article in this book.



Fig. 3b: Salome's Dance at Herod's Banquet accompanied by a Violin/Fiddle-player. Detail of fig. 3a. (OA public domain)

entertainments or performances at imperial or royal banquets, including courtly life, architectural background or interior space, furniture, people's garments, style, etc. The scene is intended to emphasise the power of Byzantine or Western emperors and kings and to express their greatness, power, and wealth. We observe a wide variety of dances represented on various artistic works or monuments, in different styles, and also a rich transformation in Salome's image. The representations of the theme in Byzantine art are very few and conservative compared to their Western counterparts. The most Byzantine pictures are preserved on frescoes of churches in the Greek province. On the contrary, in the West the subject was very popular, as shown in the innumerable representations in various countries. Their artistic manner followed the time's trends relating to the dancing performance, in addition to the visual expression and the socio-theological beliefs and views. The artistic style is of high level, unbeatable, and unrivaled. General similarities in the iconography are visible, but also differences in the scene's composition, the dance forms, the clothes, the interior spaces, and in other secondary motifs. The representations of the so-called Italian-Byzantine monuments resemble more the Byzantine ones.



Fig. 4: Salome's Dance at Herod's Banquet playing Violin/Fiddle. Tempera and gold on wood by an anonymous Spanish (Catalan) painter (mid-15th c.). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 32.100.126, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437739 (accessed Sept. 21, 2021)

Dancing Themes from the Secular Literature (Romances): Dancing for King Alexander the Great

The next dance is inspired by a literary work, a Byzantine copy/version of the well-known *Romance of Alexander the Great*. It is a very popular manuscript describing Alexander's legends that originated in Ptolemaic Alexandria (before the early 4th c. AD), composed in the Greek language, and later attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes by an anonymous author. The Alexander Romance is largely fictional. It was widely copied and translated in many languages in West and East, among them Latin. It was expanded in many versions and was very popular throughout

Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In medieval Europe, especially in France and England, versions of the *Alexander Romance* experienced a remarkable popularity.

The Late Byzantine illustrated version of this novel in Venice (Ven. Inst., cod. Gr. 5, 2nd half of the fourteenth century) comes from the Greek-Byzantine Empire of Trabzon by order of the emperor Alexios III the Great Komnenos of Trabzon.[45] This royal manuscript was decorated by three different miniaturists, who were perhaps of Georgian, Laz, or Armenian origin.

The manuscript includes two unique miniatures, very interesting for our study. The first one (no. 152, fol. 131r) illustrates (fig. 5) an event according to the text's description:[46] a group of young women came from the lake singing and dancing for King Alexander the Great. The miniaturist depicted an almost circular dance of young virgins, and then placed them at the lower part of the miniature in foreground, in front of King Alexander the Great. For his part, Alexander is lying on a white patterned mattress in his royal purple-gold garments and crowned, guarded by four soldiers in his right. Alexander is on his white horse in the upper right, from which vantage point he leads his soldiers.

The women have long black hair and wear long white dresses with the characteristic long and wide sleeves. They move with irregular steps, held by the shoulders forming two closed rows. Nevertheless, the placement of a dancer on the right and inside the dance formation creates the impression that there are two circles. The dancer moves to the left but looks to the right. Observing the motif better, we could say that perhaps this is due to the miniaturist's clumsiness to paint the dancer at the back of the circle.

The second miniature (no. 109, fol. 91r) of the same manuscript (codex 5) includes a depiction (fig. 6) of the wedding feast (banquet with music and dance) of Alexander the Great with the Bactrian princess Roxane, placed on the lower right side.[47] The entertainments are placed between the two banquet tables; the upper section reveals the married couple, surrounded by guests, in greater scale than the lower image. Two male musicians play a long-necked lute and a pipe on the left, and, at the right corner, two women are depicted. The first holds in each upraised hand a pair of small *crotales*, and the second plays a large, multi-stringed arched

45 Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizanti: Andreas Xyngopoulos, *Αι μικρογραφίαι του μυθιστορήματος του Μ. Αλεξάνδρου εις τον κώδικα του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας* (Athens-Venice: Institut Hellénique des Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines de Venise, 1966); Nikoletta S. Trachoulia, *Το μυθιστόρημα του Αλεξάνδρου. Κώδιξ 5 Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας. Alexander the Great Romance*, billingual (Greek-English) (Athens: Exantas, 1997), 12–17; Nikos Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα* (Athens: C. Papagrigoriou – H. Nakas Co, 2007), 59.

46 Xyngopoulos, *Μικρογραφίαι*, 48, pl. IX, fig.152; Trachoulia, *Alexander Romance*, fig. 311; Liveri, "Tanz," 294.

47 Xyngopoulos, *Μικρογραφίαι*, 90–91, pl. VIII, fig. 109; Trachoulia, *Alexander Romance*; for the musical instruments cf. Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά* όργανα, 44–45, 110–111, and *passim*, fig.12; "Byzantine Musical Instruments," Koç University – Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies; GABAM Byzantine Musical Instruments Collection, https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/BMI/id/47/rec/403 (accessed Sept. 21, 2021).



Fig. 5: Dancing for King Alexander the Great. Italy, Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizanti:http://eib.xanthi.ilsp.gr/gr/showpic.asp?picpath=9999_min_01_131r&curtable=miniatures&currecord=152&vorder=1&vmode=miniat (accessed Sept. 21, 2021), © Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, Venice.

harp. Since a *crotales*-player usually dances, we assume that she does the same here, although only the upper part of her body is visible. This opinion is supported by the emperor Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos (*De Ceremoniis,* 293, 10 ff., 294, 14, 17, 589, 18), who, in describing imperial banquets in the Constantinople Great Palace, mentions dancers singing and dancing, holding *crotales* in the shape of a crescent (*fegia*).[48] It is worth noting, that the musical instruments lute and harp show affinities with corresponding Arabian-Persian instruments, whereas the dancer resembles, according to Andreas Xyngopoulos, the Muslim dancers on an ivory box in the National Museum of Florence.

The garments of the feast participants are also very interesting, especially the head-covers. Both the male turban and the female headscarf require two women at Roxane's right to carry a crown above it. Meanwhile the dancer wears a different, yet elegant, red-gold head-cover and a white and red plaid dress. In the middle of

48 Phaidon Koukoules, "Χορός," in *Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, vol. 5 (Athens: Papasissis, 1952), 230.



Fig. 6: Dancing and Music at the wedding's symposium Alexander's the Great with Roxane. Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizanti: http://eib.xanthi.ilsp.gr/gr/showpic.asp?picpath=9999_min_01_91r&curtable=miniatures&currecord=109&vorder=1&vmode=miniat (accessed Sept. 21, 2021), © Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, Venice.

the upper table sit Alexander and Roxane, depicted as a royal Byzantine couple, crowned and wearing Byzantine formal clothes in purple, decorated with golden textiles pieces and coloured precious stones. Finally, the iconography of this miniature combines Byzantine and other "Eastern" elements.[49]

Relating the Western romance versions we can mention the following: the most famous illuminated manuscript is the Bodley 264 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[50] It is a celebrity manuscript of exceptional quality, a spectacular courtly object itself. It contains the old French *Roman d' Alexandre*, of the twelfth century

49 Xyngopoulos, *Μικρογραφίαι*, 67–78, esp. 76; Trachoulia, *Alexander Romance*, 14, 18; Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 60.

50 Mark Cruse, *Illuminating the Roman d' Alexandre: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264: the Manuscript as Monument*, Gallica Series 22 (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2011); Jane Gilbert, Simon Gaunt and William Burgwinkle: *Medieval French Literary Culture Abroad* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 218–242.

(1180) with additions from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. With the exceptions of the miniatures illuminating legends of Alexander the Great, its fame derives from its myriad marginal images of courtly and everyday life in *bas-de-page*, created by the Flemish (Tournai) illuminator Jehan de Grise and his workshop (1338–1142). Numerous medieval dance and musical performances with a great variety of Western musical instruments were included. Nevertheless, we could not find illustrations of the events represented in the Venetian cod. 5, mentioned above. Although on many images Alexander is depicted "as a master of courtly ceremonies," participating or leading a celebration (for example, at a banquet or at a weeding procession of other persons),[51] the celebration of his own marriage to Roxane, or the event with the dancing "Lake's virgins," are not included.[52]

Dancing Themes from the Courtly Life or Historical Events: Dancing for the Byzantine Emperor

Dances were often performed in the Great Palace or in other palaces of Constantinople on occasions of various festivals or symposia, and also at the hippodrome, theatre, and in other locations.[53] However, such performances in honour of a Byzantine emperor are rarely represented. Here we will present the dance for the emperor Theodosius the Great (390–395) at Hippodrome of Constantinople, the dance for emperor Constantin IX Monomachos (1042–1050), and the welcome dance for the emperor John VII Palaeologos (r. 1403–1404) at his visit in Thessaloniki.

The first dance performance (fig. 7a) is carved in relief at the base of the obelisk of emperor Theodosius the Great in the Hippodrome of Constantinople.[54] The

51 E.g. on the fols. 172v and 172r: Oxford, Bodleian Library: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/947ed406-330f-4d60-868c-105f674a8c26; https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/5bfe4c1f-33f0-4e79-a698-2a16e6789c12 (accessed Sept. 21, 2021); Cruse, *Illuminating the Roman d' Alexandre*, 40, figs. 6–7; for courtly life and spectacles cf.13–102.

52 We have not found yet corresponding images in Western medieval art.

53 On dances in the Great Palace, esp. the Gothic Dances cf. Eugenia Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, "Winter in the Great Palace: The Persistence of Pagan Festivals in Christian Byzantium," in *Bosphorus. Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango*, eds. Stephanos Efthhymiadis, Claudia Rapp and Dimitris Tsougarakis, *Byzantinische Forschungen* XXI (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1995), 117–124.

54 André Grabar, *Die Kunst im Zeitalter Justinians. Vom Tod Theodosius I. bis zum Vordringen des Islam* (München: C. H. Beck, 1967), 219, figs. 245–246; Jean-Pierre Sodini, "Images sculptées et propaganda impériale du IVe au VIe siècle: recherches récentes sur les collonnes honorifiques et les reliefs politiques à Byzance," in *Byzance et les images*, eds. André Guillou and Jannic Durand, proccedings of the lectures held at the Musée du Louvre from October 5 to December 7, 1992 (Paris: Doc Française, 1994), 67–73, figs. 18–19; C.J. Simpson, "Musicians and the Arena: Dancers and the Hippodrome," *Latomus* 59, no. 3 (2000): 634–639, fig. 1; Kalavrezou, "Dance," 281–282, fig. 1; Albrecht Berger, "Die akustische Dimension des Kaiserzeremoniells. Gesang, Orgelspiel und Automaten," in *Visualisierung von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen – Gestalt und Zeremoniell*, Internationales Kolloquium June 3–4, 2004 in Istanbul, ed. Franz Alto Bauer, *Byzas* 5 (2006), 63–77, fig. 1; Nikos Maliaras, *Die Orgel im byzantinischen Hofzeremoniell des 9. Und des 10. Jahrhunderts: eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 33, PhD diss., University of Munich, 1989–1990 (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1991); Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά*

emperor and members of his court are visible on the east side. They observe a chorus-line of female dancers from the gallery of the track, who dance in the lower level, before the imperial box, the so-called *stama*. From there, races started, while the emperor Theodosius stood ready to crown a victor. The dance performance was accompanied by music of a *syrinx*, a double-*aulos*, a *salpinx*/trumpet, and two pipe organs. The organists are displayed on the left and right edges of the reliefs.

Between the musicians are placed seven female dancers, divided into two groups by the *syrinx*-player. The first group on the left, beside the organist, consists of three members; the second group is made up of four. The dancers gesture beautifully – their legs are not represented – having one hand down and the other raised over their head, while they bend their body to the left or to the right. The first two dancers move opposite each other forming an effective dance ensemble; the third woman of the first group and the last woman of the second group, on the right, before the double *aulos*-player, move similarly. Additionally, these dancers hold long *crotales* or *crotales* with a long handle or castanets which Werner Bachmann names "clappers on stick" and Gabriela Currie following him "cymbal tongs (*kymbala*),"[55] like Salome on the fresco in Cappadocia (see above). The three dancers in the middle (fig. 7b) are held down by the hand, like at a circular dance (*syrtos*), while the dance leader and the last dancer hold their dress with their free hand in a gesture both charming and graceful. The appearance of the organs in a representation of a dance in honour of an emperor is highly unusual. However, organ music sounded in Byzantine palaces and in other places (hippodrome, theatre etc.), and in various events or occasions in every period.[56]

μουσικά όργανα, 282–283, 411–413, fig. 193; Paola Dessì, *L'organo tardoantico. Storie di sovranità e diplomazia* (Padova: CLEUP, 2008), 75–84, fig. 8; Gabriela Currie, "Απεικονίσεις μουσικών οργάνων στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εικονογραφία," in *Ελληνικά Μουσικά Όργανα. Αναζητήσεις σε εικαστικές και γραμματειακές μαρτυρίες (2000 π.Χ. – 2000 μ.Χ.),* ed. Alexandra Goulaki-Voutira (Thessaloniki: Tellogleio Fondation of Art, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2012), 131, fig. X.1; Gabriela Currie, "Glorious Noise of Empire," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz, LMEMS 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 430–433, fig. 26.1; "Byzantine Musical Instruments;" Liveri, "Dance Music," 25–26, figs. 1a, b.

55 Werner Bachmann, "Musikdarbietung im Hippodrom von Konstantinopel," *Imago Musicae XXI/XXII* (2004/2005): 193–227; Currie, "Glorious Noise," 432; I prefer the term long *crotales* i.e., with a long handle or perhaps clappers on stick, when the clappers or rattles are mounted on a base; they could be also small cymbals. Here the instrument's shape in the upper part is not clearly distinguished: more examples of Byzantine *crotales* and cymbals can be found in Liveri, "Dance Music;" for cymbals in Antiquity cf. Angeliki Liveri, "Κύμβαλα και κυμβαλίστριες από αρχαία ελληνικά ιερά," in *Crossroads. Greece as an intercultural pole of musical thought and creativity*, eds. Evi Nika-Sampson *et al*., Conference Proceedings (Thessaloniki, 6–10 June 2011) (Thessaloniki: Teloglion Foundation of Art AUTH, 2013), 1087–1117. (Abstract in English: "Cymbals and Cymbals-players from ancient Greek Sanctuaries."); for cymbals and *crotales* in Antiquity see Angeliki Liveri, "Percussion Music in Athenian Religious Rituals and Festivals," in *Percussions antiques. Organologie – Perceptions – Polyvalence. L'affichage de la parenté dans le monde antique,* ed., Arnaud Saura-Ziegelmeyer, Acts de la journée d'étude, Université Toulouse-Jean Jaurrès, 31 janvier 2019, *Pallas* 115 (2021): 67–92.

56 Maliaras, *Die Orgel*; Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*; Berger, "Akustische Dimension," all three as in note 54 above.



Fig. 7a: Dancing for Byzantine Emperor Theodosius the Great at the Hippodrome of Constantinople. Istanbul. Relief at the base of the obelisk at Hippodrome, east side, 390–395. (Photo of the author).

This scene shows the importance of dance in particular in the ceremonial life of fourth-century Constantinople apart from the polemic of the clergy. "The stipulations concerning entertainers (*scaenicae*), presumably including dancers such as these, in the Theodosian Code, show their vital importance to the state."[57] According to some scholars, this is the first representation of the organ in the Eastern Roman Empire or in the early Byzantine art. Probably two groups of dancers are depicted on the base of the obelisk, accompanied by two orchestras. The orchestras were associated with and representative of the circus factions, the Greens and the Blues.[58] These dancers are shown as crowd entertainers. They offered a beautiful chorographical spectacle to the spectators of the chariot racing in the Hippodrome.

A comparable theme, represented in a different iconographic and stylistic manner, is depicted by Byzantine painters on the frescoes that decorate the stairwell of the south tower in the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Kiev (first half of the eleventh century).[59]

57 Webb, "Salome's Sisters," 128–129.

58 Cf. Simpson, "Dancers and Hippodrome," 636–639.

59 I. F. Točkaja and A.M. Zajaruznyj, "I musici dell'affresco detto degli "Skomorochi" nella catterdale della Santa Sofia a Kiev," in *Arte profana e arte sacra a Bisanzio*, eds. Antonio Iacobini and Enri-



Fig. 7b: A syrinx-player and four female dancers. A Detail of the fig. 7a. (Photo of the author).

The seated Byzantine emperor is surrounded by his bodyguard and courtiers as he watches acrobats, jugglers, musicians, and singers during the hippodrome games, all from the imperial box (*Kathisma*). Other spectators are visible in the galleries as well. "A highly sophisticated court orchestra comprising eleven members: they play eight different meticulously rendered instruments, with a large organ as the centerpiece."[60] Among them are an organist with his two assistants, a transverse-

co Zanini, proccedings of an international conference held in Rome in November 1990, Milion, Studi e Richerche d' Arte Bizantina, 3 (Rome: Argos, 1995), 281–297, figs. 1, 2, 3–5. 7; cf. at the same book Francesco Luisi, "Per una lettura musicologica dell'affresco detto degli "Skomorochi" nella catterdrale della Santa Sophia di Kiev," 303–309, figs. 1, 2; Henry Maguire, "Images of the Court," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, eds. Hellen C. Evans, and William D. Wixom, exhibition catalogue (New York: New York 1997), 183–184; Steppan, "Tanzdarstellungen," 157, fig. 22; Thomas Steppan, "The Artukid Bowl: Courtly Art in the Middle Byzantine Period and Its Relation to the Islamic East,"in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors (843–1261)*, ed. Olenka Z. Pevny, proceedings of a symposium in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, May 23–27, 1997 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 93, no. 48; Elena Boek, "Simulating the Hippodrome: The Performance of Power in Kiev's St. Sophia," *Art Bulletin* XCI, no. 3 (2009): 287, 292, figs. 7, 9, 15; Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 100–102 and *passim*, figs. 15, 197; Currie, "Glorious Noise," 433–438, fig. 26.2a–b.

60 Boek, "Simulating the Hippodrome," 292; cf. the article of Dorothea Baumann in this book above, p. 107–124.

aulos-player, a cymbals-player, two trumpeters, a lutist, a lyre-player or harpist, a bells-player, and, finally, another musician on the tambourine.

Nevertheless, the presence of the dancers has been questioned. We believe that on the Kiewan fresco a dance performance depiction is omitted. It is also worth noting that we cannot identify the name of the emperor due to the inscription's damage or absence. However, a great orchestra of the Byzantine court is depicted that allows us to reconstruct and understand the high level of Russian (Rus') music performed in medieval Kiev.

The second dance of this group is represented on the so-called crown of the emperor Constantin IX Monomachos (1042–1050), one of the finest examples of Byzantine cloisonné enamels (inserts in gold enamel), consisting of seven plaques and medallions.[61] According to the last reconstruction of the crown's plates, various figures are visible, placed on an exterior landscape, a garden with plants, flowers and birds, which function as background/scenery. On the middle, according to the inscriptions, stand the emperor Constantin IX Monomachos and the empresses Zoe and Theodora (fig. 8a), flanked by beautiful young women. Two are dancers (fig. 8b) and two other female figures are perhaps personifications of Humility and Truth, virtues that the monarchs should possess. The dancers perform a wonderful dance with a large scarf or "waved" veil, held over their heads with both hands. The dancers move similarly to the left with a vivid dance step as they look in the opposite direction. Their left legs remain on the ground, while the other is lifted backwards. The dancers are dressed elegantly, wearing a long blue skirt with a green or white tunic above it. Their costumes are reproduced in different and various coloured patterns. Additionally, a *nimbus*/halo surrounds their heads, in green and blue respectively, that associates them with the virtues.

Nevertheless, it is uncertain, whether this dance performance is associated with a real event or if is limited to an allegorical significance. This uncertainty comes from the fact that dances as entertainment during a real coronation of a Byzantine Emperor was unusual. In reality, the coronation took place in Hagia Sophia, in a special place or point called the *omphalion*.[62] Some depictions of this official event in manuscript illuminations show only musicians but not dancers, for instance, the Skylitzes in Madrid (cod. Matr. Gr. Vitr. 26–2, fol. 10v, c. 1150–1175)[63] and the

61 Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Museum (National Museum of Hungary); Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, 210–212, no. 145; Steppan, "Tanzdarstellungen," 154–155, fig. 18; Etele Kiss, "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown and Some Further Thoughts," in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors (843–1261)*, ed. Olenka Z. Pevny, proceedings of a symposium in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, May 23–27, 1997 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 60–83, figs. 1–4; *Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη*, exhibition catalogue, Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum 2001–2002 (Athens: Capon, 2001), 78–83; Liveri, "Tanz," 290–291, fig. 4; Kalavrezou, "Dance," 289–290, fig. 9.

62 Nicoletta Isar, *Χορός. The Dance of Adam, The Making of Byzantine Chorography* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2011), 170, figs. 177–182.

63 Vassiliki Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2002), 43–46, fig. 3; Isar, *Χορός*, 171, fig. 185; "Byzantine Musical Instruments."



Fig. 8a. The Emperor Konstantinos Monomachos flanked by the empresses Zoe and Theodora. The central part of the so-called Monomachos's crown (1042–1050). Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Museum (National Museum of Hungary). (Photo from Wikimedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Monomacho%27s_crown circa_1042_Budapest.JPG; accessed Sept 21, 2021, public domain).

codex 5 in Venice, fol. 29r (fourteenth century).[64] Probably dance performances took place later in a feast in the Great Palace.

Among the many theories relating to the dancers' presence on "the Monomachos' crown," the association of the dancing scene with the imperial *adventus*, expressed by Marcel Restle, seems to me to be more acceptable.[65] However, allegorical interpretations cannot be ruled out. The performance could be compared, for example, either with the welcome dance of the women of Israel for David after his victory over Goliath, or with the Myriam's companions' dance after the Red Sea crossing, or with the Graces' or the Victories' dance. Perhaps this is a representation of the

64 Xyngopoulos, *Μικρογραφίαι,* 26, fig. 27; Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 60–61, figs. 13–14; "Byzantine Musical Instruments."

65 Marcel Restle, "Höfische Kunst in Konstantinopel in der mittelbyzantintischen Zeit," in *Höfische Kultur in Südosteuropa*, eds. Reinhard Lauer, and Hans Georg Majer, Bericht der Kolloquien der Südosteuropa-Kommission 1988 bis 1990 (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1994), "Höfische Kunst," 29–30.



Fig. 8b. A dancer with a waved veil above her head. Part of the so-called Monomachos' crown. (Photo from Wikimedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Monomacho%27s_crown_-_circa_1042_Budapest_-_detail3.JPG ; accessed Sept. 21, 2021, public domain)

imperial Victory, a very popular theme. The association of the Byzantine Emperor with David is also very important, since crowds and officials applauded him as the "New David".[66] Soltán Kádár, who reconstructed the crown with two rows of plates, even suggested that at the centre of the crown's back was placed a lost disk or plate represented the enthroned David.[67] Other researchers argue that the dancing motifs in the crown were influenced by the iconography of Sasanian Islamic princes or rulers in courtly scenes depicting or including dancers and musicians.[68]

66 Vassiliki Tsamakda, "König David als Typos des byzantinischen Kaisers," in *Byzanz – Das Römerreich im Mittelalter*, eds. Falco Daim and Jörg Drauschke, Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 84, vol. 1 (Mainz: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), 45–47, fig. 19 with bibliography (I would like to thank Professor Vassiliki Tsamakda for sending me a copy of her article).

67 Zoltan Kádár, "Quelques observations sur la reconstitution de la couronne de l'empereur Constantin Monomaque," *Folia Archaeologica* 16 (1964): 113–124.

68 Torsten Hausamann, *Die tanzende Salome in der Kunst von der christlichen Frühzeit bis zum 1500* (Zürich: Juris, 1980) 378; Kiss, "Monomachos Crown,"as in note 61 above.

Although both are questioned, the authenticity and the reconstruction of the crown, we believe that this artwork combines more symbols of the Byzantine and the Islamic courtly artistic elements. Many questions remain unanswered. In any case, the interpretation of this artistic work as a "political project" seems logical, since the imperial propaganda was connected with religious iconography and the assimilation of the emperor with supreme authority.

The third dance performance in honour of a Byzantine emperor is carved around a fifteenth century small ivory box (*pyxis*) in Washington.[69] It shows a welcome dance for the emperor John VII Palaeologos during his visit in Thessalonike. It is an *adventus* ceremony. A frieze of sixteen figures encircles this box. Two imperial families are portrayed here, posing crowned, formally and frontally. They have been identified by Nicolas Oikonomides as the Emperor John VII Palaiologos (r. 1403–1408), who receives the city of Thessaloniki, accompanied by his wife Irene, his son Andronikos, and his uncle and co-emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391–1425). Musicians play music, including a drummer, flautist, harpist, two trumpeters, lutist (*pandoura*), and panpipe/*syrinx* (?)-players. Two female dancers perform, the first one moves vividly to the left turning her head to the right with her hands at her waist (*akimbo*), holding the edges of a veil behind her and down. Next to her, another dancer performs a different step and formation, holding a veil with both hands raised and bent at the elbows, and stretching it behind her head. Her lower body is half-hidden behind the kneeling official in foreground, who offers a model of the city – with a peacock below it – to the Emperor. The festive event was Emperor John VII Palaeologos' visit to Thessaloniki, which was co-capital of the Byzantine Empire. The art holding the veil by the dancers shows two different dance formations.

It is not certain whether dance performances belong to welcome ceremonies for an emperor during his entrance into a city. Byzantine miniaturists painted these events including only musicians, such as the entrance of Nikephoros Phokas into Constantinople (963) in the manuscript of Skylitzes in Madrid, cod. Matr. Gr. Vitr. 26–2, miniature 368, fol. 145r, twelfth century (lower part).[70]

Similar welcome scenes, festive reception /*adventus* of the ruler, including only music appear also in Western medieval art. For instance, on a miniature of the Bern manuscript, the *Liber ad honorem augusti*, by Petrus de Ebulo (late twelfth century) is

69 Nicolas Oikonomides, "John VII Palaiologos and the Ivory Pyxis at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Paper* 31 (1977): 329–337; Anthony Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory: Sources, Techniques, and Uses in the Mediterranean World: A.D. 200–1400* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985), 16, fig. 19; Steppan, "Tanzdarstellungen," 157; Steppan, "The Artukid Bowl," 93, fig. 11; Helen C. Evans, ed., *BYZANTIUM. Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, exhibition catalogue (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 30–31, no. 5; Kalavrezou, "Dance," 282–283, fig. 2; Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 106–107, 229–230, figs. 22, 135; Currie, "Απεικονίσεις μουσικών οργάνων, " 141–142, fig. X. 21a–b; cf. Currie, "Glorious Noise," 439–442, fig. 26.3; "Byzantine Musical Instruments."

70 Tsamakda, *Ioannes Skylitzes*, 185, 352–353, fig. 358; Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 55–57, 102–104, esp. 103–104, *passim*, fig. 8; "Byzantine Musical Instruments."

depicted the King's Tancred of Sicily entrance (d. 1194) into Palermo (1190).[71] Here a festive procession is visible, including musicians. The ensemble includes three trumpeters, three drummers and two cymbalists, whose placement followed a protocol. Archers lead the procession at the lower miniature's row, "who are followed by three dismounted horsemen, the musical ensemble, and a group of warriors. The King riding on a horse and the horsemen carrying the insignia of his lordship are at the procession's end."[72] Many Western writers, historians, and courtly poets praise festive receptions, including similar ones for women (a princess or queen) or for royal couples. Examples of the latter include Kriemhild's entrance at the victory feast after the Saxon war in the *Nibelungenlied*, and the festive procession of King Philip of Swabia (d. 1206) and his wife, the Byzantine princess Irene (d. 1208), on Christmas day 1199 in Magdeburg.[73]

II. The King's Dance

Biblical Themes

The unique Byzantine royal dance where the King himself dances is that of King David before the Ark of the Covenant, according to the Old Testament (Samuel 6, 14–16). This dance form is a processional performed in honour of God, and was accepted even by the Church Fathers. Gino Tani places it in the first type of Hebrew dances.[74] Another element to this dance's uniqueness is the fact that male dancers are rarely depicted in Byzantine art.[75] Usually the Byzantine dances were performed only by women. In contrast, the dances depicted in Western art represent men and women dancing together (see below).

Representations of this famous dance in Byzantine art are depicted on some miniatures of illuminated manuscripts from the middle Byzantine period (eleventh and twelfth centuries). Examples from the twelfth century include the cod. Suppl. Gr. 1335, fol. 259r, in Paris;[76] and the cod. Vat. Gr. 333, fol. 46r in Vatican.[77] In the first example, the addition of David's wife Michal is noteworthy. Her crowned head is visible from a window as she watches David being led into Jerusalem with the Ark of the Covenant, carried by the oxen. A large David is depicted on the

71 Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press), 213–219, esp. 213–215, fig. 25. (Similar musical processions also took place by weddings celebrations.)

72 Ibid., 214–215; cf. and previous note.

73 Ibid., 215–219.

74 Gino Tani, *Storia della danza dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 232.

75 Liveri, "Tanz," 292–293.

76 Paris, Bibliothèque National de France; Anthony Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris: Picard, 1984), 73–74, fig. 265.

77 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Jean Lassus, *L'Illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois, Vaticanus graecus 333* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973); Steppan, "Tanzdarstellungen," 150–151, fig. 14; Steppan, "The Artukid Bowl," 90, fig. 9.

right wearing a red tunic with two *clavi* in each arm, long and wide sleeves, dark brown trousers, and white boots. David's hair is framed by a halo. He is dancing quickly to the right but looking to the left.

The Ark of the Covenant is decorated by a female head wearing a head-cover (*maphorion*), probably the Virgin. In the latter miniature David is wearing a garment with extra-long sleeves that cover his hands movements and gestures. He is accompanied by musicians before the Ark of the Covenant, which is transported placed on an ox-drawn cart into Jerusalem.

Relating the iconography and the style, Western artists depict the same theme, but in a different manner. For instance, on a Double Psalter from Winchcombe, a Benedictean Monastery, now in Trinity College in Dublin (Ms 53, fol. 151r, first half of the fourteenth century)[78] David performs a gracious acrobatic dance on the upper part of the initial letter B (from the phrase *Beatus we*), during the Ark's transportation into Jerusalem. The Ark is placed on the upper section of the scene. David's dance performance expresses his worship's offering to the Lord; it is a devotional dance, which has iconographical affinities with Salome's acrobatic dance mentioned above.

The same scene is represented on a miniature (fig. 9) of the famous Morgan Bible or Crusader Bible (Ms 638, fol. 39v) in New York, but in a different manner.[79] This Bible was made for the French King Louis IX around 1250. It is a masterpiece of Gothic art.

> "David as the triumphant King playing upon his harp leads the Ark of the Covenant into Jerusalem. Once the Ark has come six paces into the city, an ox and a ram are sacrificed. No one is more overjoyed than the king himself, who dances and leaps before the procession. David's wild behavior embarrasses Michal, who points accusingly at him from her window. The king, however, is unconcerned wishing only to give thanks and humble himself before God" (2 *Kings* 6: 12–16).

The lower part of the miniature represents the Ark of the Covenant, placed in the tabernacle, "which was built at David's request. Sacrifices and peace offerings are made to the Lord" (2 *Kings* 6: 17).

Dances from Secular Literature, Courtly Life or Other Events

In Byzantine art there are no representations of a dancing emperor, empress or other members of the imperial family, although dance performances in the Great

78 Zimmermann, "Histrio fit David," 531, fig. 1.

79 New York, Morgan Library & Museum; Sydney Carlyre Cockerell, *Old Testament Miniatures. A Medieval Picture Book with 283 Paintings from the Creation to the Story of David* (London: Phaedon Press, 1969), 180, pl. 239; Cathleen A. Fleck and Richard A. Lesson, "The Morgan Library's Picture Bible on Exhibition," in *The Book of Kings. Art, War and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible*, eds. Noel William and Daniel H. Weiss (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery/Museum, London: Third Millennium, 2002), 191, pl. XXII; https://www.themorgan.org/collection/crusader-bible/78 (accessed Sept. 21, 2021).



Fig. 9: David's Dance before the Ark of the Covenant. Miniature of the Morgan Bible, (Ms 638, fol. 39v) (mid. 13th c. New York, Morgan Library. (Photo from Wikimedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Morgan-bible-fl-39.jpg ; accessed 30.07.2020, public domain).

Palace are mentioned by Byzantine writers.[80] Contemporary artists have not represented either real or fictional emperors nor other royal figures dancing. Such a motif would be unusual and provocative for the Byzantine society.

In contrast, such illustrations are found in Western European art. Representations of dancing royals inspired by the literature are numerous. Only a few selected examples will be discussed here. Examples can be found on miniatures or marginalia of the aforementioned illustrated manuscript Bodley 264 of the *Roman Alexander's the Great*. Likewise, the illustrations of the *Roman de la Rose* ("*Romance of the Rose*") and the Great Heidelberg Book of Songs (known also as "codex Manesse" or cod. Pal. Germ. 848, dated 1300–1340), include images of men and women dancing together. The latter codex includes depictions of members of royalty in couple-dances (man/woman), or in a three-figure dance formation (one man and two women).[81] Mixed dances were unusual in Byzantine art. Dance was associated with music and songs, especially the *ballades*, the erotic *troubadours*' songs in France, or the *Minnensänger Lieder* (minnesingers' songs) in Germany.

80 See notes 48, 53 above.

81 Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 226; "Codex Manesse," https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/Englisch/allg/benutzung/bereiche/handschriften/codexmanesse.html (accessed Sept. 21, 2021)



Fig. 10. Elisabeth of Poland, Queen of Hungary leads a chain mixed dance. Fresco at Runkelstein castle at Bozen in Southern Tyrol, 14th c. (Photo from Wikimedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Runkelstein_3363.JPG ; accessed Sept. 21, 2021, public domain).

Royals are also represented dancing contemporary dances (e.g. carols, the so-called "singing dance"), such as Elisabeth of Poland, Queen of Hungary, who is depicted (fig. 10) leading a chain dance on a fourteenth-century fresco at Runkelstein castle at Bozen in Southern Tyrol.[82] Images of other royals (including emperors, kings, empresses, and queens) are depicted to participate at imaginary dances, such as the allegoric *Danse Macabre* or The Dance of Death or Totentanz beginning in the Late Middle Ages.[83] Such a dance is performed in Scotland by masked dancers and a skeleton at the wedding celebration of King Alexander III and Zoleta (1285), perhaps to remind them of life's futility (*vanitas*).[84]

82 For carol cf. note 40 above.

83 On the Dance of Death see Sophie Oosterwijk, "Of Dead Kings, Dukes and Constables. The Historical Context of the Danse Macabre in Late-Medieval Paris," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 161 (2008): 148–152, fig. 10 (Emperor Charlemagne in the MS Rotschild 2535, fol. 108v); figs. 11–12 (other kings); for this subject see also Evangelidi, *Χοροί του Μεσαίωνα*, 16–18; Sophie Oosterwijk and Stefanie Knoell, *Mixed Metaphors*: *The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011); Hans Georg Wehrens, *Der Totentanz im alemannischen Sprachraum. "Muos ich doch dran – und weis nit wan"* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012).

84 Evangelidi, *Χοροί του Μεσαίωνα*, 17.

Although it is known that feasts, which included musical entertainment and dances, were held at the Western medieval palaces and courts, representations of such events with a dancing monarch are not found in the available twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources. However, Emperor Frederic I in 1159 was observed from his palace in Modena: "the young princes and the other knights performed in the center of the imperial court dances after their custom."[85]

Conclusions

In conclusion, we discern that royal dances are seldom depicted in Byzantine art. The preserved pictures were usually inspired by religious texts, specifically the Bible. Some themes are common in both Byzantium and Western Europe, such as Salome's dance for King Herod and David's dance before the Ark of the Covenant.

However, these subjects are illustrated in a different manner, according to the artistic, theological, and dance tradition of each cultural region. Sometimes the dances are accompanied by musical instruments, played either by musicians or by the performers, or both. The dancing movements, gestures, and costumes are typical for Byzantine dances and actual dances can be identified by percussion instruments held by musicians, the presence of handkerchiefs and waved veils, or the costumes with long and wide sleeves that serve to make various formations.

Generally, comparing the iconography of common themes used in Byzantine and Western European royal dances, we observe that the similarities are only a few. The aforementioned Byzantine representations are not only few in quantity, but also conservative, do not have much variety, and are represented in a provincial style, with a few exceptions. The analogous Western dance representations reached an exceptionally high level, associated with contemporary music and literature (romances, poetical texts, and songs). The Western royal dance representations are numerous and in great variety. Actual dances, as the carol, can be identified as well; the royal dance representations included customs, modern trends, and traditions. Folk dances were perhaps transmitted to the courts of the nobility.

85 Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 226.

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN THE COURTLY BANQUETS DEPICTED IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE CATALANO-ARAGONESE PAINTINGS*

Jordi Ballester

Chronicles, novels, poetry, and even legal codices attest that music and musicians played an important role in late-Medieval and Renaissance courts. Haut and bas ensembles and virtuosi soloists used to amuse noblemen and royalty in their spare time and during their feasts.[1] In the ancient Crown of Aragon, the presence of musicians at court is supported by archival documentation and literary sources at least from the thirteenth century onwards.[2] The idea that music was an essential component of the courtly life is specifically recorded in two normative treatises from the first half of the fourteenth century. These treatises, dealing with life at court, are the *Leges Palatinae* by King James III of Majorca (1315–1349) from 1337, and the *Ordenacions* by Peter III of Aragon (1319–1387), written in 1344.[3]

* The present research has been carried out at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. It is part of a research project sponsored by the Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades of Spain and Fondo Europeo de Desarrollo Regional (FEDER): PGC2018-094724-B-I00.

1 Edmund A. Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages," *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954): 115–140; Edmund A. Bowles, "Musical Instruments at the Medieval Banquet," *Revue de Belge Musicologie* 12 (1958): 41–51; Edmund A. Bowles, "La hiérarchie des instruments de musique dans l'Europe féodale," *Revue de Musicologie* 42 (1958): 155–169; Iain Fenlon, "The Status of Music and Musicians in the Early Italian Renaissance," in *Le Concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance. Actes du XXXIV Colloque International d'Études Humanistes. Tours, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1–11 juillet 1991*, eds. Gilbert Patrick, Jean-Michel Vaccaro and Philippe Vendrix (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995), 57–70; Martine Clouzot, *Images de musiciens (1350–1500)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 176–190.

2 *Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 1999). See also Stéphan Péquignot, "Las vistas reales en la historiografía de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII–XIV)," in *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona de Aragó* (València: Universitat de València – Fundació Jaume II el Just, 2005), vol. II, 1657–1674; Josep Trenchs Òdena, *Documents de cancelleria i mestre racional sobre la cultura catalana medieval* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011); Stefano Maria Cingolani, "Entretenimientos, placeres, fiestas y juegos en la corte de los reyes de Aragón en el siglo XIV," *En la España medieval* 39 (2016): 225–248, https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_ELEM.2016.v39.52339

3 *Leges Palatinae*, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, cod. 9169; and *Ordenacions fetes per lo Senyor en Pere terç rey dArago*, València, Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València, BH Ms. 1501. See See Jordi Ballester, "Musical Iconography in the Ephemeral Kingdom of Majorca (1262–1349): Symbolic and Metaphoric Meanings in the *Leges Palatinae* (1337) Miniatures," *Imago Musicae* XXV (2012): 7–28; and Francisco M. Gimeno, Daniel Gozalbo and Josep Trenchs, *Ordinacions de la casa reial* (València: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2009).

Both treatises were used as the starting point of the paper I delivered in the fifteenth RIdIM conference, held in Ohio in 2015. The focus of that presentation was on the heraldic musicians (that is trumpet, horn and drum players) and their relationship with the image of power and repression.[4] I will concentrate the present essay on the passages dealing with the musicians who, according to these texts, were devoted to entertaining the king and the court.

Both the *Leges Palatinae* and the *Ordinacions* are normative texts which deal with the duties of the employees working in the court. And both devote a section to the musicians who served the king, regulating their number and the different situations in which they played. It is worth mentioning, however, that the *Ordinacions* by Peter III of Aragon are actually a Catalan translation of the Majorcan text of the *Leges Palatinae* (written in Latin). These *Leges* were compiled in 1337 in order to organise the court of the kingdom of Majorca, usually considered a vassal kingdom of the Crown of Aragon. The kingdom of Majorca, however, had an ephemeral existence: it lasted from 1276 (when King James I of Aragon (1208–1276) bequeathed the Balearic Islands to his younger son) to 1349 (when the kingdom was reincorporated to the Aragonese Crown). Thus, the *Leges Palatinae* were in force only for twelve years (from 1337 to 1349). The Aragonese *Ordinacions*, instead, was written in 1344 and maintained its validity over the following 150 years: that is until the early sixteenth century under the reign of Ferdinand II (1452–1516), called "the Catholic", king of Aragon and Castile. In fact, at least twelve copies of the *Ordinacions* still exist, which demonstrate the importance and the maintenance of this normative and suggest that the musical practices at court were common knowledge.[5] It is for this reason that I will focus my attention on this second treatise: the *Ordinacions* by Peter III of Aragon.[6]

4 An expanded version of that paper was published in Jordi Ballester, "Trumpets, Heralds and Minstrels: Their Relation to the Image of Power and Repression in the Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Catalano-Aragonese Painting," *Music in Art* XLIII/1–2 (2018): 5–19.

5 See Pere Bohigas, *Sobre manuscrits i biblioteques* (Barcelona: Curial / Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1985), 109–120. See also Eulàlia Duran, ed., *Repertori de manuscrits catalans (1474–1620) Vol. 1: Barcelona: Arxiu Històric i Biblioteca de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1998), 53–54 and 58–59.

6 The text on the court minstrels in the *Ordinacions*, fol. 28v–29r, says: "Dels juglars. En les cases dels Princeps, segons mostra antiquitat, juglars degudament poden esser car lur offici dona alegria la qual los Princeps molt deven desijar e ab honestetat servar per tal que per aquella tristicia e ira foragiten e totstemps se mostren pus gracioses. Perque volem e ordonam que en nostra cort juglars IIII degen esser dels quals II sien trompadors, e lo ters sia tabaler e l quart sia de trompeta, al offici dels quals sesguart que tots temps nos publicament menjants, en lo començament trompen, e lo tabaler e lo trompeta son offici ensemps ab els exercescan. E encara allo metex facen en la fi de nostre menjar; si donques juglars extranys o nostres qui empero estruments sonen, en la fin del menjar nos aquells oyr voliem. En apres no volem que en la quaresma ne en dia de divendres, si donchs gran festa no era, quels dits trompadors, trompeta e tabaler lur offici facen en lo comensament de la taula ne en la fin. Los altres empero juglars sien qui sapien sonar esturments en les festes e en los altres dies, segons que sera convenient, lurs esturments sonar manam davant nos e a aquets nombre de necessitat no posam. Los dies empero dels divendres e de caresma, per aquella manera que desus

The opening section of the *Ordinacions* devoted to musicians states that "as transmitted since ancient times, *jongleurs* are allowed to stay in the princes' courts because their office yields joyfulness, which princes should above all seek and keep with honesty, so that sadness and anger can be cast aside, allowing for kindness in every circumstance."[7] Therefore, music as entertainment was an ingrained activity in the Medieval court, and the main purpose of this activity was to entertain the kings (and noblemen in full) in their spare time, in such a manner as to render them kinder persons and better rulers.

After this short introduction the text is mainly devoted to heralds, establishing that there had to be four permanent musicians at court: two horn players (*trompadors*), a drummer (*tabaler*) and a trumpeter (*trompeta*). In addition to these four heralds, the treatise includes two specific and remarkable references to other musicians who played instruments other than horns, trumpets and drums. According to the text, the king (and the court) listened to these "other jongleurs, both resident (that is permanently employed in the court) or foreigners, playing their instruments at the end of the meals."[8] The text further establishes that they "have to play their instruments for us (that is for the king and the court) on feast days and whenever we (the king) consider it appropriate."[9] Finally, it is worth noting that the treatise does "not stipulate a specific number for this kind of musicians."[10]

In short, this treatise regulates the musical practice at court and helps explain the role that musicians played in the courtly culture at the end of the Middle Ages. This culture incorporated the musical performance and the sound of musical instruments as a characteristic element of the court. Music not only supplied entertainment and amusement, but also became a prominent part of the identity of the king and noblemen, adding a touch of pomp and refinement to courtly feasts, as well as a signifier of royal power.

---

es dit, tan solament exceptats. Manam encara que en temps de guerra axi trompadors com altres, si donques no era juglar de tal estrument, lo qual lavors sonar no fos covinent, mes que no hauran acostumat sien diligents en lur offici. E axi a nos estants, que con ops sera, ells appareylats trobem a lur offici a fer, los maiordomens encara no menyspreen ans fermament obeesquen". Ms.1501 is digitised in Universitat de València, *Ordinacions fetes per Pere terç, rey d'Aragó (BH Ms. 1501)*, 2020, http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_1501

7 *Ordenacions*, fol. 28v: "En les cases dels Princeps, segons mostra antiquitat, juglars degudament poden esser car lur offici dona alegria la qual los Princeps molt deven desijar e ab honestetat servar per tal que per aquella tristicia e ira foragiten e totstemps se mostren pus gracioses."

8 Ibid., fol. 28v: "... juglars extranys o nostres qui empero estruments sonen, en la fin del menjar nos aquells oyr voliem."

9 Ibid., fol. 28v–29r: "Los altres empero juglars ... en les festes e en los altres dies, segons que sera convenient, lurs esturments sonar manam davant nos."

10 Ibid., fol. 29r: "... e a aquets nombre de necessitat no posam."

Courtly Banquets in Catalano-Aragonese Iconography

As can be best determined, at least twenty-four Aragonese panel paintings depicting courtly musicians in the context of feasts and banquets, from the mid-fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries, are preserved.[11] These paintings are a wonderful way to visualise the situations described in the treatises. They illustrate the role of this kind of musician in such situations, from the performance-practice view and from the symbolical standpoint. However, it is worth noting that all these paintings belong to the religious sphere: they are usually part of altarpieces, devoted to different saints, in which individual panels depict scenes from the life of the saint. These scenes are contextualised in a late-Medieval and early-Renaissance milieu. It is clear that artists tried to place the action in a contemporaneous environment (including the architectural frame, furniture, costumes, meals, etc.), in order to evoke the courtly banquets and feasts of their time. It is also clear that the presence of courtly musicians helped painters to recreate such atmosphere, probably because the visual and symbolic identification of these musicians was so obvious to viewers that their presence was enough to recall the idea of courtly music.[12] In other words, late-Medieval and early-Renaissance viewers were already familiar with images of courtly music and musicians. That preconceived idea was based upon real practice (as the treatises demonstrate) as well as the iconographical images that were displayed in the altarpieces placed in churches and chapels.

An excellent example is an anonymous panel from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, depicting the wedding banquet of Saints Julian and Basilissa, preserved in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (fig. 1). Julian and Basilissa were husband and wife and became Christian martyrs at the beginning of the fourth century. According to legend, their families forced them to marry, but they decided to preserve their virginity and instead, devoted their lives to helping people and to prayer.[13] The painter depicted their wedding banquet not in a fourth-century milieu but rather in a late-Medieval environment, because this was the most relatable image of a rich and noble wedding. Here, the musical ensemble, consisting of three shawms and a slide trumpet, contributes to transmit the idea of celebration and joyfulness. Moreover, it is worth noting that at least the banner

11 This study is based upon a collection of catalogues that contain nearly all the preserved Catalano-Aragonese panel paintings with musical iconography painted between 1350 and 1600. See Jordi Ballester, "Iconografia musical a la Corona d'Aragó (1350–1500)" (PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1995), 294–932; and Jordi Ballester, "Inventaire de peintures catalanes du XVIe siècle à sujets musicaux," *Musique-Images-Instruments* 7 (2005): 196–220. See also Chandler R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930; rep. 1970); and Rafael Cornudella, ed., *Catalunya 1400. El Gòtic Internacional*, Cat. Exp., (Barcelona: MNAC, 2012).

12 See Clouzot, *Images de musiciens*, 178.

13 It is suggested that Julian and Basilissa converted their home into a hospital which could house no less than one thousand patients, and that they later founded separate convents for nuns and monks. See Walter W. Skeat, "Passion of St. Julian and His Wife Basilissa," in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (London: EETS, 2003), 90–115.



Fig. 1: Master of Saint Basilissa (second quarter of the 15th century), *The Wedding banquet of Saint Julian and Saint Basilissa*, panel painting of an altarpiece devoted to Saints Julian and Basilissa, second quarter of the 15th century, tempera on wood. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC) (inv. no. 015789-CJT). Photo: Jordi Calveras, © Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

which decorates the trumpet, on the left side of the scene, features the coat of arms of Aragon (with red and gold stripes). This detail pays homage to the kingdom's household and suggests that the main characters are of a high social standing or even nobility, while underlining the idea of courtly pomp. Simultaneously, the ensemble of brass instruments commonly used for such occasions, suggests a kind of soundtrack for the festivities.

Loud Instruments and Ensembles

Ensembles of loud or *haut* instruments are depicted in half of the preserved Aragonese paintings showing courtly musicians in banquet contexts. These ensembles consist of two or three shawms, sometimes together with a slide trumpet or a bagpipe. The ensembles with shawms and bagpipe are depicted in the oldest paintings, those dating from the second half of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. A panel by Joan Mates (c.1390–1431) from the first decades of the fifteenth century, preserved in a private collection from Barcelona, shows this ensemble playing next to the decapitation of John the Baptist and the feast of Herod (fig. 2). In fact, courtly documents preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon demonstrate that it was precisely during the second half of the fourteenth century when this kind of ensemble was most fashionable.[14]

According to these same documents, King Peter III was very keen on the sound of bagpipes. Between 1345 and 1381 he had up to five minstrels of loud instruments (mainly bagpipers).[15] Similarly, his son Prince John (1350–1396) (later, John I of Aragon) had four minstrels at his service during the 1370's; two played the shawm and the bagpipe, and the two remaining provided accompaniments, presumably also on the shawm.[16] However, from the end of the fourteenth century and during the first half of the fifteenth century, bagpipes fell in disuse and the loud ensembles consisted only of shawms.

Documents relating to the reign of King Ferdinand I (1380–1416) confirm that he had up to eight shawm players at his service from 1410 to 1416, but no bagpipers at all.[17] This type of ensemble, consisting only of shawms, is found in a panel from the first half of the fifteenth century painted by Gonçal Peris (c.1380–1451) and Jaume Mateu (c.1402–1452), and preserved at the parish church of Rodenas (near Teruel) (fig. 3). This extraordinarily well-depicted ensemble of three shawms in various sizes, could be perfectly suitable for playing instrumental versions of the ballads, rondeaux and virelais of that time.

It is worth underlying that the subject of this painting is again the Feast of Herod, with Salome carrying Saint John's severed head. This subject is one of the most frequently used by Aragonese artists to depict instrumental ensembles or minstrel soloists.[18] It represents the 87.5% of the entire late-Medieval and early-Renaissance Aragonese paintings with courtly musicians which have been preserved to date.

14 Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 2020, http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/archivos-aca/fondos-documentales/introduccion.html

15 See Maricarmen Gómez, *La música en la Casa Real Catalano-Aragonesa 1336–1442* (Barcelona: Antoni Bosch, 1979), 25–31.

16 Ibid., 31–34.

17 Ibid., 45.

18 See Jordi Ballester, "Saint John the Baptist, Salome, and Feast of Herod: Three Pictorial Subjects Related to Musical Iconography in the Kingdom of Aragon in the 14th and 15th Centuries," *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 20/1 (1995): 29–36.

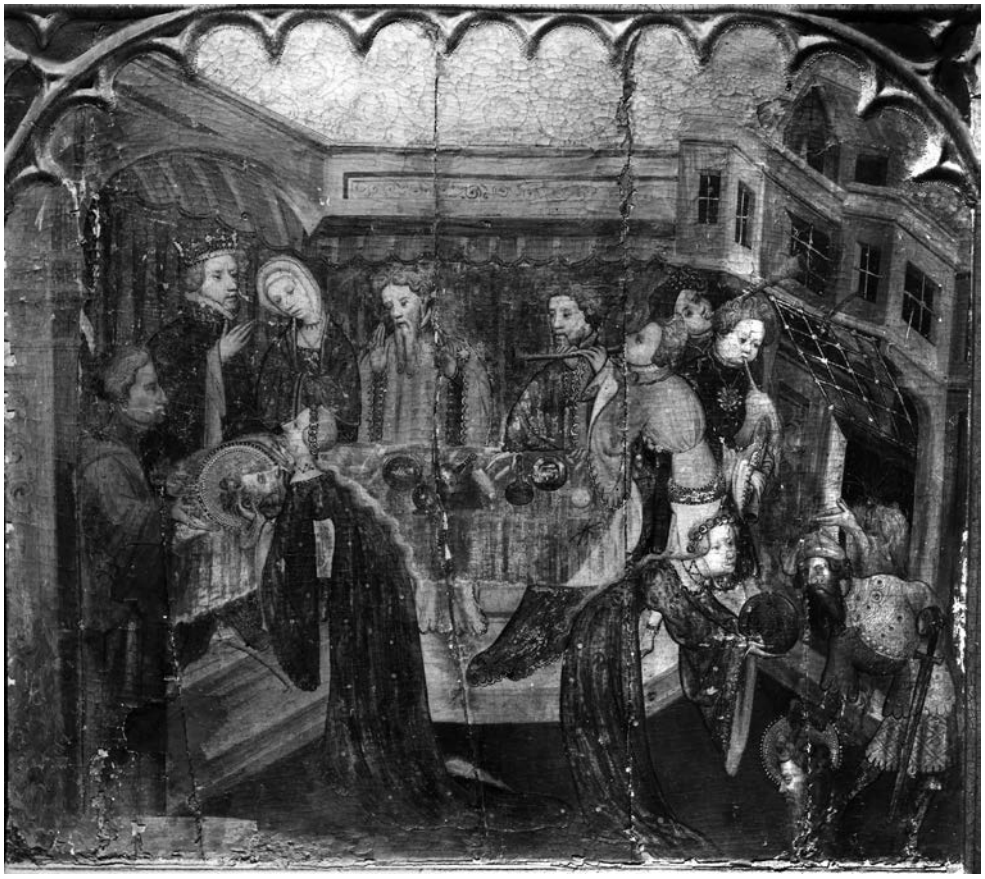


Fig. 2: Joan Mates (c.1370–1431), *The Decapitation of John the Baptist and the Feast of Herod*, panel painting of an altarpiece devoted to Saint John the Baptist, beginning of the 15th century, tempera on wood. Barcelona: Col. Carreras Mercador. Photo: © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.

The scene is based on the Gospel texts related to Saint John's death.[19] According to these texts, the young Salome, daughter of Herodias (who was King Herod's lover and his brother's wife), danced for the king on his birthday. Herod was so pleased that he promised to grant Salome any wish. Salome requested the head of John the Baptist because he had previously denounced Herod's marriage as unlawful and sinful. John was beheaded and his head was presented to Salome, who then carried it to her mother on a platter. It is interesting to realise that the action described in the Gospel takes place during a feast and, more precisely, that the entrance of Salome carrying the severed head coincides with the banquet's end. It is at that exact moment when, according to the courtly treatises, the minstrel ensembles

19 Matthew 14:1 and Mark 6:14.



Fig. 3: Gonçal Peris (c.1380–1451) and Jaume Mateu (c.1402–1452), detail of *Salome Offering the Head of Saint John to Herodias*, panel of the Altarpiece devoted to Saint John the Baptist, first half of the 15th century, tempera on wood. Ródenas (Teruel): parish church. Photo: © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.



Fig. 4: Domingo Ram (active 1464–1507), *The Decapitation of John the Baptist and the Feast of Herod*, panel of an altarpiece devoted to Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life, c.1464–1507, tempera on wood. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 25.120.669). Photo: MET (OASC – Public Domain).

were to play. It is therefore logical that an artist would choose this moment when illustrating a royal banquet. Based upon their own experience, a contemporaneous courtly banquet would have included musicians.

Depictions of this subject, containing only shawm ensembles, became quite common during the entire fifteenth century, as exemplified by another panel from the last third of the century attributed to the Aragonese painter Domingo Ram (active 1464–1507) and preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4). The musical ensemble in Ram's panel consists only of two shawm players placed at the background of the scene.

Returning briefly to the panel depicting the wedding banquet of saints Julian and Basilissa (fig. 1), a slide trumpet is depicted together with three shawms. According to the documents preserved in the Aragonse royal archives, slide trumpets (called there *trompeta de ministrer*) joined loud ensembles beginning in 1417, under the reign of King Alfonso "the Magnanimous" (1396–1458). His ensemble consisted of up to five loud musicians (including trumpeters and shawm players) at least until 1432.[20] What is more, it is documented that some decades later, in November 1461, his brother and successor King John II (1398–1479) established that his son Prince Ferdinand (later, Ferdinand II "the Catholic") had his own permanent loud ensemble in his service to demonstrate his honour, reputation, and royal condition. Ferdinad's ensemble consisted of three shawm players and a trumpeter.[21]

Regarding the placement of the loud minstrels in the banquet halls, it is worth noting that they are most often depicted walking into the room or standing near the banquet table. Far from being metaphorical, such variety of locations seems to reflect a usual practice, at least in the kingdom of Aragon. In this regard, it is highly illustrative of the short description of a courtly banquet written by the Majorcan philosopher, mathematician and polymath Ramon Llull (Raymundus Lullius) (1232–1316) at the end of the thirteenth century (c.1288–89): "While the king and the queen were eating, *jongleurs* were singing and playing their instruments around the hall, from one side to the other."[22]

Furthermore, it is possible to identify paintings dated after the middle of the fifteenth century and situated in the Kingdom of Aragon which place musical ensembles in balconies or platforms above the banquet hall. After Charles of Aragon and Évreux (1421–1461), Prince of Viana, pledged allegiance to the constitution, privileges, and rights of Catalonia in 1461, references are found that confirm the existence of such platforms or pulpits especially built to accommodate minstrels and trumpeters.[23] An excellent iconographical example of this type of balcony

20 See Gómez, *La música en la Casa Real*, 45–47.

21 See Francesc Villanueva Serrano, *A la honor e mostrar stado. La música en la corte de Juan II de Aragón* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2016), 182–191.

22 Ramon Llull, *Llibre de meravelles*, ed. Marina Gustà (Barcelona: Ed. 62 / La Caixa, 1980), 131. The original text, in Catalan, says: "Dementre que el rei i la regina menjaven, joglars anaven cantant e sonant esturments per la sala, amunt e avall".

23 See Federico Udina Martorell, ed., *Dietari de la Deputació del General de Cathalunya,* vol.2 (Barcelona: Diputació Provincial de Barcelona, 1974–1977), 387; the original text, transcribed by Udina



Fig. 5 : Catalan painter (Joan Figuera?) (mid-15th century), detail of *The Decapitation of John the Baptist and the Feast of Herod,* predella panel of an altarpiece devoted to Saint John, Saint Eulàlia and Saint Sebastian, mid-15th century, tempera on wood. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC) (inv. no. 015814–CJT). Photo: Jordi Calveras, © Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

supporting a group of minstrels, can be seen in an anonymous painting from the mid-fifteenth century preserved in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC) (fig. 5). The ensemble here consists precisely of three shawms and a slide trumpet.[24]

Martorell, says: "E complides les dites coses sonaren los ministres e trompetes del dit primogenit qui staven al cap de la sala en una trona allí feta per lo dit primogenit (...)". Charles, Prince of Viana, was the son of King John II and his first wife Queen Blanche I of Navarre; after Blanche's death John disinherits his son and this was the beginning of multiple conflicts (including a civil war).

24 Another ensemble consisting of three shawms and a slide trumpet or sackbut is located in the shutter of the ancient organ at the Perpignan Cathedral in 1504. The artist is unknown. The subject of the painting is again the Feast of Herod, with Salome offering the head of Saint John to Herodias. See Ballester, "Inventaire de peintures catalanes," 208; Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, 397; Jeanne Macari, "Perpignan: Cathédrale Saint-Jean-Baptiste," *Connaissance des Arts* 403 (1983): 2–6.

Soft Instruments and Ensembles

In addition to the loud ensembles, the Aragonese paintings also include depictions of minstrels playing string instruments, mainly lutes and fiddles. These entries constitute 17% of the preserved paintings. Documentary references confirm that such musicians were also appreciated in the Aragonese court. The chancellery of Aragon registered, for instance, the names of the minstrels who attended the coronation of the fourth wife of King Peter, in 1381. The unknown chronicler explains that the day after the coronation three banquets were given in Zaragoza. In the third "a beautiful *entremet* was brought towards the end of the lunch, [it was] a beautiful peacock … [that was] presented to the table … accompanied by a lot of instruments both of strings and of other kinds."[25] Lute, fiddle, gittern, psaltery, and harp players are broadly documented in the court of Aragon during this period. King Alfonso "the Magnanimous", for instance, had numerous Italian and Spanish string minstrels at his service, such as Rodrigo de la guitarra (documented from 1417 to 1427?) and the lute-minstrel Johan de Sibilia (documented from 1427? to 1432).[26] During the reign of his brother King John II, there is evidence that at least in 1458 two lute players worked at the court. They were Jabba the Jewish (active 1421–1458) and his master Alfonso de Gracia (active 1421–1458). King John's second wife, Queen Joanna (1425–1468), had the harpist Jaques Duay (active mid-fifteenth century) at her service between 1458–1459. Further documentation proves that the lute and vihuela player Sancho Matilla (active during the last quarter of the fifteenth century) was in the court of King John II, in 1478, and later at the service of his son, King Ferdinand "the Catholic", in 1481.[27]

An interesting iconographical example of a chordophone played in a courtly banquet at the beginning of the fifteenth century is found in the museum of Les Arts Decoratifs, in Paris. The artist is Lluís Borrassà (c.1360–1424/1425) (fig. 6). In this painting, depicting the Feast of Herod, a minstrel sitting next to the banquet table, plays a fiddle. It is worth mentioning that the only musicians I have found sitting in a banquet scene are the ones who play bow instruments, showing perhaps the intimate character of such chordophones. In fact, according to the documents preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, string instruments were frequently used to privately entertain the members of the royal house. When King John I was still a young prince, for instance, he was entertained by a lute or a viol (or fiddle) player as he travelled from one place to another, or when he was ill.[28]

25 See Josep M. Roca, *Johan I d'Aragó* (Barcelona: Institució Patxot – Tip. Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1929), 432–434; see also Maricarmen Gómez, "Secular Catalan and Occitan music at the end of the Middle Ages: looking for a lost repertory," *Studi musicali* 12 (1992): 6. The original text, in Catalan, is as follows: "Item fou aportat a la darrería del menjar un bell entremés, çó es un bell pagó qui feya la roda e estava en un bel bestiment […] E aquest pagó fou servit fort altament e presentat a la taula de la dita senyora ab molts esturments així de corda com d'altres".

26 See Gómez, *La música en la Casa Real*, 49–62.

27 See Villanueva Serrano, *A la honor*, 200–205.

28 See Gómez, *La música en la Casa Real*, 51 and 178.



Fig. 6: Lluís Borrassà (c.1360–1424/1425), *The Decapitation of Saint John the Baptist and the Feast of Herod*, panel painting of an altarpiece devoted to Saint John the Baptist, beginning of the 15th century, tempera on wood. Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs (inv. no. PE 123). Photo: © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.

It is clear that in this particular example, Borrassà used this musician as an element that helps visualise the courtly atmosphere. Another interesting example of a bow musician in a painting from the second half of the fifteenth century is attributed to the Master of Morata (active during the second half of the fifteenth century), preserved in the Colegiata de Daroca (near Zaragoza). It depicts the moment when Saint Thomas was slapped by a servant during the wedding banquet of the daughter of the king of India (fig. 7). According to the legend, Saint Thomas went to India to evangelise. One day he was attending the marriage feast of the king's daughter he exhorted the bride to remain a virgin, resulting in the slap. The most interesting detail is the woman sitting and playing a kind of Arab rabab on the left side of the scene. Arab rababs were quite usual in Aragon even during the fifteenth century. Perhaps the painter used this instrument to evoke an oriental or exotic context.[29] With the notable exception of Salome herself, it is worth underlining that this would appear to be the only female minstrel depicted in a banquet in an Aragonese painting from that period. Further examination of the imagery of Salome reveals that her dance is always accompanied by string instruments, and not by loud ensembles.

It can be seen, for instance, in a panel from c.1356 by the Master of Santa Coloma de Queralt (active during the third quarter of the fourteenth century), preserved in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC) (fig. 8).[30] In this depiction, Salome is dancing and playing a tambourine beside a minstrel who plays a lute. Similarly, there is another panel from the same period, attributed to the painter Jaume Serra (active 1358–1389/1395) and today in the Museo del Prado, which shows the dance of Salome accompanied by two musicians playing a lute and a gittern.[31] Both depictions seem to confirm the words written more than one hundred years later by Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435–1511) in his treatise *De Inventione et Usu Musicae* stating that the lute was used "at feasts, dances and public and private entertainments."[32] At that time, Tinctoris was a member of the court of King Ferdinand I of Naples (1423–1494), the son of Alfonso "the Magnanimous" of Aragon. Thus is established a clear link between the theorist's words and the Catalano-Aragonese art.

29 See Jordi Ballester, "Influencias el *rebec europeo* sobre el *rabel hispánico* a finales de la Edad Media en la Corona de Aragón," *Anuario Musical* 60 (2005): 21–26.

30 See Ballester, "Saint John the Baptist," 30–31.

31 Jaume Serra, *Episodes from the Lives of Mary Magdalen and Saint John the Baptist*, c. 1356–1359, tempera on panel, accessed December 31, 2020, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/episodes-from-the-lives-of-mary-magdalen-and/baa1b639-a138-4c41-8b80-f90e54673cbc

32 See Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-century instruments in Tinctoris's *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*," *The Galpin Society Journal* 3 (1950): 24. The original Latin text says: "Usus autem ipsius lyrae quam leutum vulgo nuncupari prediximus: festis: choreis: et conviviis: privatisque recreationibus apud nos inservit".



Fig. 7: Master of Morata (second half of the 15th century), *Saint Thomas Being Slapped by a Servant in the Wedding Banquet of the King of India's Daughter*, panel painting of an altarpiece devoted to Saint Thomas, second half of the 15th century, tempera on wood. Daroca (Zaragoza): Colegiata. Photo: © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.



Fig. 8: Master of Santa Coloma de Queralt (third quarter of the 14th century), *The Feast of Herod and the Dance of Salome*, panel painting of an altarpiece devoted to the Saints John, c.1356, tempera on wood. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC) (inv. no. 004351-CJT). Photo: Jordi Calveras, © Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.



Fig. 9: Catalan painter (mid-15th century), *Salome Dancing before Herod*, panel of an altarpiece devoted to Saint John the Baptist, mid-15th century, tempera on wood. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 32.100.126). Photo: MET (OASC – Public Domain).

A somewhat peculiar entry is the anonymous mid-fifteenth-century Catalan or Aragonese panel preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 9). Even though the subject of the painting is Salome dancing before Herod, the girl is not actually dancing but rather playing a fiddle. This unique depiction of the Feast of Herod suggests an unusual conception of the fiddle, which replaces dancing as Salome's weapon of seduction. Thus, the fiddle here is not only an instrument of entertainment for Herod, but it is also a metaphorical object that embodies evil.

Musical Ensembles in Sixteenth-Century Painting

Beginning in the sixteenth century, a wider variety of instruments and musical ensembles can be found in Catalan-Aragonese iconography. Some depictions of that period reflect very particular local practices. In this sense, an anonymous panel from c.1572, originally located in the parish church of Barruera (a small town in the Catalan Pyrenees) is especially amazing. The panel disappeared (and was presumably destroyed) during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Fortunately, a black and white photograph taken in 1922 is preserved in the Institut Amatller d'Art Hispanic in Barcelona. The work depicts, once again, the Feast of Herod and the Decapitation of Saint John the Baptist. However, the courtly banquet is accompanied by a peculiar musical ensemble of two musicians, one is playing the fiddle and the other a three-hole pipe and stringed drum (fig. 10).[33] The stringed drum consists of a long rectangular box, with six strings stretched from top to bottom, which the minstrel is striking with a stick held in his right hand. Meanwhile, his left hand holds a long cylindrical three-hole pipe. It is worth emphasising that this kind of stringed drum basically coincides with the instrument still found in some Pyrenean areas as the Basque country, Gascony, Navarre, and the north of Aragon.[34]

Depictions of stringed drums associated with three-hole pipes dating as early as the second half of the fifteenth century, mainly from Italy and Spain, have been documented.[35] In these depictions the instruments are played by angel musicians in heavenly contexts, far removed from the courtly atmosphere that can be seen in the panel from Barruera. It is for this reason that this panel becomes especially relevant because it links these instruments with courtly minstrels, and places them in a festive context. The connection of stringed drums to courtly contexts is further confirmed by another late-sixteenth-century Italian source, the 1592 inventory of goods of Ferdinando (Hernando) IV of Alarcón (second half of the sixteenth century), Marquis of the Valle Siciliana, descendant from an aristocratic Spanish family. This inventory includes within his properties "Due veste di Bottafoco" (two cloth bags for Buttafuoco – an Italian name for the string drum).[36] The relationship

33 See Jordi Ballester, "The Stringed Drum and the 16th Century Music: New Iconographical Sources," *Anuario Musical* 66 (2011): 47–60.

34 The stringed drum in those areas is known by different names such as *tun-tun*, *bertz*, *soinua*, *toutouna*, *tambourin de Béarn*, *tambourin de Gascogne*, *chicotén* or *salterio*. See Jeremy Montagu, "Was the Tabor Pipe always as we know it?," *The Galpin Society Journal* 50 (1997): 16–30.

35 See, for instance: Filippino Lippi (1457–1504), *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1488–1493, Rome: Santa Maria sopra Minerva church, Capella Carafa; Giovan Pietro Birago (c.1471–1513), *Angel musician*, c.1494, London: British Library, The Sforza Book of Hours (Add. Ms. 34294, f.36v); Gaudenzio Ferrari (c.1471–1546), *Angel musicians*, c. 1535, Saronno: Santa Maria dei Miracoli sanctuary; Master of Javierre (c.1480–1520), *Saint Vincent with angel musicians*, c.1487–1506, Lleida: Museu de Lleida Diocesà i Comarcal (inv. no. 84).

36 See Alberto Mammarella, "Musical Instruments in a 1592 Inventory of the Marquis Ferdinando d'Alarçon," *The Galpin Society Journal* 59 (2006): 187–205.



Fig. 10: Catalan or Aragonese painter (second half of the 16th century), *The Decapitation of Saint John the Baptist and the Feast of Herod*, panel painting of an altarpiece devoted to Saint John, c.1572, tempera on wood. Originally located in the parish church of Barruera (Catalan Pyrenees) and desappeared during the Spanish Civil War. Photo: © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.

between festive situations and the stringed drum (together with the three-hole pipe) is corroborated by the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* by Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco (1539–1613), one of the first Spanish dictionaries published in Madrid in 1611. According to Covarrubias, both the string drum (that he calls *salterio*) and the pipe were used in villages, processions, weddings, and dances to entertain and amuse the attendees.[37]

In conclusion, the courtly banquets depicted in Catalano-Aragonese paintings from the mid-fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries are a visual witness to the role that music and musicians played in the courtly feasts. Simultaneously, they provide an effective method with which a present-day scholar might construct a mental image of the courtly minstrel similar to those held by the original artist and his audience. As we have seen, these images complement the existing archival documentation, giving us intriguing clues to accurately recreate the musical environment of the court of Aragon at the end of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

37 Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luís Sánchez, impresor del Rey, 1611), rev. and ed. Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1987), 922. Covarrubias' text states: "El instrumento que agora llamamos *salterio* es un instrumento que tendrá de ancho poco más que un palmo, y de largo una vara, hueco por dentro, y el alto de las costillas de cuatro dedos; tiene muchas cuerdas, de alambre, y concertadas de suerte que tocándolas todas juntas con un palillo guarnecido de grana hace un sonido apacible; y su igualdad sirve de bordón para la flauta que el músico deste instrumento tañe con la mano siniestra, y conforme al son que quiere hazer, sigue el compás con el palote; úsase en las aldeas, en las procesiones, en las bodas, en los bayles y dançaş".

CROSSES, CIRCLES AND SHARED IDENTITIES IN RIDDLE CANONS BY ELWAY BEVIN AND GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO*

Denis Collins

Musical canons were frequently included in manuscript and printed materials from the fourteenth century onwards. Often appearing on the title page or as a frontispiece, these occasional canons may have little to do musically or notationally with the works that follow them. Many canonic examples are notated as a single line of music with visual cues such as *signa congruentiae* to indicate where the second and subsequent voices should enter in imitation of the notated canonic *dux*. Furthermore, these canons were often presented in geometric shapes such as circles, rectangles or triangles. The symbolic significance of these shapes could be reinforced by accompanying artwork or textual commentaries, often couched in deliberately enigmatic terms, that drew upon deep traditions of learning.[1]

Some well-known examples of canons placed at the outset of manuscript and print sources from ca. 1500 include the arresting multicoloured circular canon in the Florentine Chansonnier Banco Rari 229, the canon "Vivat Leo Deus" in a collection published by Andrea Antico in 1517, and the partbooks of the collection in Bologna manuscript Q.21.[2] Each of the partbooks in this last source opens with a canonic setting of a French text in a collection otherwise devoted to Italian madrigals. All of these examples involve visual presentation of canonic notation in circular form accompanied by other carefully crafted artistic details. By way of

* Research for this study was supported by an Australian Research Council Discovery Project: "The art and science of canon in the music of early seventeenth-century Rome" (Project Number DP180100680).

1 An extensive list of sources containing canons notated within or beside artistic subject matter may be found in Michael H. Lamla, "Musical Canons on Artistic Prints from the 16th to the 18th Centuries," *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, no. 2 (1997): 479–510. Classic earlier studies of musical representation in works of art that include examples with canons are Volker Scherliess, *Musikalische Noten auf Kunstwerken der italienischen Renaissance bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: K. D. Wagner, 1972), and Max Seiffert, "Bildzeugnisse des 16. Jahrhunderts für die instrumentale Begleitung des Gesanges und den Ursprung des Musikkupferstiches," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1, no. 1 (1918): 49–67.

2 Howard Mayer Brown, ed. *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Anonymous, "Vivat Leo Deus," in *Canzoni, sonetti, strambotti et frottole libro quarto* (Rome: Andrea Antico, 1517); reproduced in Kate van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 34. Claudio Gallico, ed. *Un canzoniere musicale italiano del cinquecento (Bologna, Conservatorio di musica "G. B. Martini" Ms. Q 21)* (Florence: Olschki, 1961).
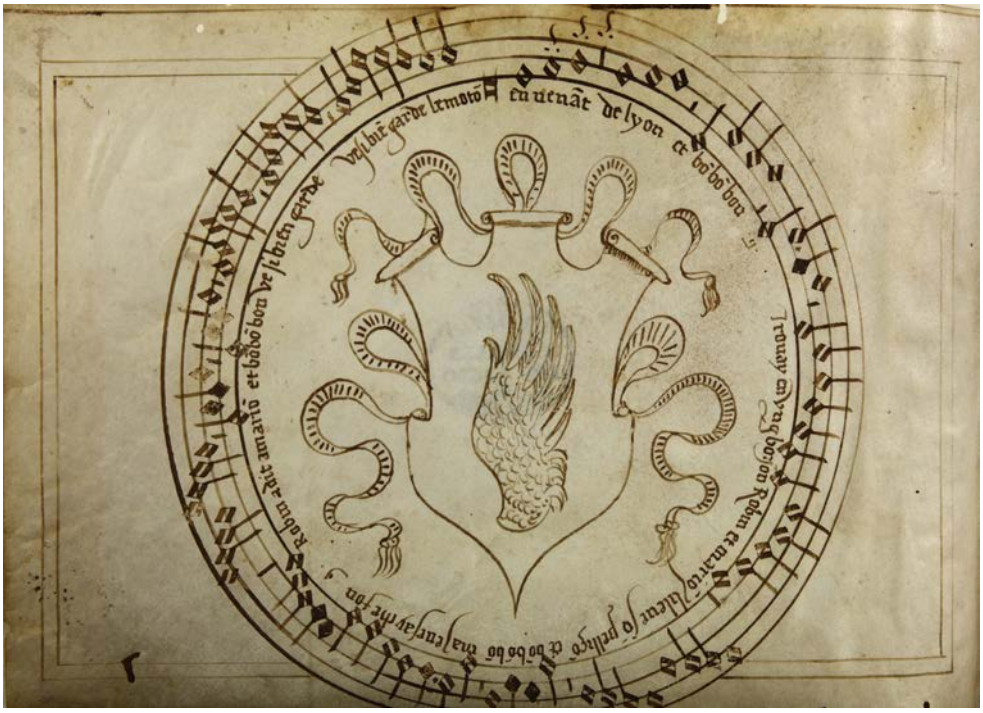


Fig. 1: Opening page of the cantus partbook in Bologna, Museo Internationale e Biblioteca della Musica (I-Bc), manuscript Q.21. Used by kind permission.

example, fig. 1 is from the cantus partbook of the Bologna manuscript Q.21. Like the opening pages of the other partbooks in this source, a canon notated in the form of a circle encloses a coat of arms comprising a feather on a shield. In fig. 1, small signs (*signa congruentiae*) over the staff indicate the points in the *dux* melody where each of the following voices should start.[3]

Other sources present canons in different formats. The frontispiece to the *Musurgia universalis* of Athanasius Kircher (1602–80) shows a pair of angels unfolding a banner containing the *dux* of a "Canon angelicvs 36 vocvm."[4] This composition

3 The canon in fig. 1 is the celebrated *En venant de Lyon* by Jean Mouton, a four-part work in which each of the following voices enters a fourth above the preceding voice. Examples from other sources include the *Salve radix* pair of anonymous circle canons, each enclosing a rose, that are preserved in an early sixteenth-century manuscript in the British Library (GB-Lbl Royal Manuscript 11 E.xi, fols. 2v–3r). Baude Cordier's famous *Tout par compas* is also notated in the shape of a circle. It is placed alongside another piece in the shape of a heart in the late fourteenth-century manuscript known as the Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564). For recent consideration of these pieces, see Margaret Bent, "The Absent First Gathering of the Chantilly Manuscript," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 26, no. 1 (2017): 19–36.

4 Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*. Rome: F. Corbelletti, 1650. For further discussion of this frontispiece, see Jason Stoessel's essay in the present volume.

was by a contemporary of Kircher, the ardent canon enthusiast and polemicist Romano Micheli (ca. 1575–ca.1659). In his *Ricercari a due voci per suonare et cantare*, Grammatico Metallo (ca. 1539–ca. 1615), an older contemporary of Kircher and Micheli, placed a canon on the title page and again on the following page beneath a portrait of Metallo himself (for the portrait, see fig. 2).[5] These canons and the portrait appear in both the cantus and tenor partbooks for this source, while the portrait appears in several other publications by Metallo, each time accompanied by a different canon.[6] A much later example by the mid eighteenth-century music theorist (and frequent polemicist on various topics), Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783), represents a canonic *dux* plus basso continuo in score notation on a piece of slate on the title page to part 1 of his monumental treatise on composition.[7]

Canons may appear in locations other than the opening of a music manuscript or print. For instance, Vincenzo Ugolini's collection of Mass settings and motets published in 1622 includes a canon placed at the end of each of the twelve partbooks.[8] Additionally, Jacob Senleches's (fl. 1382–83) *La harpe de melodie* preserved in the Newberry Library, the copy of the anonymous *En la maison Dedalus* in the Berkeley theory manuscript, and the cross canon by Thomas Morley (ca. 1557–1602) all indicate how canons of various kinds may be found at different places within musical collections or theoretical works.[9] Morley's example is one of many surviving canons whose notation is carefully manipulated to resemble the shape of a cross. Katelijne Schiltz has observed how a tradition of cross canons started with Ludwig Senfl's three contributions, one in a manuscript choirbook and two others in a broadside that also have an image of the crucified Christ and a short biblical

5 Grammatico Metallo, *Ricercari a due voci per suonare et cantare* (Venice: Amadino, 1614). This publication also contains a canon notated as a circle on page 41 of both partbooks, while the portrait of Metallo reappears at the end of the cantus partbook with new canons placed above and below it. For a modern edition, see Grammatio[sic] Metallo, *Ricercari a due voci per suonare et cantare*, ed. Lapo Bramanti (Rome: Pro Musica Studium, 1987).

6 For publication details of these works by Metallo, see Lamla, "Canons on Artistic Prints," 496–97. Portraits of composers alongside canons, including some where the composer holds a canon, is a feature in numerous sources of the period, with examples from as early as Adrian Petit Coclco's *Compendium musices* (Nuremberg, 1552) to the famous portrait by Elias Gottlob Haussmann of the ageing Johann Sebastian Bach dated 1748.

7 Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Deder & Hartung, 1774). The conceit of this piece involves enharmonically equivalent key signatures of Gb and F# Major for the two notated parts and a pseudo-figured bass where the numbers refer to interval ratios between the canonic entries. A resolution is provided by Timothy D. Edwards online at https://www.puzzlecanon.com/single-post/2016/09/30/Kirnbergers-most-puzzling-canon (accessed 8 June 2020).

8 Vincenzo Ugolini (ca. 1580–1638), *Motecta et missae, octonis et duodenis vocibus cum basso ad organo. Liber secundus* (Rome: Soldi, 1622).

9 Newberry Theory Manuscript (US-Cn MS 54.1), fol. 10r; Berkeley Theory Manuscript (US-BE MS 744,) fol. 31v; Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), 174. This canon is reproduced along with its resolution in Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical* Music, ed. R. Alec Harman (New York: W. W. Norton, 1952), 285–87.



Fig. 2: Portrait of the composer with an accompanying canon, in: Grammatico Metallo, *Ricercari a due voci per suonare et cantare*, Venice: Amadino, 1614, [p. 2]. Used by kind permission of the Museo Internationale e Biblioteca della Musica of Bologna (I-Bc) shelfmark T.119.

inscription.[10] Several other canons in cruciform notation appear in a variety of sources from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including contributions by Costanzo Festa (ca. 1485–1545), Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559–1625), Leonhard Paminger (1495–1567), Ghiselin Danckerts (ca. 1510–1565) and Pietro Cerone (1566–1625).[11] A canon notated as a cross or a geometrical shape in one source may appear in normal notation elsewhere, sometimes even in the same source. Such is the case with the canon labelled "Sphera mundi" attributed to John Bull (1562–1628). It appears in circular notation at the outset of an early seventeenth-century manuscript collection of over a hundred canons on the plainsong "Miserere" by this composer, and it is followed by the resolution on the following page.[12] This canon also appears in an eighteenth-century manuscript containing canons, mostly by Bull, notated as circles, triangles and other shapes.[13] Another more famous example is the Agnus Dei 2 from the *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* by Josquin Des Prez (ca. 1450–1521). The numerous pathways of transmission for this three-part mensuration canon include its notation as a triangle on a stone block in the corner of Dosso Dossi's *Allegory of Music* dating from about the second quarter of the sixteenth century.[14]

The widespread adoption of musical canons, especially in the opening material of surviving sources, points to a sense of shared identity amongst musicians and a broad set of practices extending across time and place. Solving a canon located at the beginning of a manuscript or print could not only whet the musician's appetite for the music waiting on following pages, but it could also serve as an emblem of accomplishment that reinforced awareness of belonging to professional and wider cultural communities. This may in part account for the enduring presence of can-

10 For an overview of canons notated in unusual formats, including circles and crosses, see Katelijne Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 273–358. Further examples are also listed in Lamla, "Musical Canons on Artistic Prints." A study of musical works in the shape of crosses is in Werner Braun, "Visuelle Elemente in der Musik der frühen Neuzeit: Rastralkreuze," in *Die Domänen des Emblems: Ausserliterarische Anwendungen der Emblematik*, ed. Gerhard F. Strasser and Mara R. Wade (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004). Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 39, 135–55. See also Bernardo García-Bernalt Alonso, "'A los amigos de sutillezas y secretos': La *imago crucis* en los cánones enigmáticos del Siglo de Oro," *Archivio de Arte Velanciano*, no. 96 (2015): 315–40.

11 Schiltz: *Music and Riddle Culture*, 278–325. For overviews of these materials, see also Lamla, "Canons on Artistic Prints," Braun, "Visuelle Elemente in der Musik," and Alonso, "'A los amigos de sutillezas y secretos'."

12 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus. Hs. 17.771, fol. 139. This example recalls the circular notation of Ramos's canon in Banco Rari 229 noted above.

13 London, British Library RM 24.f.25, fol. 3.

14 See H. Colin Slim, "Dosso Dossi's Allegory at Florence About Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43, no. 1 (1990): 43–98, here 58–59. For a more recent reading of the iconography of this painting, see Jason Stoessel, "The Harmonious Blacksmith, Lady Music and Minerva: The Iconography of Secular Song in the Late Middle Ages," in *Music, Myth, and Story in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Katherine Butler and Samantha Bassler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), 63–86.

ons across a great variety of musical sources and the long tradition of notating canons in closed form (that is, on a single line of music that needs to be resolved as a multi-voice piece by the viewers or performers). A canon that is visually embedded in abstract designs or accompanying textual and artistic materials can further point to extra-musical significance and matters of common concern to musicians who may otherwise have been separated by temporal, geographical or political distance. The following paragraphs will examine one such instance where canons by two composers, one English and the other Italian, survive in cruciform notation in the same source (see figs 3a and 3b). I will argue that the visual presentation of these canons expresses a shared identity as highly skilled musicians that could transcend the composers' contrasting circumstances within the religious and cultural environments surrounding them.

The Cross Canons of Giovanni Maria Nanino and Elway Bevin

Giovanni Maria Nanino (ca. 1543–1607) and Elway Bevin (ca. 1554–1638), the composers of these two cruciform canons, were active exponents of advanced contrapuntal techniques, most especially canon. Each lived at a time of major expansion of interest in canonic composition in his respective country. The decades on either side of 1600 witnessed a growth of interest in canon and related contrapuntal techniques not seen since the earlier golden age of canonic composition in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries – the time of Johannes Ockeghem (ca. 1410–1497), Josquin and the young Willaert (ca. 1490–1562), to name just a few of the many active practitioners of canon at that period.[15] At the turn of the seventeenth century, composers once again in great numbers drew upon the seemingly limitless opportunities for craftsmanship and ingenuity offered by canon and related contrapuntal techniques. Musical canons also provided a vehicle for symbolic realisation of preoccupations with contemporary intellectual debates, most especially through notational subtleties, artwork and other cultural details accompanying canonic compositions in contemporary manuscripts and prints. Early seventeenth-century Italy witnessed intense cultivation of canon, most especially in Rome, with contributions by all the leading composers employed at the most prestigious churches and active in the wide network of confraternities.[16] Canonic repertoire

15 While no comprehensive study of the history of canon yet exists, a useful collection of essays dealing with medieval and early modern canons remains Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds. *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History* (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007). A detailed study focused on canon in the generation active ca. 1500 is Immanuel Ott, *Methoden der Kanonkomposition bei Josquin Des Prez und seinen Zeitgenossen* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2014).

16 For a thoroughgoing listing and description of the composers and their canonic works, see Michael H. Lamla, *Kanonkünste im barocken Italien, insbesondere in Rom* (PhD diss., Universität des Saarlandes, 2003). See also Sergio Durante, "On *Artificioso* Compositions at the Time of Frescobaldi," in *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 195–217.

was central to musical performance in all religious and in many secular contexts, and it was an essential part of composers' training. A similar situation holds true for the position of canon in England where it permeated all aspects of musical creativity. Canon was an essential indicator of compositional craft in works ranging from the large-scale canonic motets of William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, the instrumental consort music of the period, and, most markedly, in the frequently obsessive realisation of different types of canonic imitation over a plainsong (the *Miserere* melody in particular).[17]

Presenting canons through vivid visual means was particularly popular in Italian regions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[18] In addition to the sources mentioned in the paragraphs above, reference can also be made to the lavish collections of manuscripts and broadsides assembled by the Roman nobleman Pier Francesco Valentini (ca. 1570–1654), the compendium of all manner of musical enigmas in the last book of Pietro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro*, and the canons accompanying pictures of saints and the Madonna found throughout the works of Adriano Banchieri (1568–1634).[19]

By contrast, canons are less frequently associated with artistic renderings in English sources. The encounter, therefore, of a pair of canons in cruciform notation by Elway Bevin and Giovanni Maria Nanino side by side in the same source is particularly noteworthy. British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14 is a collection of over two hundred canons. Although attributed to Bevin, this source contains numerous examples by this composer but also dozens by his contemporary John Bull and other examples by unidentified composers. Most of the canons in this manuscript comprise two parts in strict imitation over an independent plainsong and a fourth free part.[20] Apart from the two cruciform canons, this manuscript also has a canon notated in circular form and a canon notated as a triangle enclosed

17 See Denis Collins, "'Sufficient to quench the thirst of the most insaciate scholler whatsoeuer': George Waterhouse's 1,163 Canons on the Plainsong *Miserere*," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th Centuries,* ed. Schiltz and Blackburn, 407–20.

18 See Laurence Wuidar, *Canons énigmes et hiéroglyphes musicaux dans l'Italie du 17e siècle* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008), and also Lamla, "Musical Canons on Artistic Prints."

19 Valentini's collections of canons, including those he wrote himself, are found within the Barberini collection at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. For a study of the canons and associated artwork assembled by Valentini in Vatican manuscript Barb. Lat. 4428, see Giuseppe Gerbino, *Canoni ed enigmi: Pier Francesco Valentini e l'artificio canonico nella prima metà del Seicento* (Rome: Edizione Torre d'Orfeo, 1995). Pietro Cerone: *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples: Gargano & Nucci, 1613). Cerone's volume will be discussed further below. For a listing of the canons accompanied by artistic details in Adriano Banchieri's works, along with references to their reproductions in modern sources, see Lamla, "Canons on Artistic Prints," 487–88.

20 For a detailed description of the contents of this manuscript, see Denis Collins, ed., *Elway Bevin's A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 32–40. In another study, I draw attention to the presence of the pair of cruciform canons by Nanino and Bevin in this manuscript. See Denis Collins, "Collaborative Creative Thought and Puzzle Canons in Renaissance Music," in *Collaborative Creative Thought and Practice in Music*, ed. Margaret Barrett (Aldershot & Burlington, VT: Ashgate), 111–25.

within another triangle, recalling similar shapes for canons by Bull and others found in British Library manuscript RM 24.f.25.[21]

The transmission of Nanino's madrigals in English sources of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is reasonably well known. For instance, Nanino is represented in the Tenbury manuscript (Tenbury, St Michael's College MSS 940–44) by twelve madrigals.[22] Nanino was a respected and much admired composer during his lifetime and many of his works, especially the madrigals, appeared in numerous anthologies published throughout Europe. The situation is less clear with his religious works and theoretical writings, especially those that employ canonic techniques, even though these are preserved in many manuscripts and prints in Italian institutions. Largely overlooked in modern histories of Roman music, including madrigal composition, Nanino's status has only in recent years been reconstituted, thanks largely to the articles and editions focussed on his madrigals by Anthony Newcomb. Claiming that Nanino from the outset of his career "showed a powerfully individual musical personality," Newcomb argues that this composer influenced the course of music at Rome and across Europe through his wide-ranging activities as a singer, composer and teacher.[23] Nanino held the post of tenor at the Papal Choir from 1577 until his death in 1607 and counted amongst his pupils many who went on to distinguished careers as composers, including Vincenzo Ugolini, Francesco Anerio, Paolo Agostini, Giovanni Allegri and Antonio Cifra. Perhaps reflecting the esteem in which Nanino was held by his contemporaries, a portrait of a composer thought to be Nanino is held at the Museo del Tesoro di San Pietro in the Vatican. Marking the quatercentary of Nanino's death, Arnaldo Morelli assessed the provenance of this portrait, its position within a wider group of musician portraits of the time, and any significance that might be attached to a portrait of this composer in the first place.[24]

Nanino's pedagogical writings demonstrate versatility and command of contrapuntal techniques, especially canon and invertible counterpoint.[25] A small number

21 The piece notated as a circle in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14 is found at the bottom of fol. 80v and the piece notated as two triangles is found on fols 97v–98r along with the resolution. See Collins, *Elway Bevin*, 33–35 for a reproduction of the triangular imagery and an explanation of the resolution. This piece is textless.

22 For a discussion, see Lydia R. Hamessley, *The Reception of the Italian Madrigal in England: A Repertorial Study of Manuscript Anthologies, ca. 1580–1620* (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1989).

23 Anthony Newcomb, "Nanino, Giovanni Maria," in *Grove Music Online*, updated and revised 2013, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19558 (accessed 14 June 2020). The problematic historiographical situation surrounding Nanino is discussed in Anthony Newcomb, "The New Roman Style and Giovanni Maria Nanino," *The Journal of Musicology* 36, no. 2 (2019): 167–94.

24 Arnaldo Morelli, "Di un ritratto poco conosciuto di Giovanni Maria Nanino/Of a Little-Known Portrait of Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Polifonie*, no. 2 (2007): 137–60.

25 For instance, the manuscripts entitled *Diversi contrappunti dopii a 4 e 5 voci di G.M.N.* and *Regole di contrappunto di Gio. M. Nanino e del suo fratello minore Gio Bernardino*, both housed at the Museo Internationale e Biblioteca della Musica of Bologna, shelfmarks Q.12(1) and B.124 respectively.

of Nanino's works employing canonic techniques are published in modern sources. Richard J. Schuler's edition of fourteen motets by Nanino includes some works that demonstrate how a canonic pair of voices can operate within a multi-voice texture.[26] Nanino's commemorative canon on the death of Pope Leo XI, notated on a single line underneath the coat or arms for this pope, has been examined and reproduced in several modern studies. By contrast, another commemorative canon written by Nanino after the death of Pope Clement VIII has attracted less attention even though it is as ingeniously worked out as the canon for Pope Leo.[27] Both popes died in the same year, 1605, Clement on 3 March and Leo on 27 April. Nanino's commemorative canons are located in the *Libro del Camerlengo* for that year. Each canon is very skilfully worked out for four voices and each is an example of a canonic subtype known as the *canon per tonos*, that is, a circle (or infinite) canon that repeats itself each time at a predetermined pitch higher or lower than the previous starting pitch. The canon in memory of Leo XI repeats itself upwards by step, while the example in honour of Clement VIII repeats each time up a fourth (although some repetitions should repeat down a fifth in order to keep the voices within range). Canons *per tonos* can theoretically continue through as many repetitions as the performers wish until the canon returns to its opening pitch up or down an octave. These two canons by Nanino have further layers of complexity: the example for Clement is a stacked canon, that is, each voice enters at the same interval (in this case, the fourth below) after the previous voice, while the canon for Leo employs a zig-zag pattern of voice entries described in some secondary literature as the invertible canon (the following voices in Nanino's example enter at the octave below, fourth below and eleventh below the canonic *dux*).[28] The canon in memory of Leo XI is one of two canons, both textless, by Nanino that are found

---

Digitised versions of both manuscripts can be accessed through this institution's Gaspari Online site http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/src_aut.asp.

26 See Richard J. Schuler, ed., *Giovanni Maria Nanino: Fourteen Liturgical Works*, Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance, vol. 5 (Madison, WI, A–R Editions, 1969). This author's dissertation also includes some partial transcriptions of other canonic works by Nanino; see Richard J. Schuler, *The Life and Liturgical Works of Giovanni Maria Nanino* (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1963).

27 See Alberto Cametti, "Due Canoni Commemorativi di Giovanni M. Nanino," *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, no. 35 (1928): 583–87. A reproduction of the coat of arms for Leo XI and a resolution of Nanino's canon is in Jean Lionnet, "Another Musical Medici Coat of Arms," *Early Music* 15, no. 4 (1987): 520–21. Reproductions of both of Nanino's canons (albeit in very faint type) with no resolutions can be found in Wuidar, *Canons énigmes*, 52–54. Resolutions for both canons are provided in Claudio Annibaldi, *La Cappella Musicale Pontificia nel Seicento: Da Urbano VII a Urbano VIII (1590–1644)* (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2011), 365–66, while a reproduction of the diary entry containing the canon commemorating Leo XI can be found earlier on page 162 of this study.

28 For further description of these and other canonic techniques, see Collins, *Elway Bevin*, 8–9, Alan Gosman, "Stacked Canon and Renaissance Compositional Procedure," *Journal of Music Theory* 41, no. 2 (1997): 289–317, and (for the invertible canon) see Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style* 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press), 227–43.

in Pietro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro*. Cerone makes no mention of Leo XI. The second example is a *canon per tonos* that descends by step on each repetition. This piece is not found in the *Libro del Camerlengo*.[29]

Given Nanino's prestige and the wide circulation of many of his works in his lifetime, it is not surprising that English composers, including Elway Bevin, would have been aware of his output. However, apart from the cruciform canon that Bevin copied into British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14, I am not aware of any further transmission of Nanino's canonic writing in English sources of the period. Bevin spent his career as organist and Master of the Choristers at Bristol Cathedral, and his surviving compositional output includes anthems, Evening Services and some consort music (his work was very likely unknown to Nanino and other composers active in Rome). Bevin appears to have been foremost a canon enthusiast: in addition to the canons in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14, he published a treatise in 1631 almost entirely devoted to a presentation of different canonic subtypes.[30] Bevin's taste for unusual canonic combinations is reflected in a group of pieces at the end of his treatise that call for devices such as several canons presented simultaneously, parts notated in different colours, or resolutions of cryptic instructions that require up to sixty voices. A similar impulse seems, at least in part, to have attracted him to the canon by Nanino that he copied into British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14. Notated in cruciform and calling for twenty voices in its resolution, Nanino's canon has not yet come to the notice of scholars working on early seventeenth-century Roman music. The cruciform canons by Nanino and Bevin are given in figs 3a and 3b.

The similarities in layout between the two canons presented in figs 3a and 3b is striking: both involve a cross with a circle inscribed around the staff and radius. Each end of the cross has a short two-part canon appended at right angles. The initials "EB" accompanying the canon on fol. 83r of British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14 almost certainly refer to Bevin himself, while the words "Gioan Maria Nanino" are placed with the canon on fol. 82v and also on fol. 81v of this manuscript. The date "July 1, 1611" is given earlier on fol. 41v, which serves as an indicator for the approximate time when these two canons were entered into this manuscript. Underneath each canon there is a short textual inscription that indicates the total number of twenty voices in the resolution:

29 Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, book 22, 1081. For transcriptions and brief discussion of these canons, see Edward E. Lowinsky, "Music in Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*: Origins and History of the *canon per tonos*," in *Music and Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), vol. 1, 316–20. Lowinsky was apparently unaware of Cametti's discussion of Nanino's commemorative canons.

30 Both the treatise and manuscript source are described in detail in Collins, *Elway Bevin*. These two sources provide an exhaustive treatment of canonic techniques as developed throughout Europe over the course of the previous two centuries.

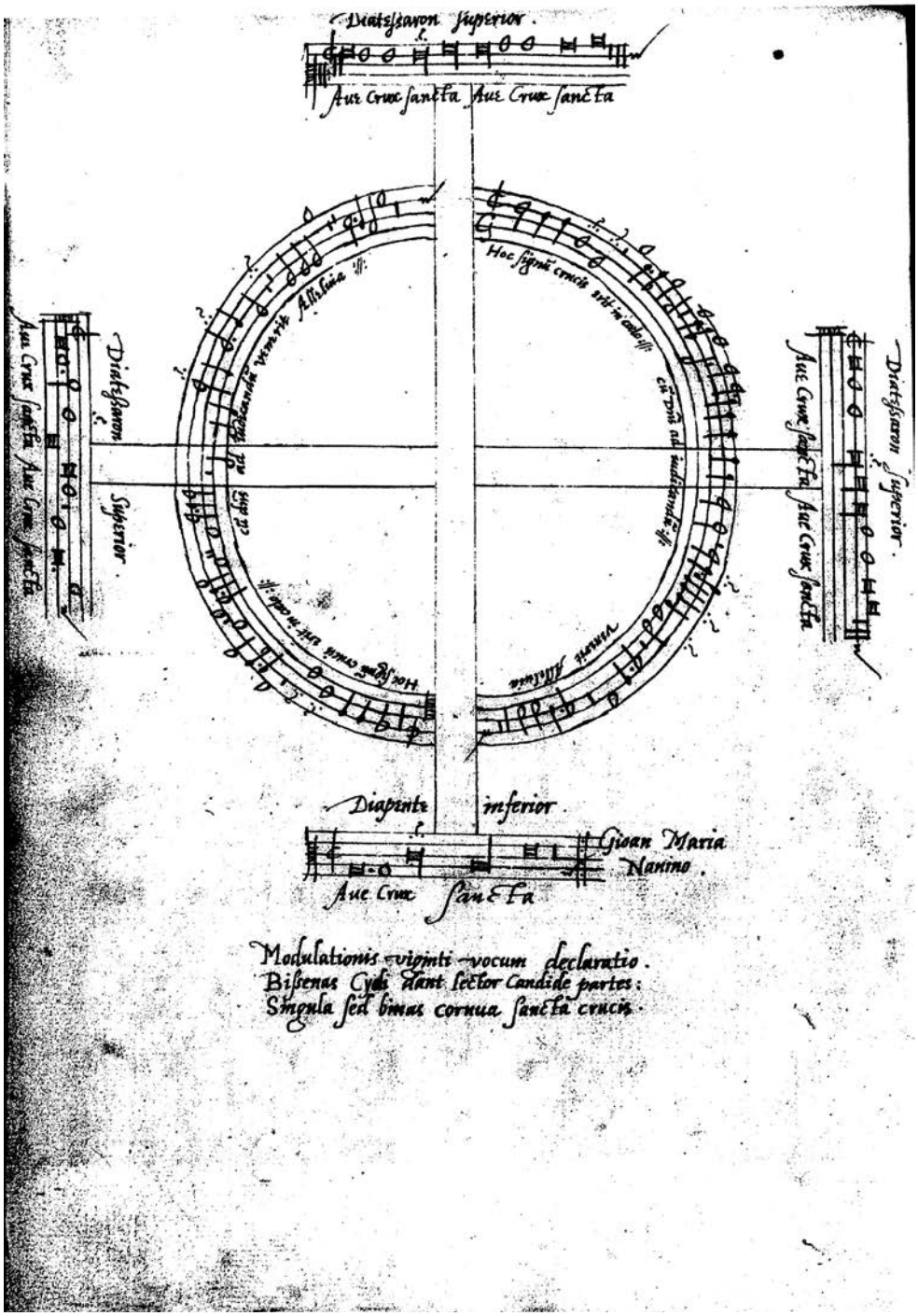


Fig. 3a: Cross canon attributed to Giovanni Maria Nanino (ca. 1543–1607), in London, British Library (GB-Lbl) manuscript R.M 24.c.14, fol. 82v. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

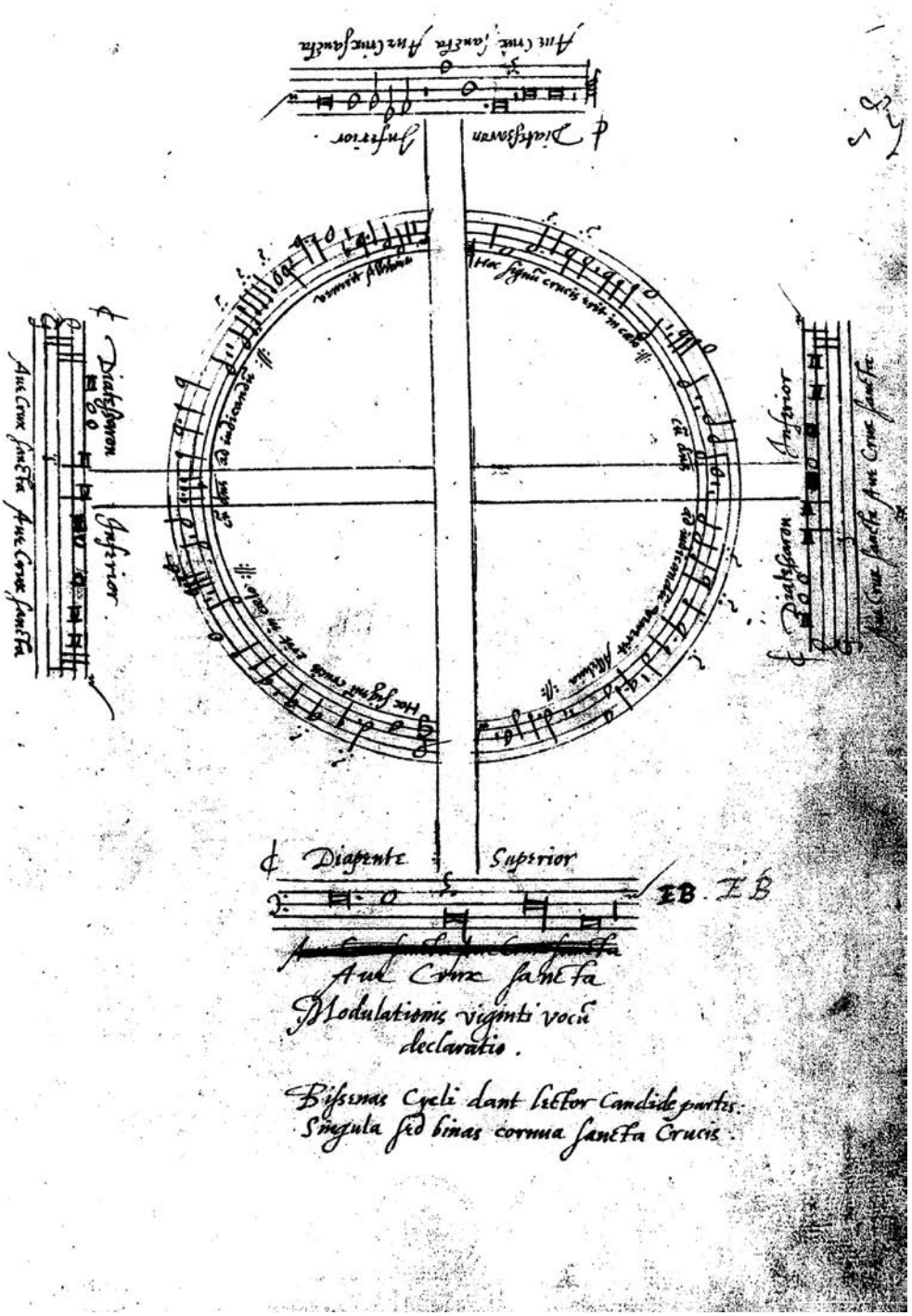


Fig. 3b: Cross canon attributed to "EB" [Elway Bevin (ca. 1554–1638)], in London, British Library (GB-Lbl) manuscript R.M 24.c.14, fol. 83r. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

Modulationis viginti vocum declaratio:
Bis senas Cycli dant lector candide partes:
Singula sed binas Cornua Sancta Crucis[31]

For both works, two canons are notated on the circle inscribing the cross, each for six voices, and each setting the same text.[32] The four pieces appended to the ends of the cross are each for two voices in canonic imitation on the text "Ave crux sancta."[33] One curious difference in visual presentation between the two works concerns how the short canon placed at the top of each page is notated: for a user who encounters the work upon turning through the pages of the manuscript, the notes and text face outwards in the Bevin example, whereas in the Nanino example the notation is presented in the usual way (that is, facing inwards). This means that to read or perform Bevin's two-part canon at the top of the page, singers would need to stand opposite the singers of the short canon appended to the base of the cross.

Likewise, the short canons appended to the right end of the radius of each cross face in different directions: the Nanino example is positioned so that a reader faces the same way as the reader of the canon on the left-hand side of the radius, but readers of the corresponding examples by Bevin would need to face in opposite directions. This suggests that Bevin expected readers and performers to stand (or sit) around the sides of a book opened at the page containing this work to contemplate its musical and textual significance.[34] This raises the possibility that prior to its inclusion in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14, this canon may have been used by Bevin as an occasional piece for display and possible performance amongst trusted and skilful members of his musical environment, whereas the Nanino example may have been copied without this possibility in mind.

Several compositional correspondences between the two works are worth pointing out. The melody in Nanino's short canon at the base of the cross is used in inversion by Bevin for his canon at the same location. The intervals of imitation are likewise reversed: Nanino's "Diapente inferior" (fifth below) becomes Bevin's "Diapente Su-

31 "Explanation of the composition of the twenty voices. The circles produce twice six voices, kind reader, but the holy corners of the cross each [produce] two voices."

32 The full text for each canon notated on the circle is "Hoc signu[m] crucis erit in caelo cu[m] D[omin]us ad iudicandu[m]." This text is associated with the Feast of the Finding of the Cross. For a list of sources with similar texts, see the *Cantus Index: Online Catalogue for Mass and Office Chants*. (http://cantusindex.org/id/006530a). The text for the short two-part canons is "Ave crux sancta," which may be a variant of the text "Salve crux sancta," also associated with the Feast of the Finding of the Cross.

33 Other examples of so many canons operating simultaneously in a work are difficult to find in surviving sources, with quadruple canons being the closest in design to appear with any frequency; for instance, Bevin elsewhere provided an example requiring sixty voices to resolve a quadruple canon (see Collins, *Elway Bevin*, 112–14). Examples of quadruple canons from an earlier period include the motets *Nesciens mater Virgo* by Jean Mouton and *Ave Maria gratia plena* by Johannes [Denis] Prioris.

34 This "table layout" has several precedents in English and Continental sources. See Peter Holman, *Dowland, Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 8–11.

perior" (fifth above). In similar fashion, each of Nanino's other short pieces appended to the ends of the cross are labelled "Diatessaron superior" (fourth above), whereas Bevin's short examples are each labelled "Diatessaron inferior" (fourth below). The melodic materials used by Bevin and Nanino in the other short two-part canons are similar in rhythmic shape and move in opposite directions without being exact inversions of each other. Curiously, the same melody is used in the short pieces appended by Bevin at opposite ends of the radius of the cross, with the left-hand example having additional rests before the melody begins. This means that these two notated examples actually combine to form part of the same four-part canon, notwithstanding how they are notated as two separate pairs of two-part pieces employing canonic imitation (with different numbers of rests at the outset of each). Likewise, the examples in the Nanino work at the top of the page and at the right of the radius of the cross use the same melody and form part of the same four-part canon.

For the two canons notated in the circle placed around the cross, Bevin appears to reverse the melodic contours used at the opening of Nanino's example: a downwards triadic outline (D-B-G) in the upper right-hand quadrant of Nanino's example becomes an upwards triadic outline at the same place in Bevin's example. Otherwise, both composers use very similar melodic materials to begin each of the canons notated on the circle. These details become clear in the solutions to both canons that Bevin wrote out in British Library manuscript R.M 24.c.14, fols. 81v–82r (Nanino) and fols. 83v–84r (Bevin). These solutions group the voices according to canon, not according to vocal range. This means that for each solution, the six parts of the first canon on the circle of each work are grouped at the top of the page and are followed by the six voices of the next canon notated on the circle. Further down, each of the two-part pieces is bracketed together in the Nanino example, although the Bevin example brackets together the four voices that comprise the same canon.

Nanino's canon and Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro*

The specific mode of visual presentation in these two canons by Nanino and Bevin – music notated in circular fashion around a cross – is rarely encountered in surviving musical sources, notwithstanding the long traditions of arranging music in circular or cruciform manner. One contemporary source that presents a wealth of imagery for the enigmatic display of musical erudition is Pietro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro*, published in 1613. The last section of this publication (book 22) contains forty-five compositions of diverse kinds all gathered under the heading of "enigmas musicales." Cerone included discussion of four cross canons, all of which have been considered by modern scholars.[35] One of these canons is preserved uniquely, though in fragmentary state, in Enigma number 34 in Cerone's treatise (see fig. 4).

35 Most recently in Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, where two of the four cross canons presented by Cerone are considered. All four of the cross canons are described in Katelijne Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (Habilitationsschrift, University of Munich, 2012). I am grateful to Professor Schiltz for sharing her work with me.
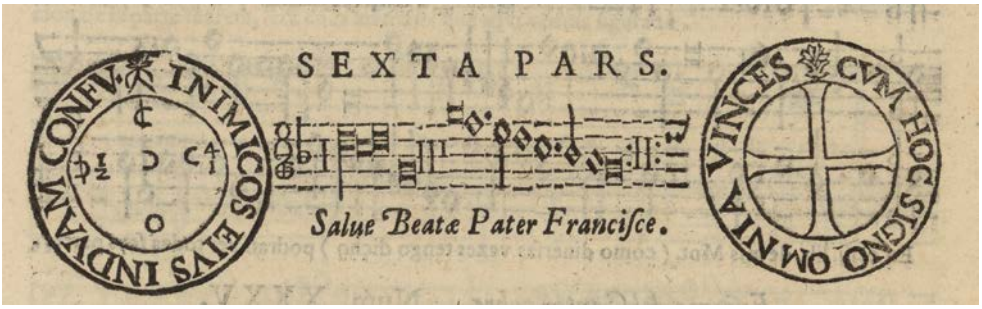


Fig. 4: *Enigma, que se declara con la señal de la Cruz*, in Pietro Cerone, *El Melopeo y maestro*, Naples: Gargano & Nucci, 1613, p. 1113. Image taken from the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-BNE shelfmark R9274).

This is from a six-part motet on the antiphon *Salve sancte pater* where the *sexta pars* has a melody that must be interpreted according to the mensuration signs arranged in the circle on the left-hand side of fig. 4. Of interest to the present study is the circle on the right-hand side. It contains a cross within a circle, resulting in a visual presentation similar to the Nanino and Bevin canons in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14. The text in this circle, "Cum hoc signo omnia vinces" ("with this sign you will conquer all") is significant because it is similar to the text that opens the first six-part circle canon in the works by Nanino and Bevin. This text alludes to the vision of Constantine before his victory at the Battle on the Milvian Bridge in 312 and his subsequent conversion to Christianity.[36]

Elsewhere in his treatise, Cerone makes passing reference to a cross canon by Nanino: "Tambien Iuan Maria Nanino tiene compuesto vna Cruz con diuersos Canones."[37] This work is considered lost by scholars who have noted this passage.[38] Bearing in mind the prevalence of canons on or near the title pages of many musical sources, it is worth viewing the canon presented at the outset of Cerone's treatise, immediately after the title page and table of contents (see fig. 5). This involves two rectangular staves enclosing a picture of the Madonna and infant Jesus. The music presented on the inner staff bears almost identical resemblance to the four short pieces appended to the arms of the cross in the canon attributed to Nanino in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14. Notwithstanding the poor state of preservation of the document represented in fig. 5, the music on the outer rectangular

36 For further discussion, see Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, Habilitationsschrift, 267–70, where the complexities of the resolution involving the mensural meter signs (themselves laid out in the shape of a cross) within the circle on the left side of this image are described fully.

37 "Iuan [=Giovanni] Maria Nanino has also composed a cross with diverse canons." In Cerone, *El Melopeo*, book 22, 1131.

38 Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 318, footnote 95; Braun, "Visuelle Elemente in der Musik," 137; Lamla, "Canons on Artistic Prints," 498. Lamla here additionally reports that Romano Micheli also made brief reference to a cross canon by Nanino on the texts "Ave crux sancta" and "Hoc signum crucis."

staff is an ornamented version of the music notated on the circle of Nanino's canon in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14. Fitted with new texts that suit the image placed in the centre of the page, the version of the work in Cerone's treatise can nevertheless be confidently identified as the same as the cruciform version of the canon with Nanino's name in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14. The latter version of the piece is most likely what is mentioned in passing by Cerone later in book 22 of *El melopeo*. Although fig. 5 can be readily accessed through the online digital repository of the holding institution, the text at the top of the page is unfortunately cropped in this (and in other online versions of the book) and obscures the identity of the composer. From other facsimiles of the book in print format, the text reads as "Modulationis virgini vocum descriptio I. M. N." The initials "I. M. N." surely refer to the "Iuan Maria Nanino," mentioned elsewhere in Cerone's book. Other surviving copies of *El melopeo* can likewise provide details of the work, such as the obscured notation on the left and right sides of the page.

Fig. 5 shows how Nanino's cross canon was repurposed to honour the Blessed Virgin Mary and her infant Jesus. New texts are provided for all of the constituent canons: "Ave Maria" for the inner rectangle containing the four short two-part canons, while the outer rectangle has "Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum," a text associated with various occasions in the church calendar including the Feasts of the Annunciation and Nativity of Our Lord.[39] The central panel is occupied by an image of Mary and the Infant Jesus flanked by a pair of angels with the inscription "Sancta Maria Mater Dei." A pair of lines immediately placed underneath offer further praise to Mary, while a short poem at the bottom of the page is headed "Offerta dell'Avttore a N.S." It is difficult to know if the author ("Avttore") of the poem was Nanino or if this text reflects a pious addition in Italian by Cerone. The economical nature of canonic notation in closed format is well suited to the restrictions of space due to textual and pictorial additions, as found in fig. 5.

The elements of craftsmanship and prestige associated with the tradition of canonic techniques can honour not only the Marian subject matter in fig. 5 but also the skills of musicians and other users of the book who comprehended the subtleties of how music, text and image come together. For example, in fig. 5, all of the musical settings and their associated texts face inwards toward the image of Mary and Jesus. This means that the lower horizontal staves of each rectangle are upside down to a reader or performer while the upper horizontal staves can be read normally. Likewise, the vertical staves of each rectangle are positioned to give homage to Mary and Jesus in the central panel: the text and music of the two rectangles can be read easily by the divine images if they looked outwards in all directions, whereas performers would need to position themselves around the page and sing the music furthest away from them.[40]

39 For further details, see the *Cantus Index* http://cantusindex.org/search?t=Ave+Maria+gratia+plena+Dominus+tecum&cid=&genre=All&ghisp=All

40 Interestingly, this aspect of notational layout in fig. 5 recalls the table layout of Bevin's cruciform canon in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14. This feature is not observed in the version of Nanino's canon found in this source.



Fig. 5: "Modulationis virgini vocum descriptio I. M. N.", in Pietro Cerone: *El Melopeo y maestro* (Naples: Gargano & Nucci, 1613 [p. iv]). Image taken from the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-BNE shelfmark R/9274).

Conclusion

It is unlikely that Bevin would have encountered a copy of the version of Nanino's canon presented at the outset of Cerone's mammoth treatise. The religious imagery and accompanying texts of fig. 5 may not have found an immediately sympathetic audience in Protestant England where distrust of the Roman Catholic faith and the intentions of its proselytising zeal were a feature of the social and political landscape in the later decades of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. Bevin lived and worked under a degree of suspicion for Catholic sympathies, and his dismissal from his post as organist and choirmaster at Bristol Cathedral several years before his death has sometimes been interpreted as a penalty for his Catholic leanings. However, no documentation survives to prove his religious sympathies or membership of the Catholic faith.[41] As with his distinguished Catholic contemporary, William Byrd, Bevin could be said to have been "walking the fine line between establishment and subversion."[42] The texts found in Nanino's cross canon may have had particular resonance for Bevin in view of his possible Roman Catholic sympathies. By evoking long traditions associated with Marian texts through his composition of a complex canon in emulation of a leading Roman composer, Bevin may have signalled his identity with a faith that could usually only be expressed in circumspect and allegorical manner during his lifetime.

The transmission of Nanino's canon via two contrasting sets of imagery – cruciform and Marian – suggests a high degree of flexibility in attitudes amongst musicians of the period for the uses to which canonic techniques could be applied.[43] The ingenuity of the canonic processes in Nanino's canon highlight the qualities of professional accomplishment that could signal a shared identity within an elite and international compositional fellowship. Visual tools supported different modes of practice within this community. While the examples by Nanino and Bevin that are preserved in British Library manuscript RM 24.c.14 draw upon cruciform imagery to highlight the religious significance of the chosen texts, their canonic procedures nevertheless provide equal service in Cerone's book for texts and imagery referring to Marian devotional practices. Presenting a dedication in the form of a prayer to Mary at the outset of *El melopeo* was a useful tool for Cerone on several levels: an acknowledgement of his commitment as a member of the clergy towards the Catholic

41 For a brief review of Bevin's biography, see Collins: *Elway Bevin*, 3–4.

42 Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 101.

43 Beyond the "sphera mundi" canon of John Bull, mentioned above, other instances of canons reappearing in different notational guises may be found in a publication by Paolo Agostini (ca. 1583–1629), maestro di cappella at St Peter's Basilica in Rome (and son-in-law of Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (1560–1623), the younger brother of Giovanni Maria). His fourth book of Mass settings includes a series of canons that are each given in closed notation (that is, on a single staff). In this book, one of these canons is placed above non-canonic Mass sections given in score format. The canons are newly texted versions of canonic Mass sections published in score format elsewhere in Agostini's output. See Paolo Agostini, *Libro quarto delle Messe in spartitura* (Rome: G. B. Robletti, 1627).

faith, a subtle spiritual counterbalance to the following (second) dedication of the book to King Philip III of Spain, and a perhaps even more subtle reference to the distinguished Roman school of composers most ably represented through Nanino's canon. An attentive, learned and musically proficient reader would have been alert to the religious themes that run "like a golden thread" throughout Cerone's treatise.[44] Upon perusing the four cross canons that are found in book 22 of *El melopeo*, including the impressive example by Ghiselin Danckerts that closes this book, the alert reader may have turned back to the Marian canon at the outset of the treatise and made the connection to Nanino's cruciform version of this work. These elaborate patterns of cross reference within the treatise closely match the long history of canon's emblematic use in musical sources over a long period. The intertwining of visual, textual and compositional elements in this tradition activated markers of status, learning, and accomplishment that could be savoured by musicians across diverse socio-cultural environments.

44 Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 311. Here Schiltz also notes references by Cerone to the cross theme through inclusion of the text of the sign of the cross in the prayers placed near the two dedications.

PIER FRANCESCO VALENTINI AND MUSICAL CANONS IN THE VISUAL CULTURE OF EARLY MODERN ROME[1]

Jason Stoessel

Pier Francesco Valentini (1586–1654), gentleman composer of Rome, lived in a time of significant change for European music. Conventional narratives in seventeenth-century music histories repeatedly emphasise the rise of new dramatic musical genres against the background of a resurgent style of solo accompanied singing and novel approaches to the affective delivery of text. Partly due to present-day historiographic biases, this musical revolution – now commonly known as the *seconda pratica* (after the term coined by none other than Claudio Monteverdi) and concentrated at first in Italian centres north of Rome – struggles to encapsulate the complex web of musical developments, including those arising out of the *prima pratica*, in the early seventeenth century in other centres like Rome.[2] An account of the ongoing cultivation of contrapuntal styles at those centres might instead provide a bridge between sixteenth-century contrapuntal works and the masterpieces of later centuries.[3] Giuseppe Gerbino has already acknowledged the complex sce-

1 This research was supported by the Australian Government through the Australian Research Council's Discovery Project funding scheme (project DP180100680). The views expressed herein are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Australian Government or Australian Research Council. I thank the anonymous reviewer for their feedback and suggested improvements.

2 This is partly on show in contemporary writers when they attempt to classify a diversity of musical styles in the first half of the century; for instance, Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 45–51. Athanasius Kircher, for example, recognises the existence of the strict contrapuntal style, which he terms *stylus canonicus*, alongside seven other styles, of which *stylus dramaticus/recitativus* is a single category. Newcomb noted the "bifurcated" nature of Roman secular culture already at the end of the sixteenth century with respect to composers like Giovanni Maria Nanino, "who wrote the most *artificioso* contrapuntal pieces in … fully prescriptive notation also wrote pioneering examples of the lighter madrigals, *madrigaletti* and *canzonette* of the last quarter of the [sixteenth] century, pieces whose notation might suggest various kinds of performing arrangements." See Anthony Newcomb, "Notions of Notation around 1600," *Il Saggiatore musicale* 22, no. 1 (2015): 22.

3 Durante's account of *artificioso* compositions stands out for offering a corrective to this historiographic bias in the case of the early seventeenth century, although his conclusions that these were "in fact composed more to be looked at and studied than to be performed … This music was not intended primarily for performance but designed for other composers capable of recognizing the artifices" is contested in this essay. It is clear that the performance of *artificioso* compositions was at least envisaged by several authors discussed below but that the musical elite also "heard" these canons thanks to notational prompts; Sergio Durante, "On *Artificioso* Compositions at the Time of Frescobaldi," in *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 195–217. Another point of departure in this respect is Noel O'Regan's observation on the continuity of the *stylus ecclesiasticus*, especially at Rome in

nario that exists at centres like seventeenth-century Rome in his monograph on Valentini and his fellow contrapuntists, whose "renewed interest in especially intricate and cerebral contrapuntal procedures was responsible for numerous collections entirely dedicated to canons and other musical puzzles (*obblighi*)."[4] Laurence Wuidar has also demonstrated how the vigorous exploration of enigmatic canon and other devices in musical notation and composition accompanies transcendent hermeticism and esotericism in early modern European culture.[5] Although the reframing of the history of seventeenth-century music in Rome is a topic that requires further investigation and critical evaluation elsewhere, this essay seeks to contribute to this endeavour by situating Valentini and his canonic compositions within the visual culture of early modern Rome. It will be argued that Valentini and his contemporaries belong to a social and artistic space between the refined connoisseur (or *virtuoso*) and the professional musician. Their technical and creative prowess, as well as their social vantage point, provided them with a unique and authoritative role in early modern Roman society.

Valentini's social status already sets him apart from many contemporary composers. By his own admission, he had no need to sing or play music for a living.[6] Valentini's musical training must have benefited from instruction by some of the master contrapuntists of his age. Valentini's biographer, Mirella Casini Cortesi, notes that Antimo Liberati stated that the young Valentini had received his musical training from the "two Nanini," namely Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (c.1553–1618) and his elder brother Giovanni Maria (c.1544–1607), both students of Palestrina.[7] Giovanni

---

the Pontifical chapel; Noel O'Regan, "The Church Triumphant: Music in the Liturgy," in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 295–300. Romano Micheli's Angelic Canon (discussed below), for example, was widely known in eighteenth-century German-speaking regions; see Daniel R. Melamed, "A Thirty-Six Voice Canon in the Hand of C.P.E. Bach," in *Bach Studies 2*, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 107–18.

4 Giuseppe Gerbino, *Canoni* ed *Enigmi: Pier Francesco Valentini e l'artificio canonico nella prima metà del Seicento* (Rome: Edizioni Torre D'Orfeo, 1995), 7; On the term obbligo, see "Obbligo." Grove Music Online. 2001; Accessed 1 Jun. 2020. https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020203.

5 Laurence Wuidar, *Canons énigmes et hiéroglyphes musicaux dans l'Italie du 17e siecle* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008); also see Michael Lamla, "Musical Canons on Artistic Prints from the 16th to 18th Centuries," *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 2 (1995): 479–510.

6 As Valentini notes in his *La musica inalzata* (Barb. Lat. 4418), he has never profited from his music despite spending many hundred scudi on it; see Mariella Casini Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini: profilo di un musicista barocco," *Nuova Revista Musicale Italiana* 17, no. 3–4 (1983): 540.

7 Ibid., 530. Giovanni Maria's role and influence in the musical activities of the confraternities at Rome should not be underestimated; see Noel O'Regan, "Giovanni Maria Nanino and the Roman Confraternities of his Time," in *Atti e memorie della Società Tibertina di storia e d'arte: Atti della Giornata internazionale di studio, Tivoli, 26 October 2007*, ed. G. Monari and F. Vizzacarro (Tivoli: 2008), 113–127. Recently, the composer has been rehabilitated as a leading proponent of madrigal composition in Rome, c.1570–1620; see Anthony Newcomb, "The New Roman Style and Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Journal of Musicology* 36, no. 2 (2019): 167–194. Most recently on Giovanni Maria's life and works, see Maurizio Pastori, *Giovanni Maria Nanino* (Rome: IBIMUS - BNCR, 2016).

Bernardino had served as *maestro di cappella* from 1591 to 1608, and Giovanni Maria sometimes as his substitute, at the important central Roman church of San Luigi de' Francesi, which was a short distance from Valentini's family home. Giovanni Maria, who served as a papal singer from 1577 to his death, also owned a house near the church of San Luigi de' Francesi, which he may have inhabited as early as 1575.[8] Valentini might have also encountered in his maturity the slightly older Roman compatriot and ardent contrapuntist Romano Micheli (c.1575–1659/1660) during the latter's short tenure of the same post at San Luigi de' Francesi, 1625–1627.[9] It seems that Valentini was a late bloomer as a composer and that he soon abandoned the path taken with his first steps in public composition. In his own words, his first two works were small operas "in stile recitativo scenico", *La transformatione di Dafne* (1623) and *La Metra* (1628), whose music is now lost. The first was performed in the Palazzo Barberini during the carnival in the year of its composition. The publication of his famous polymorphous canon *Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte* with 2,000 resolutions (1629) and his enigmatic polymorphous canon *Il Nodo di Salomone* (1631) signalled new directions. Most of Valentini's surviving compositions, which include numerous canons, madrigals, motets and other settings of sacred texts, nonetheless remained unpublished until after his death.[10] Provisions set out in Valentini's will ensured their publication after his death.

Valentini's fastidiously curated but limited program of self-publication of his musical compositions raises several questions. One needs to ask what motivation lay behind the publication of his two puzzle canons in 1629 and 1631 on sacred themes and with accompanying sacred visual iconography. I contend that answers to these questions can be found in Valentini's autograph collection of canons, his *Canoni di diversi studi*.[11] This collection reveals the composer's overtly religious character. It also warrants comparison with contemporary preoccupations with the collecting and the display of artworks and prints in early modern Italy. Notated canon, as a visual device in monumental and other forms of more modest imagery, regularly performs the role of evoking a sonification of sacred space in early seventeenth-century Rome.[12] Canon's place in this sacred visual and sonic space interfaces with contemporary concerns in natural philosophy and the mathematical representation

8 Pastori, *Giovanni Maria Nanino*, 55.

9 Saverio Franchi, "MICHELI, Romano," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti (2010). Available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/romano-micheli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

10 For Valentini's works list, see: Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini," 547–559. His canons are catalogued in Michael Lamla, *Kanonkünste im barocken Italien, insbesondere in Rom* (Berlin: Verlag im Internet, 2003), iii: 503–578. An online catalogue of Valentini's canons will be soon available at *The Canons Database,* ed. Denis Collins and Jason Stoessel, http://www.canons.org.au/.

11 Pier Francesco Valentini, *Canoni di diversi studi di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano et una messa della feria del medesimo in canone*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4428.

12 In this respect, I extend Newcomb's proposal for "a kind of silent reading for some kind of music" in the Roman musical world beyond his focus of Giovanni Maria Nanino's madrigals to the Roman canonic repertoire; Newcomb, "Notions of Notation around 1600," 7.

of the natural world, which in part signal the advent of the European scientific revolution.[13] In this sense, canon also participates in the intersection of the scientific, hermetic-sacred, and classical antiquity which typifies much learned discourse in early modern Rome.[14]

Two examples serve to illustrate the use of notated canon to signify a visual representation of musical space in early modern Rome and to highlight this phenomenon's relationship with other forms of contemporary thought, especially science and mathematics. The first is a canon painted on a ceiling at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome around 1610. I know of no published discussion of this canon despite the fact that it is in plain sight today and might also be said to signal publicly contemporary interests in canonic composition at Rome. The second example, which belongs to the final decade of the mature phase of canonic composition in Rome, appears in the allegorical frontispiece that Athanasius Kircher commissioned at Rome in 1649 for his *Musurgia universalis*. Published in the following year, the *Musurgia universalis* was widely distributed, along with Kircher's other publications, in Europe and the New World, especially through the Jesuit polymath's extensive network of correspondents and associates.[15] Together, these public examples of canons in the visual culture of early modern Rome frame the fervid pursuit of canonic composition by Valentini and his contemporaries. They also signal the role of music in contemporary preoccupations with new knowledge or the collection of knowledge about the human and indeed natural world.[16]

The Tuscan artist Domenico Cresti, also known as "Il Passignano", included, as mentioned, a notated canon in his ceiling of the sacristy of Santa Maria Maggiore (fig. 1), which he completed between 1608 and 1610 under the commission of Pope Paul V.[17] The anonymous canon, which is shown on a banderole suspended by a pair of cherubim above an angelic concert, appears on the ceiling directly above the centre of the room that is commonly called the canons' choir.[18] From that vantage point one can also see the centrepiece of Passignano's decorative program, *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin*. Appropriately, the anonymous composer

13 Laurence Wuidar, "Musique et démonologie au XVIIème siècle de Jean Bodin à Pier Francesco Valentini," *Studi Musicali* 36, no. 1 (2007): 65–95.

14 Naomi J. Barker, "Music, Antiquity and Self-Fashioning in the Accademia dei Lincei," *The Seventeenth Century* 30, no. 4 (2015): 375–390.

15 Paula Findlen, "A Jesuit's Books in the New World: Athanasius Kircher and His American Readers," in *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, ed. Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2004), 329–364.

16 See, for example, Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museum, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

17 I am most grateful to Noel O'Regan for bringing this canon to my attention.

18 Nissman concludes that while Passignano was responsible for the design of the ceiling, it was probably executed by assistants in his workshop; see J. L. Nissman, "Domenico Cresti (il Passignano), 1559–1638: A Tuscan Painter In Florence and Rome" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1979), 320. No such distinction is made in C. A. Thomas, "Domenico Cresti, 'Il Passignano' (1559–1638), and the Roman 'Rinascita': Studies in his Religious paintings for Rome between 1589 and 1616" (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1995), 208–226.



Fig. 1: Domenico Cresti "Il Passignano" (1559–1638) and assistants, Ceiling of "Canon's Choir," 1608–1610, fresco. Rome: S. Maria Maggiore. Image: C. Stoessel. Used by kind permission.

sets the words "Gaude Maria a Deo electa" as a four-part invertible canon. It can be resolved as an infinite *canon per tonos super* with canonic entries at the octave, fifth, and twelfth below (see fig. 2 for my solution).[19] Papal singer and composer Giovanni Maria Nanino used the same combination of canonic techniques in a set of commemorative canons that survive in the *Liber del camerlengo* of 1605.[20] It is quite possible that Nanino, who had held the post of *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore 1575–77, or one of his students composed this canon for Passignano.[21]

19 For other examples of *canon per tonos*, see Edward E. Lowinsky, "Music in Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*: Origin and History of the *canon per tonos*," in *Titian: His World and his Legacy*, ed. David Rosand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 225–263. Also search for canon type "canon per tonos" in *The Canons Database*, ed. Collins and Stoessel.

20 See Denis Collins' contribution in this volume.

21 Pastori, *Giovanni Maria Nanino*, 51–54. On Nanino's thirty-year career in the papal chapel, see ibid., 111–163.
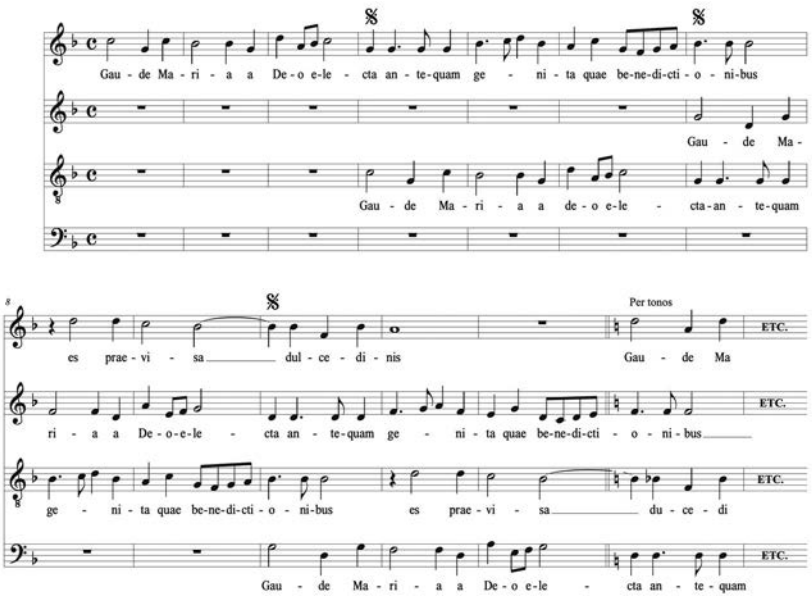


Fig. 2: First 12 bars of *Gaude Maria a Deo Electa*. Transcribed by J. Stoessel.



Fig. 3: Domenico Cresti "Il Passignano" (1559–1638) and assistants, *The Divine Eye*, 1608–1610, fresco. Rome: Sacristy of S. Maria Maggiore. Image: C. Stoessel. Used by kind permission.

The canon in Passignano's ceiling functions as part of a suite of religious imagery in the sacristy, particularly the Trinitarian symbol of divine eye within a triangle (fig. 3) and nearby Marian iconography. This imagery is conventional in the sense of how it portrays the Virgin "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Book of Revelation 12:1).[22] The moon is shown following a tradition with roots in the thirteenth century as a stylised upturned crescent. In this respect, it contrasts to Ludovico Cigoli's *Assumption of the Virgin*, which was completed just a few years later in 1612 in the nearby Pauline chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore. As a tribute to this compatriot and friend Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), with whom Cigoli had collaborated, the artist paints a realistic moon, complete with natural imperfections like craters, in the place of the stylised crescent.[23] Founder of the Accademia dei Lincei, Federico Cesi (1585–1630), confirms the intention of this artistic gesture in a letter written in the year of the painting's completion to Galileo.[24] The epistemological significance of this painting, which points to Galileo's other discoveries of an "imperfect and corruptible" universe contrary to the prevailing Aristotelian episteme, has been stressed by several previous authors so as to not require us to revisit the argument here.[25] Galileo's sphere of influence also extends to Passignano, with whom Galileo corresponded in 1611 concerning the proper way to record sunspots so they might be compared to his own observations.[26] It is quite possible that the *canon per tonos* in Passignano's sacristy cycle, when considered against the long history of this canonic technique's Platonic-Pythagorean symbolism, may take the place of Cigoli's realistic moon.

Contrary to the push toward ontologically disruptive naturalism in Cigoli's *Assumption of the Virgin*, symbolism continued to be explored in imagery and music of the first half of the seventeenth century. The well-known frontispiece to Athanasius

22 As noted in Thomas, "Domenico Cresti, 'Il Passignano' (1559–1638), and the Roman 'Rinascita'," 214. In an article on earlier musical settings of the prayer by the originator of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Blackburn affirms the association of this iconography with the Book of Revelations; see Bonnie J. Blackburn, "The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124, no. 2 (1999): 185.

23 Erwin Panofsky, *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954), 5. The *Assumption of the Virgin* is reproduced in black and white as Figure 2 in ibid., and appears widely in literature on Galileo, for example, Mario Livio, *Galileo and the Science Deniers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020), Figure 5 (colour plate insert). On Cigolo's preparatory drawing, see Miles Chappell, "Cigoli, Galileo, and Invidia," *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (1975): 94–95.

24 Panofsky, *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts*, 5.

25 This is succinctly encapsulated by Freedberg when discussing the supernova of 1604: "To begin with, the nova called into question the standard Christian and Aristotelian view that the heavens were eternal and incorruptible. According to the then orthodox combination of Aristotelian and Ptolemaic cosmology, the earth stood motionless at the center of the universe." See David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 81.

26 Chappell, "Cigoli, Galileo, and Invidia," 93, note 13; Galileo Galilei and Christoph Scheiner, *On Sunspots*, trans. Eileen Reeves and Albert Van Helden (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 75–76.

Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (1650) has often been dismissed for its allegorical artifice, although the reading presented here questions that conclusion (fig. 4).[27] Kircher commissioned his compatriot Johann Paul Schor (1615–1674), also known as Giovanni Paolo Tedesco, to prepare a drawing of the frontispiece in the previous year, which was in turn engraved by Jean Baron (1616?–c.1650).[28] The allegorical scene shows Harmonia in the centre, seated on a celestial sphere with the instruments of Apollo and Minerva in either hand. Below and to the left Pythagoras appears and to the right Lady Music. Both are part of a European musical iconography that stretches back to the Middle Ages.[29] Pythagoras points to a trio of blacksmiths, a reference to his legendary discovery of the proportional relations between consonant tones. Quotes from the Book of Job and Vergil's *Eclogues* are present, the latter a reference to Rome's imperial past. There is an uncanny resemblance between Passignano's decorative program on the ceiling of the canons' choir of Santa Maria Maggiore and Kircher's frontispiece, particularly the two seraphim holding up a banderole showing the Angelic Canon of contemporary Roman contrapuntalist and extraordinary proponent of canonic techniques, Romano Micheli. At the top of the Kircherian frontispiece the trinitarian symbol surrounded by cherubim provides further parallels with decorative program of the sacristy of Santa Maria Maggiore. Schor's frontispiece lacks Marian imagery, though Micheli's polymorphous canon on the Angelic hymn, *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*, provides a clear biblical reference. Indeed, Kircher himself waxes lyrical about the canon's amazing capacity to be sung not only by 36 voices (nine four-voice choruses), but even 144,000 voices, a number whose biblical significance is not lost upon his readers.[30] In summary, Schor, a younger man, explores the same sort of intersection between musical and visual symbology witnessed forty years earlier in Passignano's decorative program.

Valentini's receptivity to visual representations of music like those found in Santa Maria Maggiore and Kircher's frontispiece is amply demonstrated in his surviving writings. In his *La musica inalzata*, whose manuscript Cortesi argues was completed in 1645,[31] Valentini discusses at length a canon at the unison that was carved into the tombstone of the pontifical singers in the Chiesa Nuova (Santa Maria in Vallicella), Rome.[32] He excoriates the composer for writing a canon of such "infantile simplicity," full of "grammatical errors." Although Valentini does not name the composer, his fellow contrapuntist Micheli shows no hesitation in

27 Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta*, 2 vols. (Rome: Ex typographia haeredum Francisci Corbelletti, 1650).

28 Pearl M. Ehrlich, "Giovanni Paolo Schor (with) Volume II: Illustrations" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1975), 15 and 694–696.

29 The medieval precedents for this iconography (and iconology) are discussed in Jason Stoessel, "The Harmonious Blacksmith, Lady Music and Minerva: The Iconography of Secular Song in the Late Middle Ages," in *Music, Myth, and Story in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Katherine Butler and Samantha Bassler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), 65–77.

30 Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 414.

31 Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini: profilo di un musicista barocco," 558.

32 Pier Francesco Valentini, *Due discorsi et una epistola opere musicale di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4418.



Fig. 4: Johann Paul Schor (1615–1674) and Jean Baron (1616?–c.1650), Frontispiece of Kircher's *Musurgia universalis*, c.1650, printed line art. Rome: Ex typographia haeredum Francisci Corbelletti.

his *Memoriale*, which was sent most likely in 1644 to Innocent X, in naming Gregorio Allegri, the singer and composer to the Pontifical chapel.[33] In addition to criticising its contrapuntal faults, Valentini was incensed that a musical setting of the sacred text "Cantabimus canticum novum" was set down on the floor to be trampled underfoot in the most unbecoming way.[34]

A strong sense of the propriety of figurative representations of music in artworks and monuments, predicated on a belief in music's nobility or sacrality, is on display in another episode that Valentini narrates in his *La musica inalzata*. Indeed, the status of music, or a particular style of music that Valentini endorsed, is captured in the title of his discourse, which can be translated as "Elevated Music," or even "Sublime Music." In noting that some do not give music the respect that it deserves, Valentini narrates a time when he encountered a still life by an "undiscerning" and unnamed painter. The painting depicted a page of music along with an arrangement of quotidian food stuffs including fruit, melons, and anchovies. Valentini recalls that he was so displeased and insulted by this pictorial composition that he immediately purchased the painting before destroying and burning it except for a portion depicting some of the fruit.[35] This seemingly extreme and violent response, along with his harsh words for Allegri's canon on the floor of the Chiesa Nuova, provides a glimpse into Valentini's psychology which betrays a sincere belief in the sacrality of music. Clearly the value of music, especially contrapuntal music, for Valentini parallels, and overlaps, many of his other strongly held beliefs in the context of an early modern reformist Rome.

Valentini's sensitivity to the dignified use of notated music in visual programs is further on show in his *Canoni di diversi studi*.[36] This unique collection of the composer's own canons is found today among a group of autograph manuscripts in the Barberini Latin manuscript collection of the Vatican Library.[37] The collection is

33 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5370, fol. 155v; also see Raffaele Casimiri, "Romano Micheli e la Cappella Sistina del suo tempo," *Note d'Archivio per la Storia musicale* III (1926): 240–241; Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini," 558; Gerbino, *Canoni ed Enigmi*, 90–91.

34 Also see Raffaele Casimiri, "Il sepolcro dei cantori pontifici nelle Chiesa Nuova di Roma," *Note d'Archivio* 3, no. 4 (1926): 221–232; Michael Lamla, "Pier Francesco Valentini, Romano Micheli, Sante Naldini und der Grabstein der päpstlichen Sanger," in *Studien zur italienischen Musikgeschichte*, ed. Friedrich Lippmann (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1998), 115–144.

35 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4418, p. 177 [§443 in marg] : Io dunque se bene circa l'interesse non hò obligo alcuno alla musica conoscendo il ualor suo, e conoscendo quello, che ella è; l'honoro, e riverisco, e non posso soffrire di uederla disprezzare e conculcare; Di modo che una volta hauendo Io ueduto un quadro fatto da uno indiscreto Pittore, dove hà melloni<sic> et altri frutti, vi era dipinta una carta di musica con alcune alici dentro; tanto mi spiacque e commosse quella indegnità che hauendolo compriato, subbito<sic> ruppi e brugiai<sic> l'indecente pittura, riseruandomi solamente i frutti che ui erano.

36 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4428; Wuidar, *Canons énigmes et hiéroglyphes musicaux dans l'Italie du 17e siecle*, 105–146.

37 It is not known when Valentini's manuscripts entered the Barberini library, though it is likely to coincide with the late 17th-century phase in Roman music culture identified by Margaret Murata during which musical patronage shifted increasingly from musical performances to collecting musical scores; Margaret Murata, "Pier Francesco Valentini on Tactus and Proportion," in

as marvellous in its array of different types of ingenious canonic techniques as it is for its visual program of line art prints. Almost every canon in the collection is accompanied by a related devotional print, excised from its original location and meticulously assembled to form a complementary decorative program. As with several of his other manuscripts, Valentini has adopted the impressive royal folio format, each paper page measuring approximately 50 centimetres tall by 39 centimetres wide. Fifty-five line prints are distributed throughout, some repeated thrice or twice, but always as part of an integrated musico-visual program in which the visual iconography corresponds to the text set to music.

Wuidar has noted the hermetic aspects of the *Canone a cinque voci all'unisono sopra le vocali Regina caeli laetare* (fig. 5).[38] The musical subject of this canon is derived from the text using the technique of *sopra le vocali* (otherwise known as *soggetto cavato*), where the vowels of each syllable are mapped to the corresponding solmisation syllable. Accordingly, the phrase "Regina coeli letare" becomes *re, mi, fa, sol, mi, re, fa, re*. Appropriately, Valentini accompanies this canon with Marian imagery that mirrors those found respectively in the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of Passignano and Cignoli in Santa Maria Maggiore. A musical staff drawn in the shape of an up-turned U in the *Canone a dieci voci all'unison sopra le vocali Quasi aurora consurgens* on the following page (fig. 6) serves as a conceit alluding to Marian iconography of the crescent moon. Valentini sets to music a verse from the "Song of Songs" using the same technique of *sopra le vocali*: "Quae est ista quae progreditur, quasi aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata?" (Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners? Vulgate, Canticum Canticorum 6:9, KJV Song of Solomon, 6:10). Valentini and his contemporaries would have recognised this liturgical reference to the text of the well-known antiphon from the Office of the Assumption of Virgin. Valentini uses a similar notational reference to Marian iconography to augment musical meaning in his copy of the *Canone a quattro voci Ave Maria* (p. 14). In one of the few examples from outside the devotional program of the *Canoni*, Valentini still manages to weave image and music together through his favourite device in this *Canone a cinque voci sopra vocali Radii soli* (p. 25).[39] In accomplishing a musico-visual display of his family emblem, Valentini seems to manipulate the *sopra le vocali* melody – since the same solmisation syllables can appear in different places – so that the name of the Valentini family climbs melodically up from the sublunar to almost touch the sun.

Frescobaldi Studies, ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 327–350. The earliest catalogue of the Barberini library (Barb. Lat. 3159–3160), prepared by Carlo Moroni between 1637 and 1661, lists Valentini's manuscripts, suggesting that they enter during the composer's lifetime or more like shortly after his death. Barb. lat. 4418 is listed at item 3289 and Barb. lat. 4428 as item 3014. Also see Lowell Lindgren and Margaret Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2018), xliv–xlv.

38 Laurence Wuidar, "Imbrication de l'image, du texte et de la musique dans un corpus de prières énigmatiques à la Vierge," *Word & Image Interactions* 6 (2009): 63–64.

39 Ibid., 65–66.

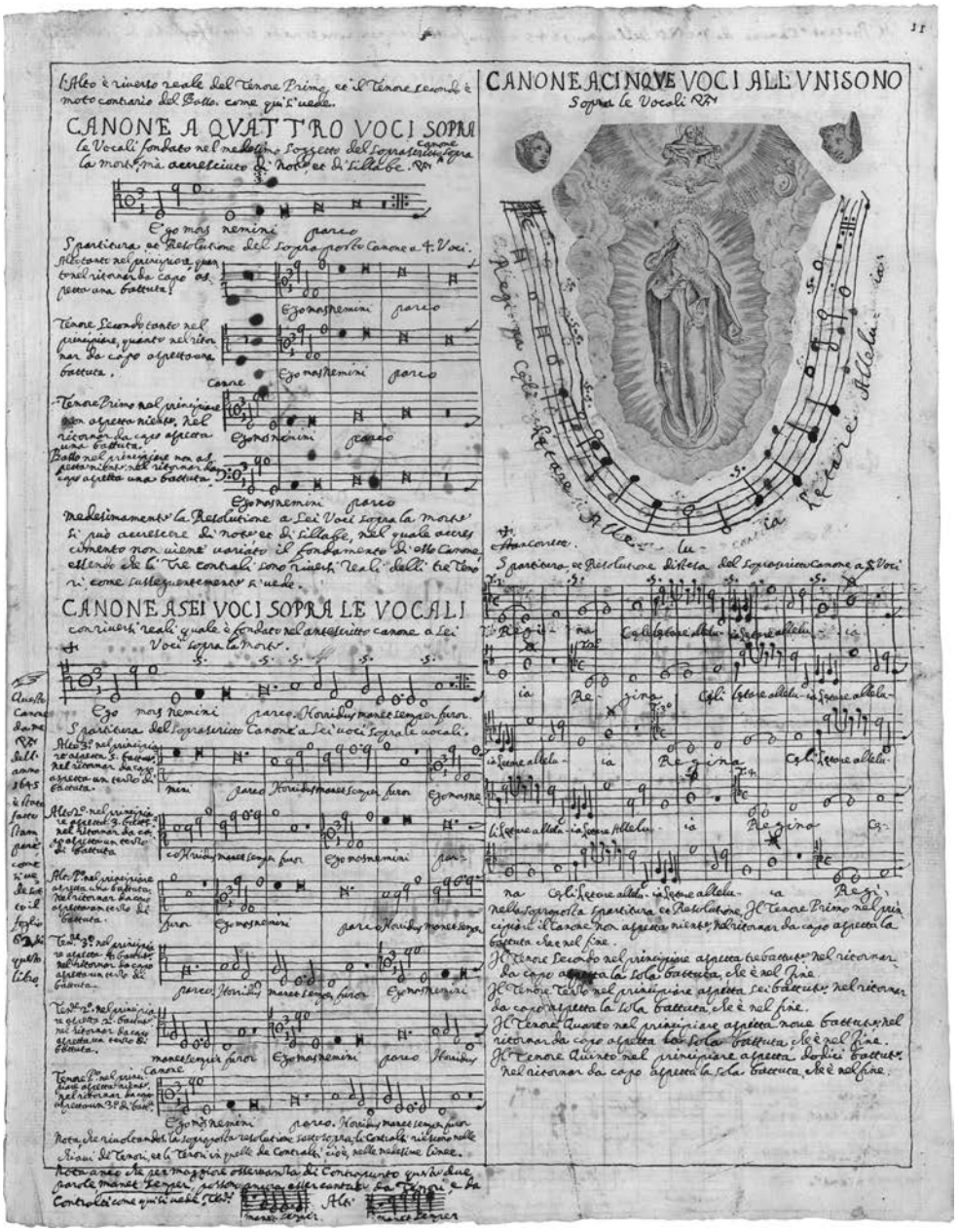


Fig. 5: Pier Francesco Valentini with anonymous artist and engraver, *Canone a cinque voci all'unisono sopra le vocali Regina caeli laetare*, published 1645, copied c.1650, manuscript and pasted-in line art print on paper. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4428, p. 11. © 2023 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
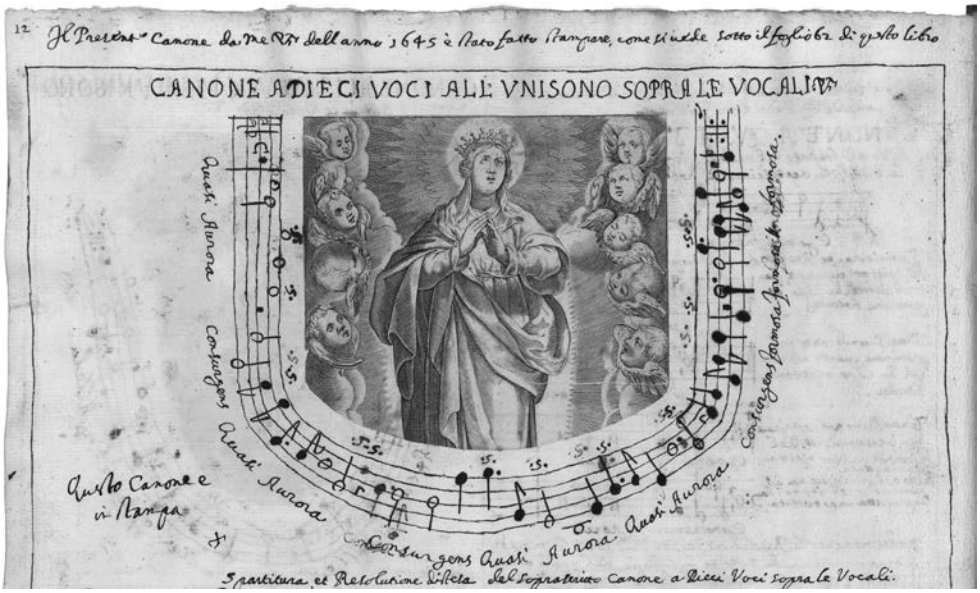


Fig. 6: Pier Francesco Valentini with anonymous artist and engraver, *Canone a dieci voci all'unison sopra le vocali Quasi aurora consurgens*, published 1645, copied c.1650, manuscript and pasted-in line art print on paper. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4428, p. 12. © 2023 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Valentini's collection of canons and religious prints in his *Canoni di diversi studi* belongs to a culture of collecting in early modern Europe. The term 'culture of collecting' refers not only to the collection, organisation and display of artworks, artefacts, and natural specimens in early galleries and museums, as was abundantly on display in seventeenth-century Rome.[40] It also encompasses the conspicuous amassing and exchange of household and personal goods from the middle of the sixteenth century. This phenomenon is amply demonstrated by the notary records and private account books from seventeenth-century Rome.[41] This wealth of documentation, which includes a broad segment of the Roman middle class, forms the basis of Renata Ago's account of seventeenth-century material culture in the eternal city. Rather than representing a simple emulation of the noble classes, Ago illustrates how social and gendered behaviours reveal various attitudes to the keeping of objects, which are valued more for their aesthetic, pleasure-giving worth

40 See, for example, Findlen, *Possessing Nature*.

41 Renata Ago, *Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, trans. Bradford Bouley, Corey Tazzara, and Paula Findlen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), originally published as Renata Ago, *Gusto delle cose: Una storia degli oggetti nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 2006). I will refer to the English version in this essay. Also see the collection of inventories from seventeenth-century Roman households published in Luigi Spezzaferro and Alessandro Giammaria, *Archivio del collezionismo romano* (Pisa: Edizioni della normale, 2008).

or novelty, than for their usefulness or monetary exchange value.[42] Although this phenomenon, which Ago refers to as a "gusto for things" (*il gusto delle cose*), might be found in earlier centuries, the increased facility of material consumerism in the seventeenth century, especially in Rome, witnesses its cultivation at unprecedented levels.

Andrew Dell'Antonio provides an highly relevant reading of musical listening in early modern Italy which responds both to changing behaviours in the early modern Italian cultivation of music and the culture of collecting. Significantly, Dell'Antonio introduces his reader to the concept of "aural collecting." In responding to Margaret Murata's observation that a shift occurred c.1680 from the patronage of musical performances to the collecting of notated musical compositions,[43] Dell'Antonio proposes "a transition in the early seventeenth century from a conceptualisation of music as one of celebratory ephemera to a separation and 'objectification,' as it were, of music – an attempt by connoisseurs of the early *Seicento* to collect and evaluate sonic experiences."[44] Dell'Antonio's analysis of the music culture of *virtuosi* resonates with this present essay in its conclusion that the process of aural collecting resulted in "the connoisseurs' attempt to characterise a sonic experience as analogous to a visual artwork and thus equally dependent on the perspective of the elite recipient – and the sharing of that perspective among sophisticated peers – for its significance and signification."[45] Valentini participates as an expert contrapuntist who seeks to demonstrate through his canonic creations his own learnedness. Moreover, he acts as an elite intermediary between the sonic experience of music and its compositional techniques through the economy of a collection of notated canons paired with printed line artworks that serve to amplify and complement the musical text setting. Valentini's assemblage of canons within a conscious visual program suggests that his *Canoni di diversi studi* is not simply a composer's self-styled collected works, but musico-visual program of self-representation with the context of mid-century Roman culture.

Valentini's emphasis on religious prints (and settings of religious texts) in this *Canoni di diversi studi* intersects with recent scholarship on the visual culture in early modern Rome. This scholarship centres on an understanding of early modern art that acknowledges the continuation of the medieval phenomenon of effective religious images and their cult in the face of an emergent modernity that instead privileges the aesthetic experience of art and the cult of its creators. Frances Gage specifically addresses this conundrum at the heart of religious imagery from early

42 Ago, *Gusto for Things*, 8.

43 Margaret Murata, "Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture and Signs of Its Place in Society," in *XIV Congresso della Societa Internazionale di Musicologia*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Biaconi, and F. Alberto Gallo (Bologna: E.D.T. Edizioni di Torino, 1987), 272–284.

44 Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 36.

45 Ibid.

seventeenth-century Rome. Gage states her aim is to re-examine "the degree to which the idea of painting as an agent intervening in beholders' daily lives coexisted with the idea of painting as an aesthetic object."[46] Her point of departure is Hans Belting's argument that cult imagery gave way to artistic imagery during the Reformation. Briefly, Belting argues that medieval imagery sought to embody the presence of a saint or holy being by retaining iconographical models commonly held to have been set down in the Apostolic church, for example the portrait of the Virgin Mary or *Hodegetria* attributed to St. Luke.[47] The miraculous nature of these images, which led armies to victory, survived fires, or healed the sick, further contributed to their cult. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden and Alexander Nagel likewise argue that in early modern Italy, the cult object's powers were stripped away to become an art object for aesthetic contemplation, an artwork in the modern sense of the word whose estimation was transferred to the cult of the artist.[48] Gage instead proposes that seventeenth-century Rome witnesses a resurgence of the cult image alongside the artwork. In contrast to an evolutionary model, in which the cult image is replaced by the art image, Gage follows a synchronic model where a medieval efficacy of images runs alongside a distinctly modern aesthetic appreciation.[49]

A discussion of the efficacy of images, as well as their proper use and composition, occurred at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), and was most clearly and fervidly articulated in the following years by Gabriele Paleotti in his *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* (1582).[50] In setting out to codify Tridentine expectations for pictorial art and patrons of art, Paleotti turned to philosophy and medical discourse to defend religious imagery as effective images capable of imprinting themselves upon the imagination of viewers. In Gage's examination of the use of images in seventeenth-century Rome, the therapeutic benefits of images also pervade the extensive writings of the Sienese physician, art broker and connoisseur Giulio Mancini (1559–1630). Mancini's long career at the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia (in the Trastevere area of Rome) from 1592 to his death and his appointment as papal physician to Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–1644; secularly Maffeo Barberini) in 1623 situates him at the core of Roman artistic society in this period. Mancini's *Consid-*

46 Frances Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome: Giulio Mancini and the Efficacy of Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2016), 3.

47 Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

48 Ibid., 458–490; Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, "From Cult Images to the Cult of Images: The Case of Raphael's Altarpieces," in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 165–189; Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 7.

49 Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome*, 2. More generally on the range of responses to images within a long chronological frame, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

50 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alla imagini sacre e profane* (Bologna: per Alessandro Benacci, 1582). This treatise is available in an English translation: Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012).

erations on Pictures (*Considerazioni sulla pittura,* c.1619–1624) serves as a central witness to current attitudes to the collection, care and display of images for the benefits of viewers.[51] The *Considerations* circulated widely in manuscript in the seventeenth century, facilitated by Mancini's position as an art broker and official in the papal court. Its chapter "Rules for buying, displaying and conserving images" (*Regole per comprare, collocare e conservare le pitture*) provides interesting advice to private gentlemen for taking care with the display of certain pictures to certain persons and where they should be hung in a house.[52] While landscapes and cosmographic pictures can be placed in public places, pictures dedicated to lascivious subjects need to be kept in a secluded place where access is limited by the "father of the house". Pictures of pagan deities can hang in lower floor common rooms, portraits of popes and rulers in common spaces, and religious paintings in the antechamber and bed chamber, where private devotions may occur. Tellingly, in justifying the therapeutic effect of images, Mancini refers to the writings of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) who distinguishes pictures not only in terms of where to place them but by whom they may be seen depending upon their temperament, emotional state, age, sex, and other factors of character, whether those that they already possess or are in need of development.[53] Gage highlights the role of humanist medicine, like that transmitted by Ficino, in Mancini's thought, particularly the ancient theory of humours, whereby "pictures represent a medical aid to those suffering from an excess of those humors."[54] Lascivious paintings need to be kept in private places where they might aid in the procreation of "beautiful, healthy, and vigorous children."[55] Paintings of civil deeds, peace, war or illustrious persons on the other hand should be on public display in the hall or antechamber (waiting room) where they might inspire the character of viewers to similar civic action or status. In summary, Gage writes:

> … the belief in the curative and prophylactic potential of painting was not restricted to cult images or to objects destined for particular audiences, such as women, whose lives were regularly put a risk during childbirth, or even to single collections. Rather, Roman collectors and audiences in the period following Trent viewed painting as a fundamental aid, the medieval benefits of which enhanced the lives of men and women in body and mind and facilitated their performance of virtuous actions that contributed to civic harmony and well-being.[56]

---

51 Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, 2 vols. (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1956–1957).

52 Ibid., vol. 1, 139–148; The English translation used for quotes in this article is Theron Bowcutt Butler, "Giulio Mancini's 'Considerations on Painting'" (Phd diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1972), 199–216.

53 Ficino's views on the therapeutic qualities and effects of music are discussed in Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Towards a Historiography of Other* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), Chapters 4 and 5.

54 Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome*, 6.

55 Butler, "Giulio Mancini's 'Considerations on Painting'," 207.

56 Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome*, 15–16.

Michael Bury points out earlier that Mancini had offered pertinent although brief advice concerning the beneficial or "pharmacological" use and display of drawings and prints.[57] He cites the passage in which Mancini writes (my emphasis):

> In the house of a private gentleman distinguished by apartments and a variety of people in the family, this method will be observed: separate books of hand drawings will be made according to the subject matter, period, size of volume, nation and medium, pen pencil and charcoal, *acquarella*, *chiaro scuro*, oil studies, **and the same with engraved drawings as well**. Thus one may be master of displaying them with ease for their enjoyment with pleasure by the viewers. These books will be used in the most secluded places where they may be seen in comfort.[58]

Bury observes that "the classification and ordering of the collection, mounted in albums … would make it easy for the owner to show and implicitly enable him to control who saw what."[59] The physician's remarks have a direct bearing on this essay's discussion of Valentini's collection of canons and their closely related images.

In view of Mancini's remarks on the collecting of drawings and prints, and in the context more general of the culture of collecting in early modern Rome, Valentini's *Canoni di diversi studi* may be understood as the collection of a private gentleman, who is both an expert contrapuntist and a connoisseur of art, especially art consisting of sacred imagery. The *Canoni di diversi studi* seems to represent that type of private book destined for display to guests and selected company for their "enjoyment with pleasure." At the same time, the type of guest that would most benefit from this collection is one clearly able to grasp the significance of Valentini's musical *artificioso* settings of mostly religious texts, which explore esoteric canonic techniques such as *sopra la vocale*, in conjunction with related imagery. Valentini has carefully collected and curated his collection so as to project a version of his own musical, religious, and social identity (especially evident in the presence of canons on his name saints and family arms) to the viewer. In this sense, Valentini's treatment of subject matter closely resembles Mancini's advice on the collecting of art and drawings. There is one final piece of quite substantial evidence that illustrates Valentini's extended participation in the culture of collecting in early modern Rome.

The inventory of goods in Valentini's "large" apartment off the Piazza di San Pantaleo was made after his death in 1654. It illustrates his zeal for collecting and displaying images in his private home. (The Appendix to this essay provides an

57 Michael Bury, "Giulio Mancini and the Organisation of a Print Collection in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy," in *Collecting Prints and Drawing in Europe, c. 1500–1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 79–84.

58 Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, i: 143; translation: Butler, "Giulio Mancini's 'Considerations on Painting'," 206.

59 Bury, "Giulio Mancini," 82.

edition of the hitherto unpublished inventory.)[60] Previously only considered in terms of musical instruments listed therein, the inventory lists no less than 262 pictures of varying sizes and shapes squeezed into just four main rooms (see table 1).[61] Materially, they are divided into larger paintings (*quadri*), smaller paintings (*quadretti/quadrucci*), octagonal shaped paintings (*ottangoli*), round pictures, and a copperplate. Many pictures were on canvas and paper, and several were clearly drawings and even prints. Most were framed, often in plain black or white frames, regularly fully gilded or with gold details.[62] The majority were on religious topics, including nine Madonnas, three Mary Magdalens, two copies of the Madonna and Child, several types of Christs, and various saints ranging from Saint Sebastian to Francis Xavier (including three of Saint Francis of Assisi).[63]

Table 1: Summary of paintings by room in Valentini's apartment.

	Large picture	Small picture	Octagonal picture	Round picture	Copper-plate	Total/ room
Main room	31	72	19	12	1	135
Corridor	10	14	3	0	0	27
Dining room	26	22	0	0	0	48
Bedroom	18	12	8	0	0	38
Kitchen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stairway	1	12	0	0	0	13
Attic	1	0	0	0	0	1
Courtyard	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total paintings	87	132	30	12	1	262

60 Valentini's will and inventory of goods appears in two registers from the Archives of the Archconfraternity of SS. Trinità, reg. 142 and reg. 347, in the Archivio di Stato di Roma.

61 Pictures are described as *quadri*, *quadretti*, *quadrucci*, *ottogoni*, and *tonni* (i.e. tondi). Additional rooms in Valentini's apartment included a kitchen, an attic and the stairway; a small number of pictures were inventoried in the last two rooms; there were no pictures in the kitchen, which seems an obvious situation in this period.

62 Mancini's remarks on frames may shed some light on the antiquity of some of these paintings. While he recommends plain black or white frames for most paintings that do not distract from the artwork, he suggests that frames decorated with gold can be used with older paintings whose colours have faded and Caravaggio's paintings dominated by the artist's recognisable chiaroscuro (trans. Butler, "Giulio Mancini's 'Considerations on Painting'," 212).

63 The complete list of subjects of religious paintings that appear in the inventory is: S. Jerome, Magdalen x 3, S. Sebastian, Crucifixion, a Franciscan saint, Madonna and Child x 2, and S. John the Baptist, Madonna x 9, S. Francis x 3, a Capuchin Saint, S. Ignatius or S. Francis Xavier, S. Anagorita, Judith, Adoration of the Magi, Saviour (Salvator mundi?) X 2, Christ with the Cross, The Circumcision of Christ, The Annunciation, The Flagellation of Christ, God, King David, San Carlo (Borromeo?), S. Lawrence, Coronation of the Madonna, S. Peter, S. Sebastian, Crucifix and St Brigida, S. Agatha, S. Cecilia.

The main room or *sala* of Valentini's apartment was dominated by religious pictures and accounts for almost half of the collection (135 pictures). It even included a framed print of an unidentified musical canon, possibly one of his own printed canons. Valentini appears to have kept his musical instruments (a harpsichord without strings, a violin, a Spanish guitar, two lutes, and what seem to be four monochords) in this same room. The room adjacent to the *sala* and looking onto the street was even more concentrated in its religious imagery in a collection of 50 pictures. This room, which was possibly a dining room that served for more intimate social gatherings, seems to be where Valentini also kept a chest of musical scores or parts, a bound music book, and a catalogued collection of libretti. The pictures in a third room at the end of a corridor, which was possibly Valentini's bedroom and private study, witness a strong emphasis upon particular saints such a Lawrence, Agatha, Cecilia, and Francis, as well as an Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin. The room also contains chests and cabinets of writings and books. Like the main *sala*, the same room also housed several small reliquaries, offering further evidence for private devotional practice. While the collection of pictures is not devoid of small portraits and landscapes, overall, it points to Valentini's private life of religious devotion, a factor that was clearly instrumental in his choice to leave most of his possessions to the Roman church and confraternity of Santissima Trinità de' Pelligrini e de' Convalescenti in Ponte Sisto.

The posthumous inventory of Valentini's Roman household confirms his conspicuous participation in an early modern culture of collecting artworks and other objects. His collection provides insights into the gentleman-composer's interests and convictions through the lens of gendered and socio-economic behaviours. The collection of instruments in the main *sala* – possibly emblems of an earlier phase of Valentini's life – is not altogether unusual for this period except for the four rectangular wooden instruments (*instromenti di legno lunghi quadrati*) or monochords that signal his interest in music theory as confirmed in his surviving writings about the monochord and the tunings of the lute.[64] Valentini's extensive art collection, on the other hand, points squarely to his affluent cultivation of religious iconography and other forms of representation in a manner that resembles Mancini's advice to collectors, particularly in terms of their careful display throughout a house. The nature of the collection, especially its cult images, also denotes the ongoing efficacy of imagery upon the viewer. Valentini's grand display books, especially his *Canoni di diversi studi* represent the meeting of his visual and musical identities, ramifying his social identity as a high-born male in early modern Catholic Rome.

64 Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini," 542–3. Valentini's treatise on lute tunings has been newly edited and translated into English in the following: Aidan Paul Deasy, "Pier Francesco Valentini's *Il Leuto Anatomizzato* (c.1650): A Translation and Commentary – Investigating Transposition, Intabulation, and Other Aspects of Roman Lute Practice. A Translation of Il Leuto Anatomizzato – and – a Contextualising Essay" (PhD diss., Edith Cowan University, 2019), available from https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/2276.

To conclude, I have set out a case for a new approach to understanding the musico-visual program in early seventeenth-century Rome, not only in relation to Valentini's collection of canons, but more broadly in the use of canons in other forms of imagery produced in this period and location. The use of canon in paintings and other related imagery in previous centuries finds expression once again through the innovative program of Passignano in Santa Maria Maggiore. Composers like Valentini also sought to connect their hermetic, indeed esoteric, canonic compositions to the same sort of imagery, especially devotional imagery. Kircher responds positively to this musico-visual phenomenon, so much so that it literally takes front stage in his new encyclopedia of music. Distinctly influenced by the centrality of Rome in the Western world and its expanding global connections, particularly through the Jesuits, the *Musurgia* represents the intersection of medieval tradition with the emergence of new scientific thinking. Yet, when read against contemporary theories of image, particularly Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, Valentini's program of careful collecting – indeed almost scrapbooking – of his music with printed images takes on further significance. Just as a Mancini advised his readers to curate their collections of drawings or prints in books by subject, form or technique, Valentini seems to have been intent on preserving his musico-visual program as part of a collection that he could display in his *sala* for the enjoyment of viewers, friends, and associates. One can well imagine that his book, like many of his other writings about music, was intended for the *virtuosi* of Rome, the same audience to whom Mancini addressed his advice earlier in the century.

Appendix:
Posthumous inventory of P.F. Valentini's goods at his apartment located of Piazza di San Panteleo. Archives of the Archconfraternity of SS. Trinità, reg. 142 and reg. 347, in Archivio di Stato, Rome.

The text follows the inventory in reg. 142. Portions of text shown in single square brackets have been incorporated from reg. 347. Portions of text shown in double square brackets have been deleted/crossed out in reg. 142. Original orthographies have been retained.

Nella Sala

Un quadro con un S. Girolamo con cornice d'Albuccio tinta nera d'altezza di palmi otto et larghezza sei.
Un altro quadro grande della Madalena con cornice tutta dorata.
Un quadro con un S. Sebastiano con cornice nera miniata d'oro.
Un altro quadro con Christo con la Croce in spalla con cornice nera profilata d'oro.
Un altro quadro con un Beato dell'ordine francescano con cornice d'Albuccio tinta nera.
Un altro quadro con la Madonna col Bambino, e S Gio. Battista con cornice nera profilato, e miniata d'oro.
Quattro quadri cioè un ritratto d'una Donna, un altro con la Madonna, un altro con S. Francesco, et un altro con una Donna che suona il Leuto, tre con cornice bianca, et una con cornice nera.
Tre quadri cioè due Madonne, et una Madalena con cornici tutte dorate.
Un quadretto con una testa, cornice color di pietro profilata d'oro.
Quattro ottangoli, due con donne, e due con frutti con cornice tutta dorata.
Sei altri ottangoli con paesi, cornice di color di pietro profilata d'oro.
Dieci quadretti tonni con paese cornice nera semplice.
Un quadretto in rame con il Crocefisso con la Croce in spalla cornice bianca semplice.
Tre quadretti in carta con immagini con canone in musica.
Sedici quadretti diversi, assai piccoli, con cornice nera semplice.
Due acquasante di terra
Tre altri quadri, cioè due con la Madonna, e l'altro con un Beato Cappuccino con cornice d'Albuccio profilato d'oro.
Tre altri quadri, cioè una Madalena, Un vecchio, e due Ragazzi, due con cornice nera semplice et uno senza cornice.
Un quadretto con un Carro Trionfale scolpito in legno con cornice nera semplice.
Dicidotto <sic> quadretti diversi parte pittura, et parte scultura in stagno con sue cornici nere semplici.
Sette ottangoli con paesi di Cavalleria, et uno con pesce con cornice cioè trè tutte dorate, e quattro colore di pietra profiliate d'oro.

Un altro quadro con S. Ignatio, ò vero S. Francesco Xaverio con cornice tutta dorata.
Un quadro con S. Anagorita con cornice colore di pietra profilata d'oro.
Trè quadri, cioè uno con una Giuditta con cornice nera miniata d'oro, e l'altri con Donne con cornice nera semplici.
Trè altri quadretti, cioè due con due teste, et uno con un vecchio, che Zinna, con cornice, cioè due nere, e l'altra di noce semplici.
Due quadretti uno di gesso tutto dorato, et l'altro di Carta [-47r-] con cornice tutte dorate.
Doi altri quadretti, cioè uno in Carta, et l'altro in tela con conici uno nero et l'altro bianca.
Trè altri quadretti, cioè due teste di vecchi et un giovanne ridente con cornice semplici.
[[Sei altri ottangoli con paesi, e fiori, doi con cornice tutte dorate, e quattro con cornice color di pietra profilate d'oro.]]
Sei altri ottangoli con ucelli, e paesi senza cornice.
Quattro quadri, cioè due con due donne con cornice nera profilate, e miniate d'oro, et due altri cioè un Santo Sebastiano senza cornice, e S. Cecilia con cornice color di noce semplice.
Trè altri quadri con ritratti senza cornice.
Dieci quadretti diversi con cornici nere semplici, e due profilate d'oro inclusioni un Giesù ricamato in Terzanello crimisino senza cornice.
Doi altri quadretti tonni con paesi con cornice nera semplice.
Due ottangoli con paesi, con cornice colore di pietra profilate d'oro.
Due reliquiarietti con dentro la Madonna di Loreto, e nell'altro una Croce
Quattro arme piccole di cartone pisto dorate.
Un specchio con cornice dorata tutta.
Sei teste di stucco vecchie con una statuetta di gesso.
Dicidotto bamboccetti di terra con una canestrina di frutti [-47v-] di terra, et un quadretta di terra con un ragazzo con a Tridente in mano.
Un hora di polvere.
Un crocifisso di legno con sua Croce.
Un Archibugio à miccio, un Terzarolo alla norca à rota, una mezza spada et un stortino, et una [a]labarda tutti vecchi e rotti.
Una credenza di noce con due Tirafuori.
Una scanziaccia vecchia di più pezzi ripiena di opere inscripti con suo corame sopra roscio, et torchino fiorato d'oro con doi coscini sopra simili.
Un altro coscino con foderetta, con reticella vecchio, et rotto.
Una tavola di pietra incassata in una tavola d'Albuccio con suoi tiratori, e suoi piedi torniti.
Un Buffetto di noce. Un ginocchiatore di noce con due Tiratori.
Una Tavola di noce con suoi tiratori, e ferri.

Una Cassa d'Albuccio tinta rossa, piena di scritti a mano, con un panno verde di sopra assai vecchia e rotta. Doi scabelli d'Albuccio tinti verdi vecchi sotto la sudetta cassa.
Un forziere vecchio, con dentro un asciugatore usato con francia, et un pezzo di tovaglia assai strappalo.
Un Cimbalo d'Abeto senza corde coperte di Corame vecchio assai e rotto.
[Un Credenzino vecchio con suoi tiratori coperto di corame vecchio.]
Un scrignetto d'Albuccio tinto rosso vecchio simplice
[-48r-] Un lettorino d'Albuccio, tinto rosso.
Cinque scabelli di noce usati con appoggio.
Quattro scabelli d'Albuccio rossi usati.
Un scabellone simile con dentro alcuni stracci bianchi, et un piaro di guanti.
Un violino, una Chitarra alla Spagnola, due leuti, e quattro Instromenti di legno lunghi quadrati
Quattro sedie di vacchetta rosse con francie, et con chiodi d'ottone.

Nel Corritore

In primis tutto parato di corame d'oro, e d'argento usate, e vecchi, con quattro portiere simili.
Un telaro da quadro intagliato senza pittura dentro.
Un Crocifissetto di Legno,
Trè quadretti di carta senza cornice.
Un quadro con un ritratto senza cornice vecchio
Un arma tonda di legno dorata, e colorata.
Un quadro della Madalena con cornice nera semplice.
Otto quadri diversa, cioè quattro con cornice semplice, e quattro senza cornice.
Quattro quadretti di Taffettano giallo con cornici tutte dorate.
Otto quadretti di diverse sorte vecchi con cornice semplice
Due quadretti lunghi, uno in carta, e l'altro in tela con cornice nera simplice.
Due scabelli di noce vecchi con l'appoggio.
Un armadietto di tavolaccie vecchie pieno di scritti à mano, coperta con un corame vecchio, sopra del quale vi è un scrignetto vecchio foderato di corame stampato.
Un scabellone d'Albuccio rosso pieno di scritti à mano. Un altro simile con diversi stracci bianchi con tre salvietti, et una tovaglia.
Una scanzia da uso di credenzone, alta d'Albuccio con otto scanziole pieno di diversi libri stampati.
Nella Camera contigua alla sala, che risponde in strada.
Detta Camera apparata di corami argento, et oro smaltati di roscio vecchi assai.
Un quadro della scala di Jacobo.
Doi altri di fiori rossi, e bianchi; Un quadretto d'un Cristo in tavola cornice nera.
Un altro quadruccio de frutti con un Melone.
Un altro quadruccio in carta con l'adoratione de Maggi

Una testa d'un Salvatore in carta.
Un quadruccio della Madonna con d'adoratione de Maggi cornice dorata.
Sei quadri diversi in carta con Musica et altre figure.
Un quadro con un Christo con la Croce in spalla cornice nera.
Due quadrucci di paesi senza cornici.
Un quadro della Criconcisione cornice nera.
Un altro dell'Annuntiata cornice di color di noce.
Un altro della flagellatione di Nostro Singore cornice nera.
Quattro quadrucci di prospettiva in carta gialla cornice nera.
Un quadruccio d'un paese cornice d'ottangolo indorata.
Un quadro in carta di mappamondo cornice nera.
Un altro di Giudiaco in carta cornice nera.
[Un altro in carta paese di Roma.
Un altro in carta pronostica cornice nera.]
Un orologio con i contrappesi.
Un acquasanta di terra colorata.
Un quadro de frutti cornice color di noce.
Un quadro della Madonna con le mani giunte in tela, cornice nera.
Un quadro di Dio Padre con Adamo cornice nera [parte dorate].
Un testa d San. Francesco cornice nera parte rata.
Un quadro di David in carta cornice nera.
Un quadro in carta con diverse figure, cornice nera.
Un altro d'una prospettiva cornice nera.
Un altro del Salvatore cornice nera smaltata con profili d'oro
Un altro del Giudiaco in carta cornice nera.
Tre altri quadrucci di musica.
Un altro in carta imagines Cęli meridionales.
Un altro Cęli septemtrionales.
Una testa di San Carlo cornice nera vecchio, e rotto.
Una testa d'una Donna cornice nera.
Una testa d'una Madonna con il putto cornice nera.
Un altro di due teste in carta cornice nera.
Una testa d'un Cardinale senza cornice.
Due libarde.
Due Buffetti de noce.
Un Christo in Croce con reliquie.
Una sedia de vacchetta con francia verde
Due altre sediole basse di vacchetta francie verdi.
Una tavola grande con corame oro smaltato di nero, usato, e rotto.
Una sedia di montone francia gialla, e verde.
Tre scabelli di noci.
Un tavolino d'Albuccio con un tappeto roscio giallo, e torchino usato.
Un matarazzo di lana rotto con una coperta usata rigata alle teste torchine, e gialle.

Un forziere di Montone con dentro l'infrascritte robbe.
Un gippone de cataluffo nero.
Un ferraiolo curto di saietta di Milano.
Un altro buratto di Lione.
Un paro di calzoni di buratto di Lione.
Un altro cataluffo nero. Un altro paro di taffettano à spina.
Un Gippone, e calzoni di burattino, bianco, e roscio, tutte rotte usate, vecchie, et rotte.
Una Cassetta di pinta di roscio.
Un altra Cassa da Campagna, coperta di corame, [-50r-] et imbollettata con bollette d'ottono vecchia, usata assai, con dentro alcune opera di Musica.
Due foderette lavorate di roscio.
Un Credenzione
Un scabellone à doi, tinto di noce.
Un Libro di Musica [Una coperta di Corame].
Una borsa di Corame rosso per viaggiare.
Un credenzione alto, una cassa d'Albuccio tinto à noce, pieno di diversi libretti, con scanzie numer[at]e nove, con suo Inventario.

Nella Camera in fine del Corritore

Un quadro di S. Lorenzo con cornice dorata.
Un quadro con quattro teste con cornice nera
Un quadro piccolo con due teste cornice dorata.
Un ritratto in tela d'Imperatore del per Signore Pier Francesco Valentini.
Un quadro con due figurine piccole, con cornice ora, e nera.
Un quadro della pittura con cornice oro, e nera.
[Un quadro dell'Ascensione in telo con cornice nera.]
Un quadro della Coronatione della Madonna con cornice d'oro.
Un quadro della Madonna con il Bambino che dorme con cornice bianco profilata d'oro.
Due teste di vecchi con cornice dorata, e miniata d'oro.
Un S. Pietro con cornice nera semplice.
Un S. Sebastiano con cornice nera simplice.
Una testa con cornice nera, et oro.
Un quadro con un Crocifisso con Santa Brigida con cornice tinta a noce.
Un altro di S. Agata con cornice tinta à noce.
Un altro quadro di Santa Cecilia con cornice bianca.
Un quadro della Madonna con cornice colore di noce.
Un quadro di San Francesco con cornice nera.
Dodici quadretti in carta gialla con cornice nera tutti paesi.
Otto reliquiarii diversi.
Otto ottangoli diversi, con cornici diversi.

Un specchio con cornice nera miniata d'oro.
Un orologio à contrap[p]esi.
Un archibugio à focile; Una spada, un pugnale, et una mezza spada. Un [a]labarda.
Un acquasanta di stagno
Un altra di terra colorita d'Abbronzo.
Una tavola di noce, con suoi tiratori pieni di libri à mano scritti.
Quattro cassette in forma di studioli, piene di scritture diverse.
Una cassetta piena di scritture.
Una cassa coperta di corame, con dentro l'infrascritte robbe cioè
Un ferraiolo di roverso nero.
Un gippone di terzanello nero.
Un paro di calzoni, et un gippone di taffettano verde et un cappello;
Un paro di calzoni e maniche di teletta vellutata con la casaccha di riverso.
Una copertina di bambace, et seta con il suo tornaletto.
Una coperta di tela bianca à quadretti.
Un paro di scarpini nuovi.
Una coperta gialla di lana.
Un altra coperta di lana rossa, assai vecchia.
Un altra cassa d'Albuccio tinta à noce con dentro l'infrascritte robbe cioè doi Balandrani, uno verdi e l'altro paonazzo di riverso et il verde di ciambellano.
Un inginocchiatore di noce, con li suoi tiratori con dentro, una bilancetta dà pesare oro.
Un Armarietto con diverse scritture sotto, coperta di corame, con sopra un studioletto, con libri, e scritture diverse.
Un calamaro grande di legno lavorato.
Due cassette da servitio.
Un altro Tavolino di noce.
Un scabellone pieno di scritture diverse.
Un quattro scabelli d'Albuccio.
Tre sedio di corame vecchie.
Un letto con due matarazzi. doi capezzali, sei coscini, un pagliaccio, un tornaletto, coperta di lana bianca, et banchi e tavole.
Nove candelieri d'ottone parte da oglio, et parte da candela,
Dui orologii da polvere.
Una scanzia d'Albuccio tinta rossa, et à noce piena di libri, e scritture diverse.
Sotto al cammino diversi ferri, e chiavi.
Una testa di terra, et immagine di legno.
Apparato di corami rossi 'doro, et argento, con quale è ornata detta camera.

Nella Cucina

Un caldaro di rame mezzano.
Una brocca di rame, una ramina dà collari.

Due Cocoline di rame, una grande de l'altra piccola.
[-51v-]
Un baccile d'ottone dà Barbiere
Un trepiede da foco di ferro grande.
Un secchio di rame.
Un paro di capofuochi bassi con le palli d'ottone.
Una graticola di ferro. Un forcinetta di ferro.
Un schiumarello di ferro.
Due padelle dà friggere, una grande, e l'altra piccola.
Una padella dà Caldaroste; Un polzonetto di rame.
Un schiumarello di ferro; Un tiella di rame.
Una bastardella ò Concoletta di rame con manichi di ferro. Due accette.
Un rinfrescatore di rame con manichi di rame.
Un paro di capofuochi alti con palle d'ottone dà cucina.
Un mortaro di marmo con il suo pestello di legno.
Una paletta con la palla d'ottone.
Un altra graticoletta di ferro.
Tre scabelletti d'Albuccio. Un tavolinetto d'antano.
Due para di ammollette con le palli d'ottone.
Una padelluccio dà cuocere ova.
Due trepiedi di ferro, un grande, et un piccolo.
Un spiedo piccolo. Un mortaro di bronzo.
Due para di lenzuola brutte. Una Camiscia brutta.

Nel salire delle scale

Un mappamondo.
Nove teste di sibillo.
Tre teste d'Huomini.

Nella soffitta

Banchi e tavole per un letto.
Due Buffichi gialli dà olio.
Una vettinella, una sedia à braccio all'antica.
Un scabello vecchio.
Un mappamodo senza cornice.

Nel Cortile.

Un Carratello, et un mezzo baule.

LA GUITAROMANIE (1829) BY CHARLES DE MARESCOT (1790–1842): UNPACKING THE IMAGERY AND MUSIC OF AN ICONIC NINETEENTH-CENTURY GUITAR BOOK

Jonathan Paget

La guitaromanie, or 'guitar mania,' is a small, beautifully constructed book of guitar music by Charles de Marescot (1790–1842) published in Paris around 1829.[1] It is remarkable for the inclusion of six colour lithographs by an artist designated as Mantoux[2] featuring guitarists in a variety of musical contexts. These illustrations have been widely circulated in the late twentieth century,[3] particularly the fifth image ("*Discussion entre les Carulistes es les Molinistes*" – fig. 12) featuring a brawl with rival factions smashing their guitars against each other. Likewise, the book's satirical title has inspired dozens of recordings and become emblematic of the popularity of the instrument in early-nineteenth-century Europe.

Despite being a well-known iconographical source, *La guitaromanie* has received scant scholarly attention. The title is an invented play on words satirising the perceived excessive and obsessive devotion of the guitar's followers. It alludes to the concept of "monomania" that emerged within early-nineteenth-century French psychotherapy and involves fixation, or *idée fixe*.[4] Highlighting guitar fixation,

1 The 1829 date derives from the *Bibliographie de France* no. 47 (Nov 21, 1829), as discussed by Damián Martín, "The Guitarist behind *La guitaromanie*: Charles de Marescot," *Soundboard Scholar* no. 4 (2018): 14. However, in a subsequent article, Martín (now Gil) suggests the possibility of late 1828 publication due to the address listed on the title page. See Damián Martín Gil, "Unraveling the Discussion entre les Carulistes et les Molinistes (Paris, 1820)," *Soundboard Scholar* no. 6 (2020): 11.

2 The artist's name, Mantoux, appears on three of the plates with the inscription "Litho [Lithography]: de Mantoux" and the address "r. du Paon N:1."

3 The original resides at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Département de la Musique, VM BOB-15691; VM7-3212. The stamp on each plate shows a crown and the initials B.R. (Bibliothèque royale). Compare, for instance, the copy of J.M. Noriéga, *Nouveaux principes pour la guitar …* (Périgueux: F. Dupont, 1833) where the stamp shows the same insignia and the text "Bibliothèque royale" spelt out in full. All six images were reproduced in Frederic Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar: An Illustrated History of Guitars and Guitarists* (NY: Macmillan, 1969), then a full facsimile: De Marescot, *La guitaromanie*, *Archivum musicum: L'arte della chitarra tra Settecento e Ottocento* 16 (Firenze: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1985). The book is now assumed to be in the public domain and is available through Petrucci Music Library, https://imslp.org/wiki/La_Guitaromanie_(Marescot%2C_Charles_de).

4 "Monomania" was espoused by French psychiatrist Jean-Etienne-Dominque Esquirol in writings from ca. 1810. See Francesca Brittan, "Berlioz and the Pathological Fantastic: Melancholy, Monomania, and Romantic Autobiography," *19th-Century Music* 29, no. 3 (2006): 220.

the imagery presents a satirical compendium of clichéd musical scenarios featuring the instrument. The iconography and music of *La guitaromanie* hence offer a rare opportunity for sociocultural analysis.

The last decade has seen a flourishing literature on the nineteenth-century guitar that considers illustrative evidence,[5] notably the probing discussions of Christopher Page.[6] Likewise, Jeffrey Noonan's analysis[7] of guitar iconography in the "BMG" era[8] is highly relevant, as the six images within *La guitaromanie* have similarly romanticised qualities. Comparable ideas are applied here in discussions of the illustrations and music that attempt to unpack the use of gender stereotypes and other interrelated cultural conceits – particularly serenade/seduction and the "heroic" pursuits of hunting and battle. These issues are ripe for examination and have not previously been addressed in the scholarly literature within the context of *La guitaromanie*.

Although Charles de Marescot has assumed the place of a significant footnote in the guitar's history, details of his life have long remained unclear.[9] His extant works, which were published in Paris and London, include songs with guitar accompaniment, guitar solos, transcriptions for guitar, and a variety of instructional methods (both practical and theoretical). Marescot soon appears to have dropped into relative obscurity, receiving little attention in reference works of the early twentieth century.[10]

---

5 While precedent can also be found in Grunfeld, Ibid., significant recent scholarship includes Andrew Britton, "The Guitar and the Bristol School of Artists," *Early Music* 41, no. 4 (2013): 585–594; Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period: Its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath" (PhD diss.: Royal Holloway College, University of London, 2010); and Norberto Torres Cortés, "Guitarra popular rasgueda 'pre-flamenca' en la primera mitad del siglo XIX: Fuentes escritas," *La Madrugá: Revista De Investigación Sobre Flamenco* no. 10 (2014): 55–120. Much of the recent guitar research appearing in *Early Music* (too numerous to list) also includes guitar iconography, albeit tangentially.

6 Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Georgian England: A Social and Musical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020); Christopher Page, "Being a Guitarist in Late Georgian England," *Early Music* 46, no. 1 (2018): 3–16; Page, "The Spanish Guitar in the Newspapers, Novels, Drama and Verse of Eighteenth-Century England," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 44, no. 1 (2013): 1–18. Also see Page's published lectures (https://www.gresham.ac.uk/), accessed 20 June 2018; including "Being a Guitarist in the Time of Byron and Shelley," (20 Nov 2014); "Harmony in the Lowest Home: The Guitar and the Labouring Poor," (19 Feb 2015); "The Guitar and the Fair Sex," (23April 2015); "The Guitar and the Romantic Vision of the Medieval World," (8 Jan 2015); "the Guitar, the Steamship and the Picnic: England on the Move," (11 Dec 2014); "The Romantic Guitar," (9 Oct 2014).

7 Jeffrey Noonan, "Interlude: The Guitar as Icon," in *The Guitar in America: Victorian Era to Jazz Age* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008): 96–116.

8 BMG stands for Banjo, Mandolin, Guitar, and refers to the amateur plucked string ensembles that proliferated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

9 The website of the *Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris* aptly describes Marescot as a professor (teacher) and editor of music.

10 Marescot is notably absent from Philip James Bone, *The Guitar & Mandolin. Biographies of Celebrated Players and Composers, Etc. [with Plates, Including Portraits.]* (Schott & Co.; Augener: London, 1914). He is mentioned briefly in Domingo Prat, *Diccionario de guitarristas* (Buenos Aires, 1934). Both cited in Martín, "The Guitarist behind *La guitaromanie*," 4.

Recent research by Damián Martín (now Gil)[11] has brought to light a somewhat more complete picture, confirming Marescot's birth, death, marriage, parentage, family military connections, and dates of publications,[12] not to mention his work in Paris as a music teacher and publisher between 1817–1834 and his activity in London from 1834–1842.

Martín also uncovers Marescot's curious relationship with Berlioz, whose letters reveal an ongoing royalty dispute (with Marescot in his role as a publisher). Berlioz enacts his revenge in *Les soirée de l'orchestre*,[13] a collection of humorous anecdotes regarding significant personalities, in which he labels Marescot an *équarisseur* or "knacker" (one who disposes of dead animals) and suggests that Marescot's arrangements "killed and skinned the works of celebrated composers."[14] The Spanish guitarist Fernando Sor (1778–1839) makes a similar comment regarding guitar arrangers (although not necessarily Marescot) who spoiled the harmony through over-simplification.[15]

The musical pieces within *La guitaromanie* comprise an eclectic selection aimed for broad appeal and pitched towards comparative beginners. Works include exotic dances and programmatic pieces alongside more traditional forms. Despite their simplicity, the musical works garner novelty due to their textural variety and vivid characterisations. The addition of illustrations arguably enhanced the book's appeal, making it an amusing collector's item, a nineteenth-century equivalent of a "coffee-table book."[16] This marketing objective raises further questions regarding the exploitation of stereotyped gender identities. Did sexualised imagery of serenade and seduction appeal to both genders? How might women have responded to the preponderance of works depicting male "heroic" pursuits such as hunting and battle?

Arguably, issues of identity and belonging are pivotal to these underlying subthemes. The book self-consciously and satirically depicts guitar fanaticism as a distinctive cultural group (almost a sub-culture),[17] offers a pathway to admittance through musical study, and implies a fictive narrative of romance and seduction that hints at the potential benefits of belonging. The image *"Discussion entre les Carulistes es les Molinistes"* (fig. 12) depicts a test of loyalty in a brawl between two rival factions whose point of difference absurdly rests on a triviality. Tellingly,

11 Martín, 4–16.

12 Martín cross-references with various historical sources, such as contemporaneous listings in the *Bibliographie de la France*. See Martín, 12 ff.

13 Berlioz, *Les soirées de l'orchestre*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, etc., 1854).

14 Berlioz, *Les soirées de l'orchestre*, 57: "Un début dans Le Freyschutz – Nouvelle nécrologique – Marescot – Etude d'équarisseur." Quoted in Martín, "The Guitarist behind *La guitaromanie*," 10.

15 See Fernando Sor, *Fantasie elégiaque* Op.59 (Paris: Chez l'auteur. Pacini, n.d.), available Rischel & Birket-Smith Collection (Royal Library of Denmark).

16 The title page indicates that the book was available in four different formats, each priced accordingly: with ordinary paper or velum, and with/without colour lithographs.

17 It is tempting to designate guitar mania (*la guitaromanie*) a "subculture," except that many of the values projected might be considered historically mainstream, with the exception of the guitar's exotic and erotic associations that potentially subvert social respectability.

despite all the music being for *solo* guitar, the images depict social situations, as if to compensate for the potential loneliness of the solo musician.

The analyses that follow reveal how Marescot's book provides a piquant social commentary. In addition, there are intriguing insights noted regarding the use of the guitar in ensemble, guitars and dancing, and solo guitar performance in a salon context. The discussion proceeds through each image in turn, considering implicit meanings and associated musical content, and paying particular attention to gender politics.

Plate One: *"La guitaromanie"*

"La guitaromanie" (meaning "guitar mania" or "guitar fixation") (fig. 1) is the image that provides the overall collection with its name. As discussed, this title satirises the obsessive devotion of guitar exponents (and perhaps also the heightened popularity of the instrument), likening it to a mental illness. The popularity of the instrument is evident in the room full of guitar-players, and allusion to obsession is made with a glimpse of the now infamous brawl in the adjoining room (which becomes the subject of image five – fig. 12).

Seven out of nine (or perhaps ten) adult guitarists depicted are female, confirming that learning the guitar is a socially acceptable pursuit for women. The additional presence of an infant underscores the participation of a married woman and subtly reinforces the traditional role of women as wives and mothers. Moreover, the number of female participants corroborates recent research[18] and historical evidence intimating that the guitar in this period was associated with fashionable ladies.[19] For instance, in 1892, *The Magazine of Music* quotes a 1791 publication stating that the guitar was "much in use among the ladies of Great Britain,"[20] and in 1895 describes that "in more recent years the guitar fell almost entirely into the hands of the fair sex, and it was looked upon as an indispensable article in the equipment of a lady's drawing-room."[21] While this evidence centres on England, it is arguably broadly applicable to the European continent.

Despite the prevalence of female players, the image ultimately reinforces their subservient role in that the group of females sit beneath the authority of a standing

18 For instance, Page, "Being a Guitarist in Late Georgian England," 3–16, outlines the prevalence of British guitar-playing governesses, while Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period," 99, cites the instrument's gendered association as contributing to the guitar's low esteem and poor press reception.

19 There is considerable evidence that the guitar, at least in England, was associated with women of social standing. For instance, Frank Mott Harrison, in his *Reminiscences of Madame Sidney Pratten: Guitariste and Composer* (Bournemouth W., England: Barnes & Mullins, 1899), 71, discusses the desire of Pratten (preeminent female guitarist) for the instrument to remain a vehicle of social prestige, noting that she even rejected students who were not suitably connected.

20 "A Little About Guitars and Guitarists," *The Magazine of Music* 9, no. 8 (1892): 152.

21 W. B., "How to Play the Guitar," *The Magazine of Music* 12, no. 2 (1895): 31.

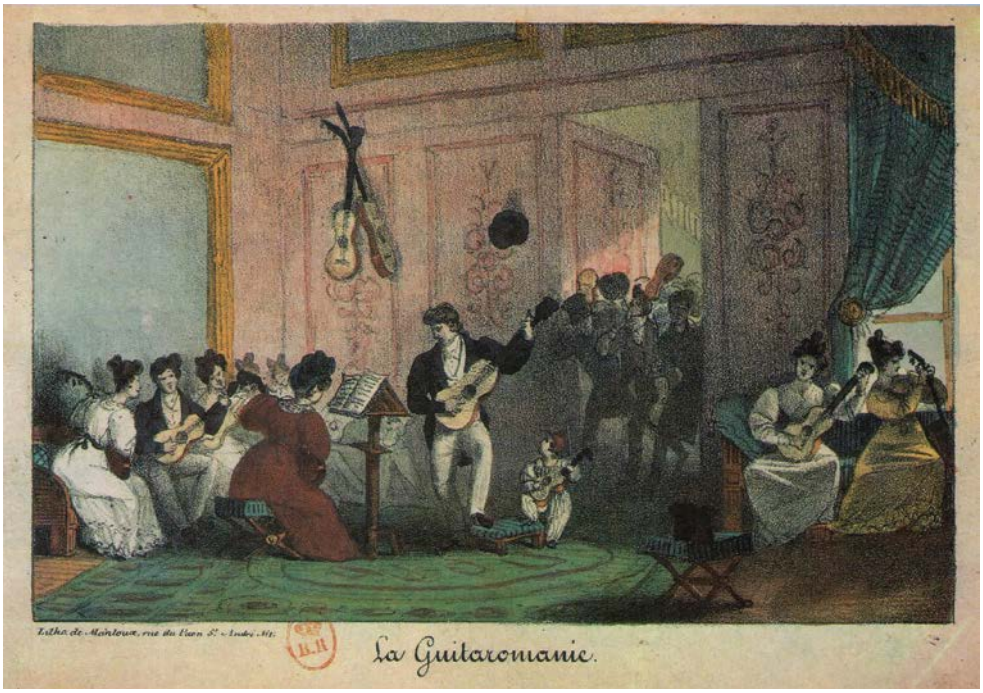


Fig. 1: The first image: *"La guitaromanie."*

male teacher. While the guitar was fashionable among women, their participation was nevertheless limited largely to amateur music-making. Or, more correctly, women were limited to teaching other women while men were free to teach both sexes.[22] Likewise, public performance was generally only acceptable for unmarried women (and usually under female patronage). Lindmaier discusses these limitations through the lens of British virtuosa Madame Sidney Pratten, who was exceptional in being able to sustain a professional concert career throughout a childless marriage.[23] The recently emergent memoirs of Giulia Pelzer (sister of Madame Sidney Pratten) who established guitar at the Guildhall School of Music in 1887, also corroborates how women typically were expected to teach girls and to cease

22 Harrison, in *Reminiscences* lists students of Pratten as exclusively girls (though he probably omitted his own name for reasons of propriety). Jannis Wickhmann names three male Pratten students (among many) and suggests that Pratten made an exception for men who aspired to a professional career. See Jannis Wickhmann, "Pelzer, Catharina, *Catherine*, Josepha, *Josephine*, verh. Sidney Pratten, *Sydney Pratten,"* in Freia Hoffmann [ed.], *Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, accessed January 14, 2021, https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/pelzer-catharina-josepha, (accessed 14 Jan 2021).

23 Hannah Lindmaier, "Die Gitarre – Ein 'Fraueninstrument' des 19. Jahrhunderts? Handlungsspielräume von Gitarristinnen am Beispiel von Catharina Josepha Pratten," *Phoibos-Zeitschrift für Zupfmusik* (2016): 134–154.

performing upon marriage.[24] What is clear is that men continued to dominate the spheres of guitar teaching and professional performance.

Due to the rarity of guitar ensembles of three or more players in this period, the image most likely depicts a group lesson with solo music being played in unison.[25] Indeed, it was likely deemed socially appropriate for women to learn in a group setting within an open public arena, mitigating against possible impropriety. That being said, this gathering foreshadows the popularity of guitar in amateur ensembles towards the end of the century, which were also comprised primarily of women.[26] Moreover, by presenting guitar study as a group activity, it underscores that guitar fanaticism (*la guitaromanie*) offers a sense of shared identity and belonging.

The musical works following the first image comprise "*Rondeau à l'Italienne*," "*Marche*," "*Valse*," and "*Fanfare*." "*Rondeau à l'Italienne"* may reflect the dominance of Italian guitar pedagogues in Paris at this time,[27] as well as the public's devotion to Italian opera. Especially noteworthy are two works with military associations: "*Marche"* and *"Fanfare"* (fig. 2). Both are suggestive of the kinds of public military displays with which contemporaneous audiences would have been familiar.

Programmatic depictions of battle are seen in a small subset of guitar repertoire, while figurations imitating brass fanfares are frequently used to make military references within more traditional musical forms. Battle pieces often employ onomatopoeic imitation of brass fanfares, drums, and other sounds of warfare such as cannon fire in the programmatic recreation of an historic battle – after the fashion of the acclaimed eighteenth-century piano piece *The Battle of Prague* (1788) by Frantisek Kotzwara (1730–1791). Likewise, the *chasse*,[28] which in the nineteenth century became a programmatic depiction of a hunt, also employs similar musical effects. Both battle pieces (*'battaglie'*)[29] and *chasses* arguably make musical representations of traditionally male heroic pursuits.

24 Her memoirs relate that she resumed teaching after fifteen years of childbearing and was never able to resume public performance. See Robert Coldwell (ed.), "Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer," from the Appleby Collection, Guildhall School of Music, www.digitalguitararchive.com/memoirs-of-madame-giulia-pelzer/.

25 See footnote 56.

26 The rise of so-called *estudiantinas* (typically guitar and mandolin) and BMG (Banjo, Mandolin, and Guitar) clubs has increasingly become the subject of scholarly attention. Evidence of their largely female membership is marshalled by Paul Sparks, "Clara Ross, Mabel Downing and Ladies' Guitar and Mandolin Bands in Late Victorian Britain," *Early Music* 41, no. 4 (2013): 621–632. The origins of the movement are traced by Michael Christoforidis, "Serenading Spanish Students on the Streets of Paris: The International Projection of Estudiantinas in the 1870s," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 15/1 (2018): 23–26. A detailed study of the BMG phenomenon in the USA is Noonan, *The Guitar in America*.

27 Such as Ferdinando Carulli (1770–1841), Francesco Molino (1775–1847), and Matteo Carcassi (1792–1853).

28 While hunting could be said to have aristocratic associations, the inclusion of at least one *chasse* in *La Guitaromanie* (see fig. 5) is intriguing given the publication of this volume in 1829, near the end of the Bourbon restoration. However, it might be presumed that Marescot had more republican inclinations, given that his uncle (Armand Samuel de Marescot) was a prominent Napoleonic officer.

29 This genre is reminiscent of the sixteenth-century lute *battaglia*.
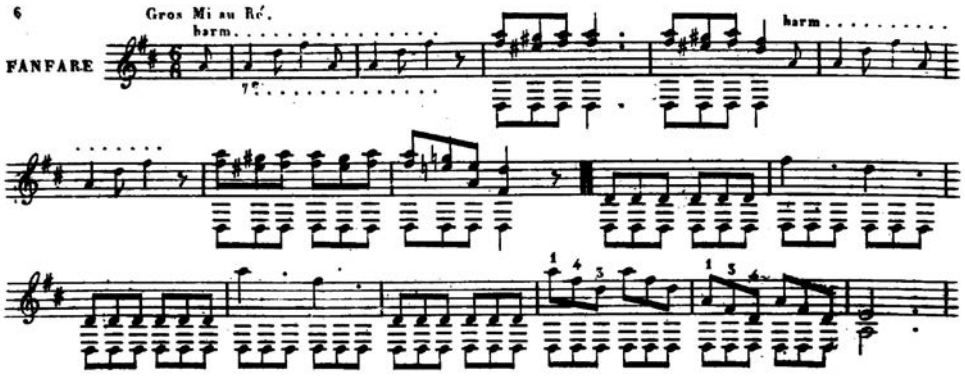


Fig. 2: Tropes of brass fanfares in "*Fanfare*," page 6, lines 1–3.

A common trait of both genres was the use of altered tunings whereby the strings of the guitar are tuned to a single triad – enabling, among other things, the exploitation of natural harmonics to create imitations of brass fanfares. Marescot's works *La Chasse au Renard: A Characteristic Fantasia (or The Fox Hunt)* WoO (ca.1829) and *The French Retreat* Op. 7 (ca.1838) are noteworthy examples, especially in their exploitation of textural contrasts and their incorporation of explicit programmatic score commentary.[30] Both works employ the E major *scordatura* that enjoyed a heyday in England during this era, reflecting Marescot's presence in London from 1834–1842 and his earlier English publishing forays. Comparable works by other composers active in England (which exploit this tuning) include the *Rondo à la Chasse* (1833) by Leonard Schultz (1814–1860)[31] and *The German Retreat* (1842) by Charles Eulenstein (1802–1890).[32] This altered tuning was also adopted in a significant number of works by Madame Sidney Pratten as a means to reach a larger audience. One of her method books is explicitly written for E major tuning, with the preface noting that it is particularly suitable "for those who have little time to practice."[33]

30 Marescot, *The French Retreat* Op. 7 (London: Mori & Lavenu, ca. 1838) and Marescot, *La Chasse au Renard: A Characteristic Fantasia (or The Fox Hunt)* (London: Morei & Lavenu, ca. 1829). Both are available in the Hudleston Collection (Royal Irish Academy of Music). Martín deduces dates by investigating the publisher's address listed and plate number. See Martín, "The Guitarist behind *La Guitaromanie*," 8 (footnote 21).

31 Leonard Schultz, *Rondo à la Chasse* (London: Johanning & Co., ca. 1833). 1833 is given as the date of first performance on the title page.

32 Charles Eulenstein, *The German Retreat* (London: Chappell, 1842). There is also the *Military Divertimento* Op.15 (Bath: published by the author, ca. 1832–33), which uses a G major scordatura.

33 Mme Sidney Pratten, *Instructions for the Guitar Tuned to E major* (London, 1861), 1. Quoted in Deborah Nolan, "The Contributions of Nineteenth-Century European Women to Guitar Performance, Composition, and Pedagogy," (MA diss.: California State University; Fullerton, 1983), 74.

Altered tunings had less provenance in France, although one example appears in the *Méthode complète* (1836) by Matteo Carcassi (1792–1853).[34] There are other continental examples of battle pieces (and other *chasses*), however – such as those of Ferdinando Carulli (1770–1841).[35] Certainly, this was a generation that had experienced the turmoil of the Napoleonic wars, and multiple leading Parisian guitarists had military experience.[36] Marescot himself had close military connections, with an uncle who was a decorated Napoleonic officer.[37] Curiously, battle pieces with altered tunings also became popular in the United States of America,[38] and were prominently featured in many American methods, especially those published by the Oliver Ditson Company in Boston.[39] Carcassi was a possible point of transmission for works with altered tunings, given that Oliver Ditson & Co. released an English edition of his method in 1853. Such tunings most likely also fed into emerging traditions of the early twentieth century, such as Hawaiian steel guitar[40] and blues guitar.[41]

The examples of military tropes in *La guitaromanie* are simplistic in comparison to Marescot's later *chasses* and battle piece (noted above). However, this is possibly the earliest example of natural harmonics used in imitation of brass fanfares, establishing precedent for what became a genre hallmark. In these selections, Marescot arguably achieves maximal effect with minimal effort. While there is no full triadic *scordatura*, he employs drop-D tuning (retuning the sixth string bass note down a

34 Matteo Carcassi, *Méthode complète* (Paris: the author & E Troupenas, 1836).

35 Ferdinando Carulli, *La prise d'Alger. Pièce héroique*. Op. 327 (ca. 1830), and also the politically inspired works *La paix: piece historique* Op. 85 (1815) and *Le trois jours* (ca. 1830).

36 Including Fernando Sor (1778–1839), François de Fossa (1775–1849), and Francesco Molino (1775–1847).

37 See Martín, "The Guitarist behind *La guitaromanie*," 5.

38 For example: Henry Worrall, *Worrall's Celebrated Spanish Retreat,* discussed by Robert Ferguson, "Spanish Retreat, by Henry Worrall." *Soundboard Scholar* (2016): 20–24. Also: Worrall, *Sebastopol: Descriptive fantaisie* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Co., 1860) (also included in his method); Justin Holland *The Celebrated Spanish Retreat* (Cleveland, OH: S. Brainard & Co., 1863); and Charles Converse, *The Spanish Victory March* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co, 1882).

39 Examples from the Boston Public Library (available also archive.org) include: Henri-Noel Gilles, *Improved Method of Learning the Guitar or Lyre* (Baltimore: Geo Wilig, 1827); Henry Worrall, *Eclectic Guitar Instructor* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co. 1862); Justin Holland, *A Comprehensive Method for the Guitar* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1874); N. P. B. Curtiss, *A Progressive and Complete Method for the Spanish Guitar…* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1877).

40 Hawaiian steel guitar began by retuning an ordinary guitar, laying it flat, and stopping strings with a steel bar. See *The Original Guckert's Chords… for the Hawaiian Guitar Steel Guitar…* (Toledo, OH: The Union Music Co., 1917). See also Guy Cundell, *Across the Pacific: The Transformation of the Steel Guitar from Hawaiian Folk Instrument to Popular Music Mainstay* (Masters diss.: University of Adelaide, 2014), 26–29.

41 Such battle pieces (and tunings) were perpetuated in the oral traditions of early blues. See David Evans, "The Guitar in the Blues Music of the Deep South," in *Guitar Cultures,* ed. Andy Bennett & Kevin Dawes (NY, Berg: Oxford, 2001), 11–25. See also Alexander Zaitchik, "Talkin' Siege of Sebastopol Blues: How the First Crimean War Helped Create Rock 'n Roll," accessed April 24, 2020, https://www.salon.com/control/2014/03/23/talkin%E2%80%99_siege_of_sebastopol_blues_how_the_first_crimean_war_helped_create_rock_n_roll/.

tone to D), which was beginning to be seen during this period. In "*Fanfare*" (fig. 2), Marescot accesses notes of the D major triad in natural harmonics across the fourth, third, and second strings, without any need for retuning. Indeed, much of this piece consists of representations of brass fanfares – imitated antiphonally near and far, high and low. Triadic figures in "*Marche"* are also fanfare-like, while the pomposity of the surrounding rhythmic figuration is similarly militaristic in nature.

The sociocultural implications of such battle pieces pose intriguing questions. It is tempting to ascribe the penchant for male-oriented "heroic" activities as due to an attempt to re-masculinise[42] an instrument that was dangerously at risk of becoming too feminine. Curiously, Stenstadvold suggests that "music for a woman's instrument needed to adhere to a 'feminine' aesthetic by displaying musical qualities … such as gentleness, simplicity and sentimentality."[43] While this generalisation is not without merit (and certainly reflects the prevalence of the guitar in simple song accompaniments) it does not convincingly explain much of the solo repertoire, especially works inspired by hunting or battle. Rather, as Britton suggests, the soldier was simply one of the primary *topoi* of Romanticism, and (it could be added) an idea that imbued music to be played by men and women alike.[44] Elizabeth Morgan argues that women actually played a significant role in popularising battle pieces in the early nineteenth century (at least in Britain), suggesting that through musical storytelling women could relate to aspects of an otherwise inaccessible male world. Women were thereby allowed to vicariously experience the military conflicts of their menfolk. Through performing battle pieces women "looked beyond the confines of the home to two male-dominated corners of the public sphere, largely unknown to [them] except in their imaginations: the culture of the British military and that of professional virtuoso pianists."[45] She continues: "In performing Kotzwara's work [*The Battle of Prague*], women envisioned and acted out full participation in these parts of the public sphere – and critiqued their exclusion from them."[46]

So, while the musical selections reflect a preoccupation with traditionally masculine activities they can nevertheless still be enjoyed by female musical consumers. Ironically, vicarious participation (via musical re-enactment) echoes the visual separation of women and men in the image; where women are foregrounded in a secure domestic environment and men are seen in the background actively participating in a violent melee. While the guitar is portrayed as a fashionable instrument for women, and guitar fixation is depicted as a group-based activity offering a sense of belonging,

42 The idea that the guitar was a women's instrument was primarily a nineteenth-century phenomenon (though emerging in the late eighteenth century). In the seventeenth century, for example, Stefano Pesori in *Toccate di chitarriglia* (Verona, Andrea, & Frat. Rossi: n.d.) provides a comprehensive list of his pupils (almost 200 in number) that are exclusively male.

43 Stenstadvold, "'We Hate the Guitar,': Prejudice and Polemic in the Music Press in Early 19th-Century Europe," *Early Music* 41, no. 4 (2013): 596.

44 Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period," 140.

45 Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780–1820," (PhD diss.: University of California; Los Angeles, 2009), 79.

46 Ibid.

this mania is also somewhat tamed. Woman's domestic roles are subtly reinforced, reflecting that their musical participation is ultimately limited and ruled by men.

Plate Two: *"La sérénade"*

"*La sérénade*" (fig. 3) paints an iconic vision of romance and seduction. From Don Juan to Casanova, such scenarios are deeply embedded in Western culture and arguably betray patriarchal power structures. A foregrounded all-male guitar and mandolin group serenades beneath the window of a woman whose face can be faintly seen. Men are the agents of action, both in the wooing and the duel shown faintly in the background. While the woman is seemingly placed in a passive role, this situation might also be viewed as empowering – affording her the power to accept or reject homage, and perhaps a choice between rivals. Despite being theoretically plausible in the early nineteenth century, and broadly accurate in terms of costume (note the pantaloons that were fashionable in this era), this image arguably presents an idealised vision that exploits deeply rooted memes of a romanticised past. Whether fact or fiction, the image capitalises on the iconic power of the guitar as a symbol of exoticism and seductive power.

Likewise, Jeffrey Noonan notes the frequent allusions to serenade in BMG advertising of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; often depicting minstrels, troubadours, or guitarists in period costumes,[47] and mirroring the use of stylised historical dress by professional *estudiantina* ensembles (as described by Christoforidis).[48] Noonan relates: "these depictions allowed readers to dally with the 'primitivist impulse'… to experience vicariously the more intense emotional life of… medieval lovers and musicians."[49] Likewise, BMG iconography exploited sexualised imagery and slogans for marketing purposes, appealing to men's fantasies.[50] Curiously, Noonan argues that BMG advertising also reached out to women through its presentation of strong and fashionable role models.[51] These two competing goals of appealing variously to men and women exist in a precarious tension. Noonan aptly describes such ambivalence:

> The woman guitarist was a significant figure in the BMG community, a figure revered and displayed, but also distrusted as part of the confused and confusing mix of Victorian social conventions, artistic representations, commercial manipulations, and sexual mores.[52]

47 Noonan, "Interlude: The Guitar as Icon," in *The Guitar in America,* 96–116.

48 Christoforidis, "Serenading Spanish Students on the Streets of Paris," 28.

49 Noonan, "Interlude: The Guitar as Icon," in *The Guitar in America*, 100.

50 For instance, Noonan cites a Washburn slogan reading "a summer night, a pretty girl, and above all a Washburn: Guitar, Mandolin, or Banjo, make life worth living." See Washburn instruments advertisement in the *Chicago Tribune*. Quoted in Noonan, *The Guitar in America*, 97.

51 Noonan, *The Guitar in America*, 111.

52 Ibid., 107.



Fig. 3: The second image: "*La sérénade*."

Such contradictions are also noted by Christopher Page in his public lecture "The Guitar and the Romantic Vision of the Medieval World," where he discusses the exotic allure of the guitar for English audiences, its association with tropes of the medieval troubadour, and the fact that such romanticisation was also marketed to women, however condescending.[53]

The probable marketing purposes of *La guitaromanie* reflect similar tensions, in that the book simultaneously reinforces repressive gender stereotypes and yet exploits scenes of seduction that arguably held contemporaneous appeal to both sexes. While the lure of such overtly sexualised imagery for men is immediately evident, it is presumed that the woman's enjoyment is in imagining herself as the subject of seduction, flattered by attention, and empowered by the choices it offers. Men, however proactive and powerful they may seem, are nevertheless subject to her whims. Moreover, in the image the woman's face is shadowed, a visual technique that undermines any sense of definable character and rather presents a generic symbol of womanhood that invites female identification.

The musical excerpts that follow comprise "*Valse*," "*Bolero*," and "*Chasse*." While the *valse* was an ubiquitous romantic (and arguably erotically-charged)

53 Page, "The Guitar and the Romantic Vision of the Medieval World," (St Sepulchre Without Newgate: Gresham College, January 8, 2015).
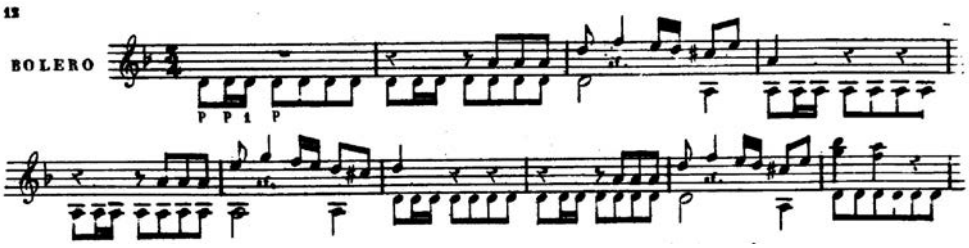


Fig. 4: The opening of "*Bolero*," page 12, lines 1–2.
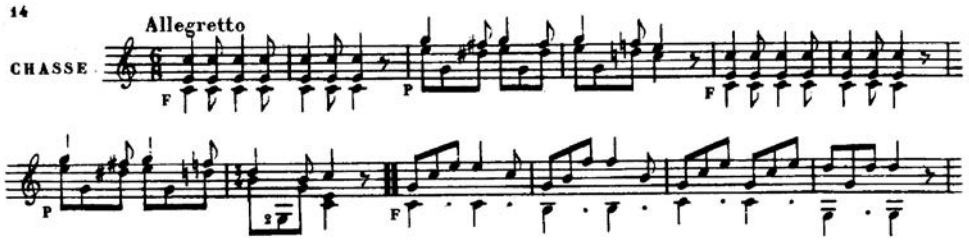


Fig. 5: Tropes of galloping horses (bars 1–2, 6–9), and (possibly) distant horns (bars 3–4), in "*Chasse*," page 14, lines 1–2.

dance of Western Europe in the early nineteenth-century, the inclusion of a *bolero* (fig. 4) could be interpreted as an allusion to the Don Juan tale with its themes of seduction and serenade, as well as to Spain itself as an exotic locale. *Boleros* had become popular in Paris during the early nineteenth century, perhaps a by-product of the Peninsula War. They were included in the programs of prominent singing teacher Manual Garcia and were found in operas by Mehul, Auber, and Berlioz.[54]

The inclusion of a *chasse* (fig. 5) is also noteworthy. Although hunting had aristocratic associations, it could be argued that here the *chasse* simply substitutes as a symbol of masculine outdoor activity. As with the earlier fanfare, this *chasse* is decidedly for a beginning player, but arguably achieves maximal effect with minimal effort. Although fanfare figures in harmonics are curiously absent, little imagination is required to perceive tropes evocative of horses riding (bars 1–2, 6–9) and distant horns (bars 3–4). While the meaning of these musical excerpts remains imprecise, the rhetorical effect of contrasting (even pictorial) motives is strongly felt.

The inclusion of this *chasse* serves to underline that men remain the protagonists, the agents of action in the accompanying illustration. While the theme of rivalry is evident with the duel in the background (which may suggest that the image is a narrative amalgam) there is also an emphasis on group solidarity for those participating

54 Willi Kahl, and Israel J. Katz, "Bolero," in *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed October 11, 2019.

in the musical serenade. Here, men are offered a sense of belonging and camaraderie (in mutual support of another's romantic aspirations) through their participation in guitar mania, paralleling that afforded to women in the first image. Nevertheless, the precise relationship of this scene to the first remains somewhat undefined. For example, is it the same house? And do the same characters feature? Arguably, a subtle narrative begins to emerge as the six images unfold.

Plate Three: *"La contradanse"*

"*La contradanse*" (fig. 6) depicts a social dance that could perhaps be interpreted as a continuation of the romantic flirtation. This is, again, a very social situation, but now one that positions men and women as more equal participants. The dance is accompanied by a small group of musicians including three or more guitarists, a violinist, and a person playing percussion (possibly a kettle drum). While most attendees are dancing, some women are seated to the far left being served canapés by a waiter or servant – perhaps suggesting the privilege and authority of these women. Curiously, the dominant musical figure is a woman (guitar in hand, centre right). The view from behind is reminiscent of *Rückenfigur,* an effect common in Romantic painting, particularly that of Caspar David Friedrich, (1774–1840). It evokes identification by replicating the view of the central figure, an illusion which is enhanced by her long shadow. Not only does her female gender reinforce that women are key participants in guitar mania, but the use of the *Rückenfigur* arguably facilitates identification from a female audience.

This illustration also provides rare iconographic evidence of the use of guitar ensemble as an accompaniment to social dancing. This is particularly interesting in that there is minimal evidence of widespread ensemble playing with three or more guitars in surviving music from the first half of the nineteenth century.[55] The depiction of guitars in ensemble is also ironic given that the musical selections are exclusively for solo guitar. Importantly, the visual presentation of guitar mania as a social phenomenon reinforces the message that participation offers identity and belonging.

The dance depicted is a *quadrille*, with the clearly foregrounded square of two couples. The *quadrille* was particularly popular in Paris during the First Empire, that of Napoleon Bonaparte between 1804–1814. All the expected musical components are evident: (i) "*Pantalon"* (trousers), (ii) "*Eté"* (summer), (iii), "*Poule"* (chicken), (iv) "*Trénis"* (substituting for the *pastourelle*), and (v) "*Finale*."[56] Unexpectedly, a sixth movement, "*Valse*," is appended. Despite the simplicity of the works from a technical

55 Guitars were used in various chamber groups in the early nineteenth century, including guitar duo, guitar and flute/violin, and trios of guitar, flute, and violin. However, works for three or more guitars from this period are comparatively rare.

56 Lamb, Andrew. "Quadrille." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 11 Oct. 2019. https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000022622.



Fig. 6: The third image: "*La contradanse*."
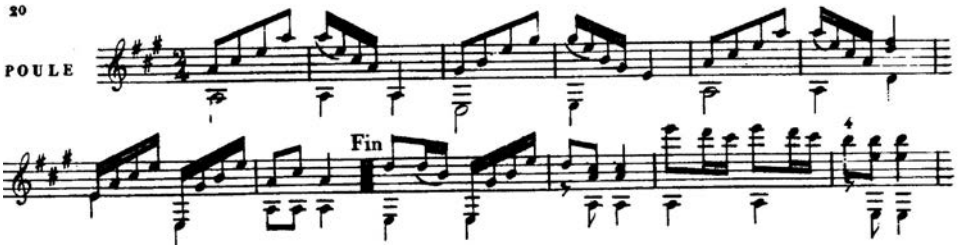


Fig. 7: "*Poule*" [Chicken], page 20, lines 1–2.
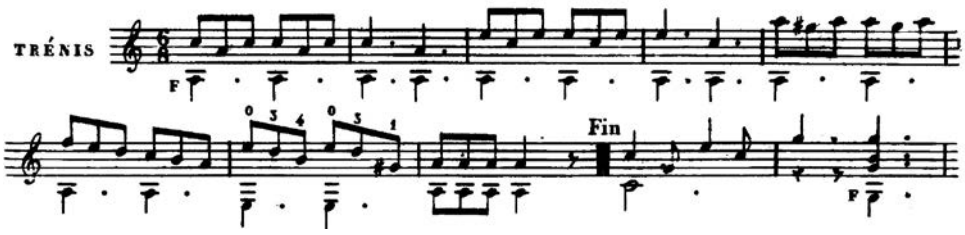


Fig. 8: Hunting horns in "*Trénis*," page 21, lines 1–2.

perspective, Marescot displays an intimate knowledge of the *quadrille*, imbuing each movement with vivid motives reflecting dance character and meaning (such as the comical figuration in "*Poule*," fig. 7). The inclusion of these dances may also reflect that Marescot held republican sympathies (which seems likely given that his uncle was a decorated Napoleonic officer), even though *La guitaromanie* was published near the end of the Bourbon Restoration. Significantly, several works contain tropes of the hunt – including "*Trénis"* (fig. 8) and "*Finale*" – with harmonics for bugle calls that reflect the collection's continuing fascination with masculine, heroic pursuits. These tropes are arguably highjacked here in the depiction of the countryside and a rustic lifestyle, consistent with the origins of the *quadrille*.

Plate Four: *"L'air varié"*

"L'air varié" (fig. 9) represents the epytome of the early nineteenth-century guitar virtuoso, a musical demonstration of techical prowess. Although typical of the period, such vivid iconographical evidence of the guitar in a salon context is unique. A solo male guitarist performs before a small audience of some nineteen people, with a further two standing figures and two waiters on the left. Although superficially resembling a modern concert, the music is not quite demanding everyone's full attention. The lights are on, many are still standing (some engrossed in their own conversations), and a waiter is actively moving into the room carrying a platter full of drinks. The front row of seated women also reflects that salons were typically ruled over by a female hostess. Nevertheless, the image ultimately reinforces the notion that (as previously mentioned) professional performance remained a masculine preserve.

Theme and variations was one of the most common musical forms in the guitar repertoire of this period and a primary vehicle for the exhibition of technical skill. Following the pattern of the genre, the first two variations display increasing rhythmic activity, followed by a movement marked "*Plus lent"* ("*3e. var.*"), though without minor mode. "*Marche"* ("*4e. var.*") and "*Mouvement de valse"* ("5*e. var.*") represent somewhat unusual and exotic additions.

The theme itself (marked "*Allegretto con variazioni"*) is of poignant simplicity, aping the style of an operatic air, complete with a written-out cadenza that is further elaborated in the first and second variations. While the main melody does not appear to correspond to any recognisable opera aria, the glaringly simplistic arpeggio motives convey a fanfare-like character (fig. 10). This militaristic quality, which has been a recurring theme of the entire collection, is also evident in "*Marche*" ("*4e. var.*") and in the second variation ("2*e. var.*"), where the fanfare is amplified by a martial rhythm reminiscent of marching drums (fig. 11). These elements arguably serve to embue the theme and variations with a satirically exaggerated masculine symbolism, consistent with the nature of a masculine demonstration of technical prowess – albeit symbolically conveyed within the range of an elementary technical palette.

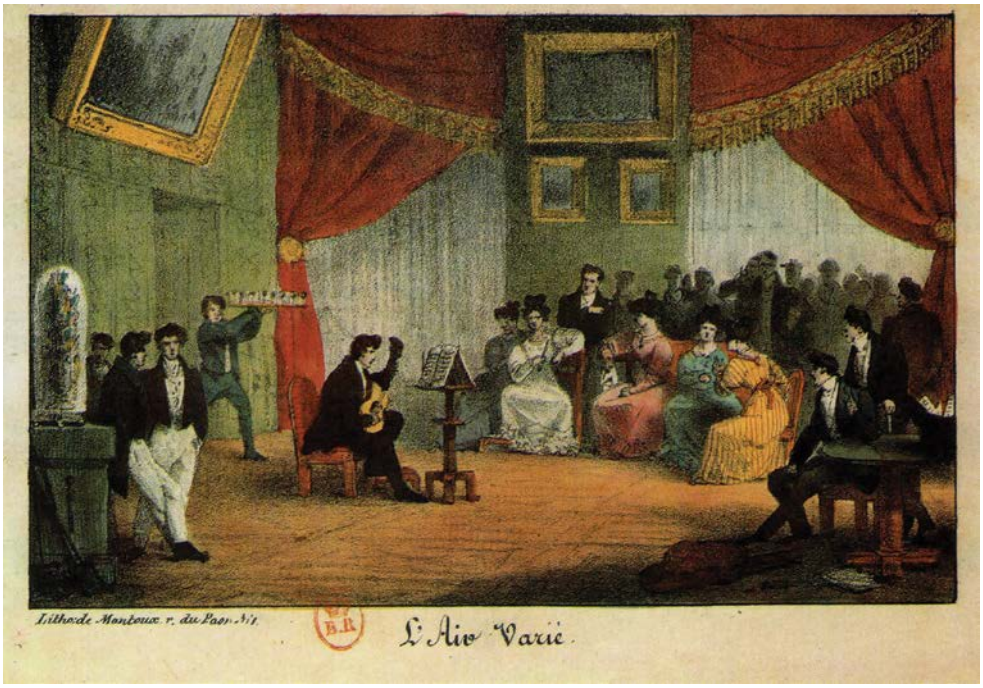


Fig. 9: The fourth image: "*L'air varié*."
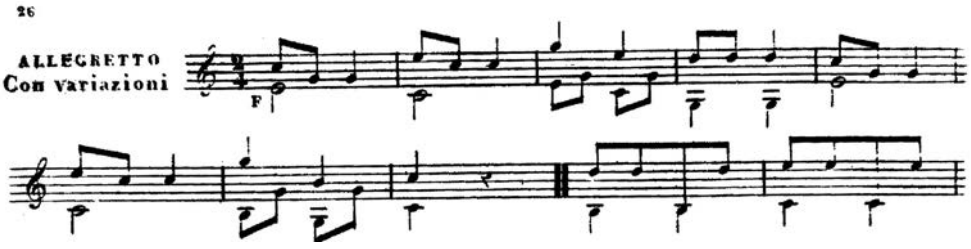


Fig. 10: Brass fanfare figures at the opening of "*Allegretto con variazioni"* (the theme), page 26, lines 1–2.
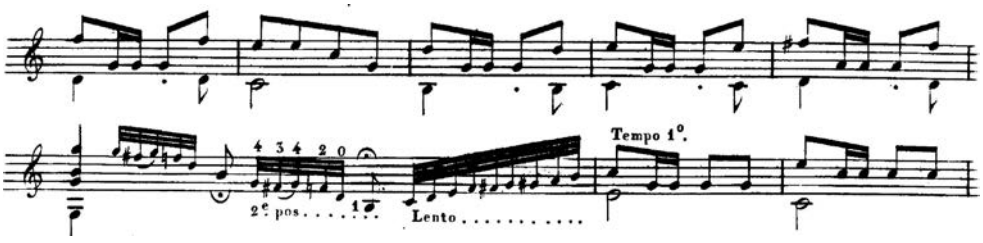


Fig. 11: Martial rhythms (drum-like) in the second variation ("2e. *var.*"), page 28, lines 3–4.

Plate Five: *"Discussion entre les Carulistes en les Molinistes"*

"*Discussion entre les Carulistes en les Molinistes*" (fig. 12) is the most famous and emblematic image of the collection. The subject of the dispute between the disciples of Ferdinando Carulli (1770–1841) and Franceso Molino (1768–1847), two of Paris's most significant rival teachers, has become a matter of some conjecture. In 1985, Mario Dell'Ara raised the possibility that the dispute hinged on differences of technique. Matanya Orphee argued that the pivotal issue was left-hand thumb technique, specifically the use of the left hand thumb on the fingerboard to stop bass notes – as this was advocated by Carulli but disparaged by Molino.[57] This interpretation has been reiterated by several others.[58] More recently, Gil (previously Martín) makes a comprehensive exploration of the merits of various possible points of difference as well as examining evidence of ongoing professional rivalry.[59] The uncanny resemblances of the opening themes of Carulli and Molino's E minor concertos is one possible evidence of this rivalry, raising the possibility of plagiarism[60] (most likely Molino copying Carulli).[61]

---

57 Matanya Ophee, "A Short History of the Use of the Left-Hand Thumb: Some Considerations of its Practical Use in Performance Today," (2008), http://www.guitarandluteissues.com/LH-Thumb/lh-thumb.htm (no longer available); now available at https://www.digitalguitararchive.com/2020/12/a-short-history-of-the-use-of-the-left-hand-thumb/ (accessed January 18, 2021). This possibility was one of several noted by Dell'Ara.

58 Ricardo Barcelo, "Uma Eminência parda na esquerda: a ação silenciosa do polegar na guitarra," [unpublished paper] https://www.academia.edu/23689312/ (accessed 11/10/2019); and Panagiotis Poulopoulos, "The Impact of François Chanot's Experimental Violins on the Development of the Earliest Guitar with an Arched Soundboard by Francesco Molino in the 1820s," *Early Music* 46 no. 1 (2018): 73. See also "Maestros of the Guitar; The Biography of Francesco Molino (1768–1847)," http://www.maestros-of-the-guitar.com/francescomolino.html (accessed on 11/10/2019); Marek Cupák, "Franceso Molino: Werke für gitarre," (Thesis, Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien, 2016), http://www.marekcupak.com/wp-content/uploads/francesco-molino_artistic-diploma-thesis_vienna-2016.pdf (accessed 11/10/2019); and Bone, *The Guitar & Mandolin,* 284, who clarifies that Carulli, Carcassi, and de Ferranti all used the left-hand thumb on the fingerboard, as opposed to Sor.

59 While the use of the left-hand thumb on the fingerboard remains perhaps the most prominent issue, other differences include denotations for left-hand positions, instruments, posture, and right-hand fingerings (and their notation). See Gil, "Unraveling the Discussion …," 11–21. Gil's analysis also reveals the professional one-upmanship evident in the various iterations of both pedagogue's method books and professional activities. It also refutes the suggestion that the use of nails versus no nails was a point of difference – an argument reiterated by Dell'Ara in *Francesco Molino: Vita e opera*, vol. 1 (Savigliano: Rosa Sonara, 2014), 23.

60 This independent observation is also noted by Gil in "Unraveling the Discussion …," 14.

61 Maria Torta, *Catalogo tematico delle opere di Ferdinando Carulli* (Italy: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993) dates the Op. 140 as ca. 1820, earlier than Molino's Concerto Op.56. The precise date of Molino's concerto is unknown, but the opus number places it at least after 1826–27 (the date of Molino's *Supplément a la method,* Op. 47. See Erik Stenstadvold, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods*, 1760–1860 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2010), 5.



Fig. 12: The fifth image: "*Discussion entre les Carulistes en les Molinistes*."
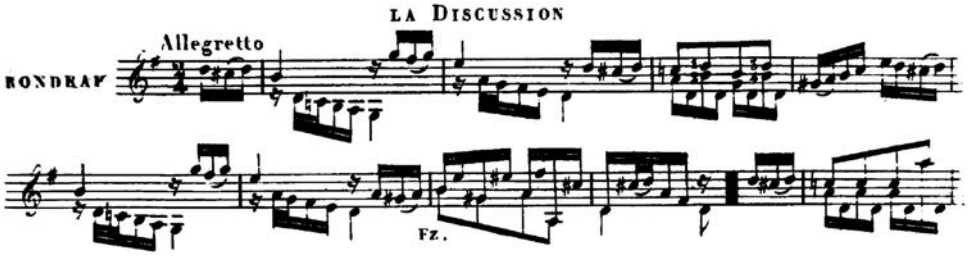


Fig. 13: Frantic activity depicting a brawl in "*La discussion* (*Rondeau: Allegretto*)," page 34, lines 1–2.
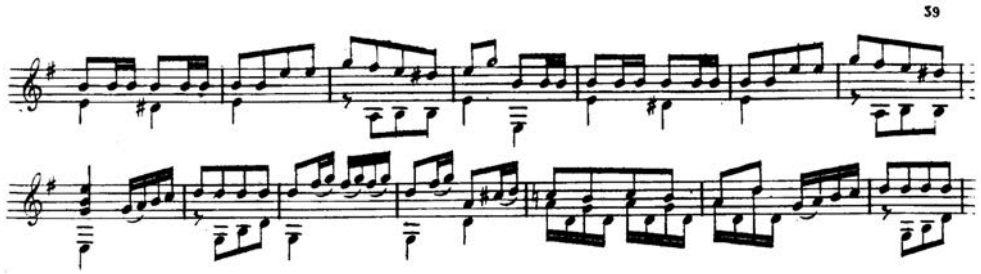


Fig. 14 : Military tropes (drums and fanfare) in "*Rondeau à l'Espagnole*," page 39, lines 1–2.

Whatever real disputes existed, the image depicts a visual hyperbole highlighting exaggerated devotion, a vivid portrayal of guitar mania. This is reinforced by the deliberate and ironic understatement of the text, labelling the image a "discussion" despite the scene being one of extreme violence. In the context of "belonging," the brawl highlights the excessive loyalty of devotees to their sub-group (as disciples of rival pedagogues). Satirical in nature, the scene could be construed as a type of self-deprecating humour. Cartoonish and comical, the image may remind viewers of the theatrical antics of modern rock guitarists. Certainly, the guitar's propensity to incite passionate devotion is an intriguing historical phenomenon. Could it be that the "outsider" status the guitar has often maintained – as an icon of exoticism, youthful rebellion, and ephemera – must be compensated with exaggerated devotion? Also missing from scholarly discourse is the curious absence of women from this scene. Is this dispute simply men's business, too important for women? Or is the joke perhaps intended for women's enjoyment, poking fun at the ridiculous behaviour of men in obsessing over trivialities?

The musical repertoire that follows is similarly entitled "*La discussion*," although it is not entirely clear whether this refers only to the opening piece, "*Rondeau: Allegretto*," or all three movements as a set. There are three pieces, (i) "*Rondeau: Allegretto*," (ii) "*Polonaise*," and (iii) "*Rondeau a L'Espagnole*." There is no attempt to illustrate any point regarding the use of the left-hand thumb. Rather, the opening movement, "*Rondeau,*" (fig. 13) could be said to programmatically depict the frenzied brawl, while military tropes in "*Rondeau a L'Espagnole"* (fig. 14) continue to underscore the masculine notions of brawl and battle through the evocation of brass and drums.

Plate Six: *"Les délassemens de l'hiver"*

"*Les délassemens de l'hiver*" (or "Winter Recreation") (fig. 15) depicts another scene of musical serenade, with a male playing guitar in the effort to woo a reclining female. The female presumably sojourns within her own boudoir, a very private space, making the presence of the male unchaperoned somewhat risqué (and placing the woman in an arguably empowered role). Indeed, the word "*délassemens*" (recreation) in the title is itself suggestive, a double-entendre. The guitarist's relaxed posture, with legs crossed and the guitar's belly upturned, is also indicative of informality. A sense of intimacy is further enhanced by the fact that the guitarist has replaced his top hat (now resting on the mantel piece) with a night cap. Furthermore, the figures are facing towards each other enraptured, the woman leaning in attentively. As with "*La sérénade*," the guitar features as an agent of seduction and potential moral subversion.[62]

62 The neoclassical décor (complete with classical bust) and lady's possibly Napoleonic dress may also reflect Bonapartist (and republican) sympathies.

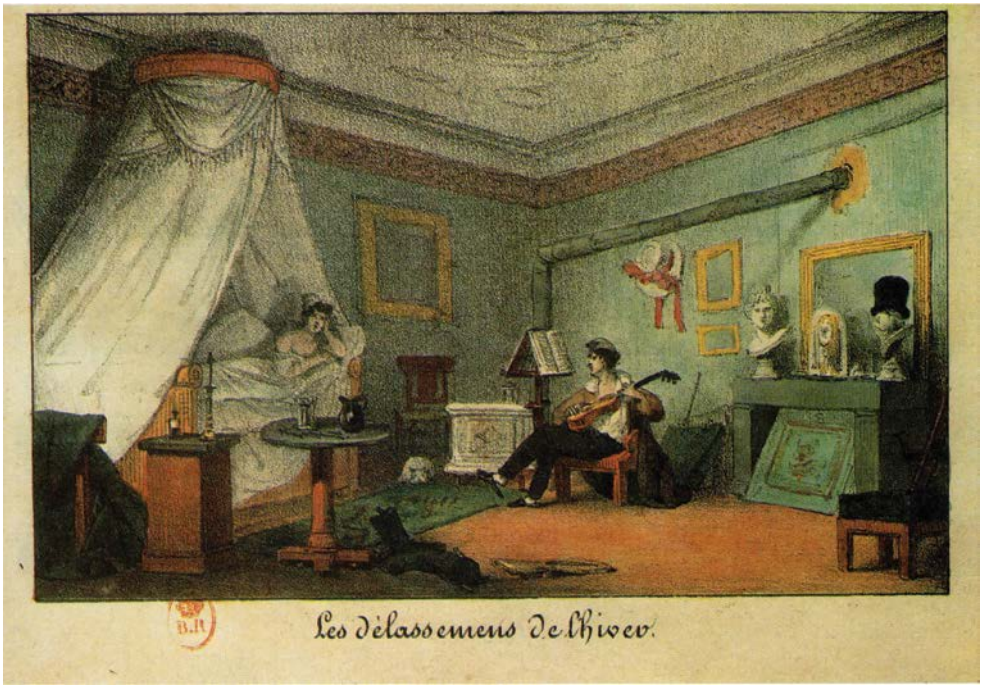


Fig. 15 : The sixth image: "*Les délassemens de l'hiver.*"

The musical selection comprises a catalogue of musical studies, a warm-up routine of scales, arpeggios, octaves, and sixths (fig. 16), preceding a short program containing two waltzes and a two-movement work, "*Sonatine*." These musical excerpts betray no hint of intimacy, however, but rather allude to vigorous physical activity. They present a compendium of guitar "party-tricks," both idiomatic and playful, including: (i) dance-like rhythms; (ii) the use of melodic glissandi (the first "*Valse"*); (iii) cross-string textural effects – an alternation of unisons on different strings for enhanced resonance (the second "*Valse"*); (iv) oscillating mordents using left-hand slurs (the first "*Valse*"); and (v) harmonics (the second "*Valse"*). It might be imagined that the male figure is exhibiting both his technical accomplishment on the guitar as well as alluding to his physical prowess in dancing and outdoor pursuits.

Reinforcing this notion of masculine display is the continuation of heroic music, with a prominent fanfare figure in the two-movement work, "*Sonatine*," as well as martial rhythms reminiscent of drums. Horn calls also feature prominently in "*Rondeau pastoral*." With this title, it might be tempting to assume that Marescot intended shepherd's horn rather than hunting horns, although the energy and activity evident is arguably more consistent with a hunt. It concludes with a gentle fade-out (*smorzando*) (fig. 17) in which the horn calls are reiterated progressively softer, as if the hunt gradually recedes into the distance.
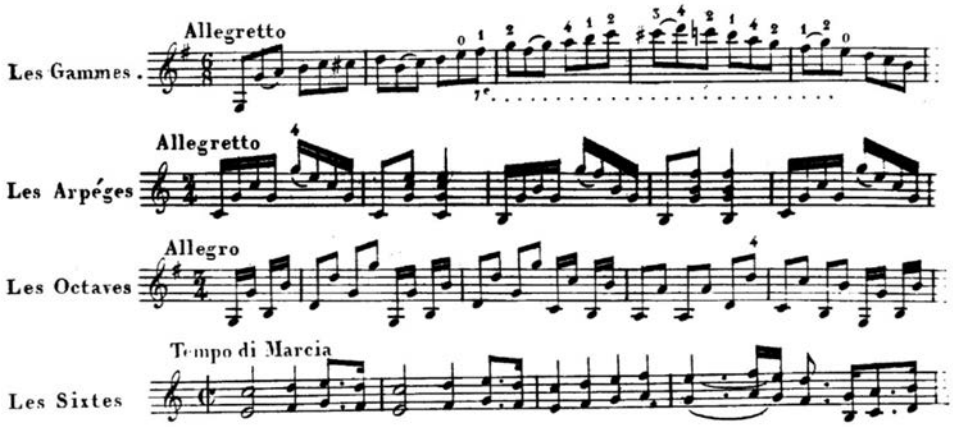


Fig. 16 : Opening incipits from four preludes/exercises: "*Les gammes*," page 42; "*Les arpéges*," page 43; "*Les octaves*," page 44, and "*Les sixtes*," page 45.
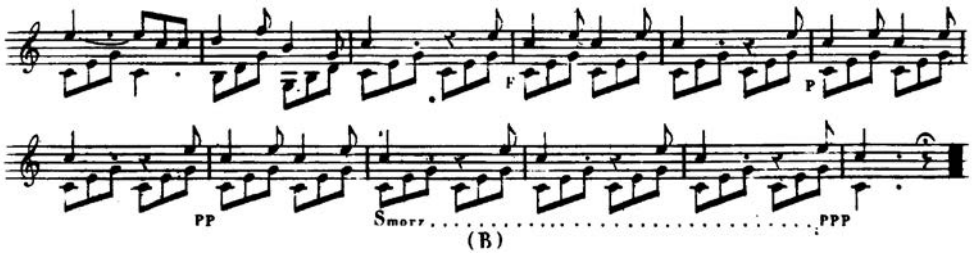


Fig. 17: The gentle fade-out in *Rondeau pastoral*, (second page), page 51, lines 4–5.

Viewing the six images across *La guitaromanie* together as a series, it is tempting to perceive an implicit underlying narrative – one that is predicated on the possibility that the same male character features throughout. Themes of male authority (in "*La guitaromanie*"), physical/musical/sexual prowess (in "*L'air varié*"), and competition (in "*Discussion …*"), particularly in efforts to win the heart of a lady (in "*La sérénade*" and to some extent "*La contradanse*") recur across the set. Seen in this light, "*Les d'elassemens de l'hiver*" could be interpreted as the reward for the victorious gentleman who finally wins the lady. As with the previously mentioned BMG iconography, this subtle underlying narrative exploits sex for advertising purposes, selling the message that participation in and belonging to guitar mania brings multiple benefits.

Conclusion

La guitaromanie will no doubt continue to fascinate modern observers for years to come. Despite the fanciful nature of certain images, the book provides a vivid window into the nineteenth-century guitar and its musical contexts. The illustrations provide a veritable diagnostic compendium of the various forms of guitar "mania." As noted throughout, the imagery portrays this fixation as a social phenomenon (despite the solo nature of the musical excerpts) and possibly presents a fictive narrative vivifying the potential benefits of belonging through an affirmation of sexual potency. Consistent with its milleau, however, the representations of gender roles are rife with contradictions and ambiguity. *La guitaromanie* simultaneously confirms the social acceptability of the guitar for women, while also reinforcing its exoticism and erotic potential, thereby balancing social propriety and scandal. The arts of seduction and the preoccupation with "heroic" pursuits that thread across the collection, variously celebrating and comically satirising such activity, can paradoxically appeal to both men and women (at least within the context of heterosexual gender roles). Women may fantasise about being the subject of male romantic attentions, and the power this affords them. By the some token, men can be drawn into the propsect of wooing a young lady with their musical accomplishments; be they serenades, dancing, or virtuosic displays. And as suggested by Morgan, a young female audience can vicariously enjoy such depictions of male "heroic" pursuits, not to mention the male-dominated experience of virtuoso concert performance.[63] Ultimately, this collection, with its satirical illustrations and colourful musical examples, remains something that cannot be taken too seriously. *La guitaromanie* was always intended to be little more than a spot of fun.

63 Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 79.

BETWEEN AUTHOR AND MUSE: PAULINE VIARDOT-GARCÍA AS SAPHO (PARIS, LE PELETIER 1851)[1]

Christine Fischer

This essay is about the birth of a tragic opera from the spirit of a visual motive. In *Sapho*, Charles Gounod's first opera, premiered in 1851 in Salle Le Peletier (Paris) with Pauline Viardot-García (1821–1910) singing the title role, poetics of the genre (and one might say the relations amongst the arts) are examined perspicuously.[2] The opera therefore pre-empts more famous if not to say hegemonic discussions on this topic held approximately twenty years later in the German-speaking realm.[3]

Following up this line of argument, by examining the coexistence and hierarchies of the arts and their practices on stage I negotiate with *Sapho* the categories of belonging and detachment. This happens by tracing manifold merging processes of boundaries, existing or constructed: boundaries between disciplines involved in creating, performing, and in the reception of an opera; and also boundaries between vision and sound involved in these very same processes. Finally, my discussion of *Sapho* deals with transgressions of boundaries between private and public spheres as well as with the questions of national belonging (or detachment) and of genders of artistic creation.

---

1 When the last corrections on the final version of this article were conducted two important books on Sapho and French opera of the time were about to be published: Melina Esse, *Singing Sapho: Improvisation and Authority in Nineteenth-century Italian Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021) and Hervé Lacombe, *Histoire de l'opéra français. Du Consulat aux debut de la 3ème Republique* (Paris: Fayard, 2020). Their findings could not be included here.

2 Thérèse Marix-Spire, "Gounod and His First Interpreter, Pauline Viardot – Part 1," *The Musical Quarterly* 31, no.2 (1945): 193–211. Thérèse Marix-Spire, Erminie Huntress, "Gounod and His First Interpreter, Pauline Viardot – Part II," *The Musical Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (1945): 299–317. Stephen Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). Jeffrey Buller, "Sapho. Charles Gounod," *The Opera Quarterly* 12, no.1 (1995): 174–177. Gérard Condé, *Charles Gounod* (Millau: Fayard, 2009). Melanie Stier, "Pauline Viardot Garcias Einfluss auf Entstehung, Aufführung und Rezeption von Charles Gounods erster Oper Sapho," in *Musik – Stadt. Traditionen und Perspektiven urbaner Musikkulturen. Freie Beiträge,* ed. Gilbert Stöck and Katrin Stöck (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2012), vol. 4: [241]–249.

3 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie: Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen I–IV. Nachgelassene Schriften 1870–1873* (München: dtv, 1999). For some recent studies see: Stefan Lorenz Sorgner, *Wagner und Nietzsche*: *Kultur – Werk – Wirkung: ein Handbuch* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2008). Kerstin Decker, *Nietzsche und Wagner: Geschichte einer Hassliebe* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 2012). Karol Berger, *Beyond Reason: Wagner contra Nietzsche* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2012).

Methodological Framework

Approaching the first production and the reception of Gounod's/Viardot-García's *Sapho* with a focus on the singer's performance of the title role means to deal with its prominent references to the iconographic, textual and practical issues of the unstable ground of female authorship. A short examination of the Parisian contexts of Viardot-García's career that contextualises her specific practices of musical creation therefore needs to be included as a starting point.

One of Viardot-García's most prestigious public appearances as a composer took place with her cantata *La jeune republique* for choir and orchestra in 1848 at a national celebration of the 150th anniversary of the French Revolution in the Parisian Théâtre de la République (fig. 1).[4] The composition, with text by Pierre Dupont, was intended to take the place of a new "Marsellaise." It was commissioned by the French minister of the interior, Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, after Georges Sand's plea to him to consider her good friend Viardot-García for the composition.[5] This seemed to have been part of plans for Viardot-García's musical career that had political, if not "revolutionary," ultimate goals: in 1842 George Sand predicted the political and social aspects of Viardot-García's career that, according to Sand, were meant to far transgress the boundaries of being an opera singer.[6]

> La conclusion c'est que vous êtes la première, la seule, la grande, la vraie cantatrice, et que cela sera un jour prouvé aussi bien au vulgaire qu'aux connaisseurs et aux sympathiques. Ces deux dernières classes d'auditeurs, vous les avez, vous les aurez toujours; mais vous êtes la prêtesse de l'idéal en musique et vous avez pour mission de le répandre, de le faire comprendre et d'amener les récalcitrant et les ignorants à un instinct et à une révélation du vrai et du beau. Vous avez quelque chose de plus grand à faire que votre réputation et votre fortune. L'une e l'autre se feront nécessairement. Mais vous ne vous en occuperez que comme de moyens pour rendre facile et sûre l'œuvre de votre puissance et de votre génie sur le siècle.[7]

4 Christin Heitmann, "Pauline Viardot. Systematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis (VWV)," Hamburg, Hochschule für Musik und Theater, accessed May 11, 2020, http://www.pauline-viardot.de/Werkverzeichnis.htm.

5 Thérèse Marix-Spire, *Lettres inédites de George Sand et de Pauline Viardot 1839–1849* (Paris: Nouvelles editions latines, 1959), 248.

6 For an insightful discussion of the relationship between Sand and Viardot-García see, among others, Beatrix Borchard, "Mehr als eine Sängerin: Kulturschöpferin. Pauline Viardot-Garcia, der Künstlerdiskurs in George Sands *Consuelo* und die Orpheus-Figur", in *Singstimmen. Ästhetik, Geschlecht, Vokalprofil*, ed. Katrin Losleben, Saskia Maria Woyke, Stephan Mösch and Anno Mungen (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2017), 159–190.

7 "The conclusion is that you are the first, the only, the great, the true singer and that will one day be proven to the common ones as well as to the connoisseurs and to the enthusiasts. These two last types of listeners are already with you and will always be; but you are the priestess of the ideal of music and your mission is to disseminate it and to make it understood and to attract the refractory ones and the uneducated by an instinct for and a revelation of the true and the beautiful. You

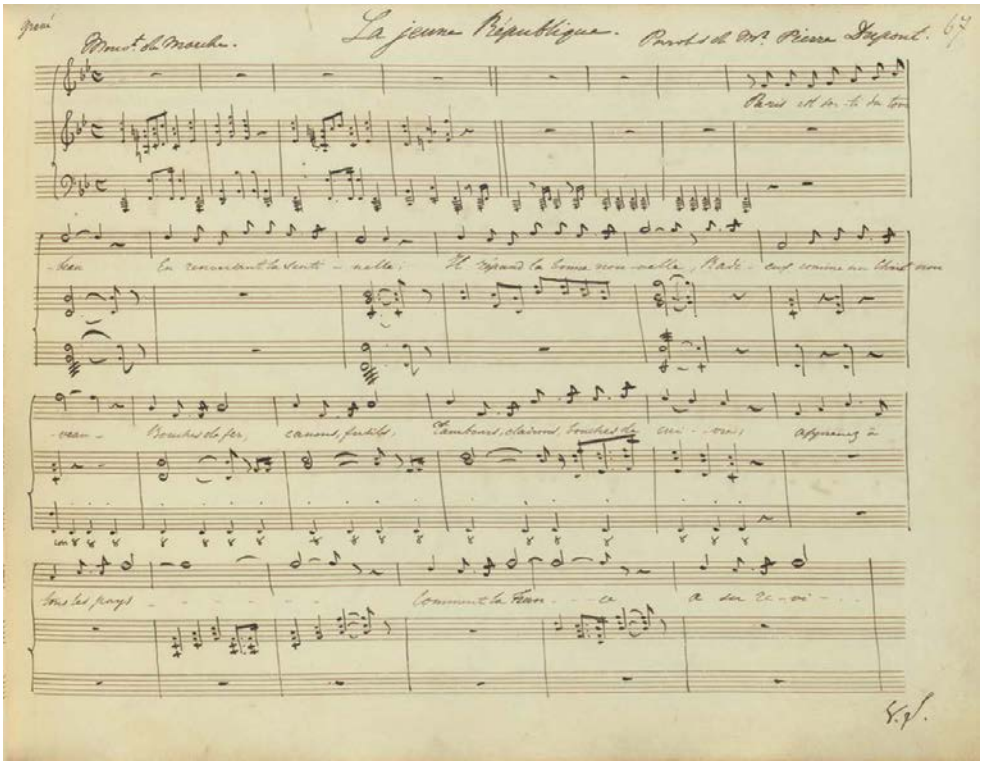


Fig. 1: Beginning of Pauline Viardot-García, *La jeune Republique,* Cantata for choir and orchestra, 1848, autograph. Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Mus 264 (97), Box 5. Copyright © Boston: Houghton Library, Harvard University, with kind permission.

This "new" kind of socially-integrative art, not only included national overtones in its references to the revolutionary ideals of educating the citizens via culture with anti-elitist claims.[8] It also re-places the formerly divine inspirations of art into the human realm of the female priestess-artist as its ideal executor. We can add the merging of social boundaries via art to a list of aspects of belonging and detachment negotiated by Pauline Viardot-García's performances. Having therefore to focus on the corporeal aspects of performativity as well as media transgressions, a musical analysis of *Sapho* needs to describe and deconstruct the performative acts that exemplify these liminal states of socially charged transgressions.

---

have something greater to achieve but your reputation and your fortune. It is necessary to make both of them. But you use them as a means to make the work of your power and of your genius easy and secure for this century." Marix-Spire, *Lettres inédites,* 159.

8 Emmanuel Hondré, *Le conservatoire de musique de Paris: regards sur une institution et son histoire* (Paris: Association du bureau des étudiants du CNSMDP, 1995). Rémy Campos, *Le Conservatoire de Paris et son histoire. Une institution en question* (Paris: L'oeil d'or, 2016).

As Ann Jefferson described, discourses of genius in France around the 1830s explicitly focus on the necessity of mediation of the genius in a specifically gendered way.[9] In one of his first novels, *Louis Lambert*, written in 1830, Honoré de Balzac describes the lacuna of lacking insight into the way the intelligence of creative artists operates. Merging his own artistic persona and its professional facets of a historian and a scientist into Louis Lambert, he sets out to find answers to this perplexing question. One of the results, he concludes, is that female presence is defined as "essential helpmeet of [the male gendered] genius."[10]

The novel *Louis Lambert* was written at the castle of its dedicatee Laure de Berny, who was also Balzac's lover and took the role as "helpmeet" in the creation of the novel. In Balzac's case there are fixed gender roles at work during the creative process: genius is male, mediation is female, the artistic result is an unchangeable, printed text. Performance and improvisation, however, as central factors in the creation and first production of *Sapho*, outline a space for female genius and enable a reversal or at least expanding of gender roles to be examined in this essay.

Another starting point for my study of Viardot-García's authorships in *Sapho* is the tradition of female improvisers who performed during the nineteenth century in Southern Italy. Melina Esse has already included this tradition in her study of Italian Opera.[11] The emotional immersion of the audiences who witnessed these Italian *improvvisatrici* was described vividly by contemporaries. According to their accounts, listeners took part, in various ways, in the improvised performances which were sung to pre-existing melodies: they tried to help find the next rhyme, they wrote down every improvised word in the sense of a documentation and got emotionally involved in the performance to the point that they were inspired to create poetry themselves.[12] This seems to underline the fragile status of female improvisation between author and muse, between creating spontaneously (as the author of improvised song) and at the same time inspiring others to create themselves (as muses of their audiences). Although acting as creators, these women could not rid themselves of their gender inscribed status as muses. Their gender trouble was based on the concept of muse as the gendered and maybe sexual "other" of the genius. Therefore, female authorship became a sexual transgression in itself, and improvisation a means of subversive critique on the work concept so closely linked to the concept of genius. The myths of Corinna and Sapho, the ancient female writers, therefore, became a principal way of female self-authorisation as creative genius.

9 Ann Jefferson, *Genius in France: an Idea and its Uses* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015).

10 Jefferson, *Genius in France,* 139.

11 Melina Esse, "Encountering the improvvisatrice in Italian Opera," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 3 (2013): 709–770. Melina Esse, "The Sexual Politics of Operatic Collaboration. Gounod, 'O ma lyre immortelle' (Sapho, *Sapho*, Act III)," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 28, no. 2 (2016): 171–174.

12 Esse, "Encountering," 757.

In *Louis Lambert,* Balzac employs a self-reflexive loop in order to generate a literary form of narration that exemplifies, according to Jefferson, that "the figure of genius is inseparable from the other of its observer-witness, as if genius cannot be represented in unmediated form".[13] This structural merging of the categories of performer and listener, visualisation and the visualised, object and representation, leads us directly to a term central to contemporary philosophy on the topic of the intersections between the theories of performativity and mediality, defined by Sybille Krämer in 2004 with new perspectives: *aisthesis*.[14]

Aisthesis is the concept that unites event and receptions, doer and done. Exactly by uniting these opposed categories, *aisthesis* can be viewed as the key that connects the theory of performativity with the theory of mediality. This is comparable to the fact that the performance of an action creates reality, and therefore performativity exists as performed, and also that the very concept of the media used can be looked upon as the message itself.[15] Concentrating on the corporeal aspects of performativity and connecting them to media transgressions by using the concept of *aisthesis* to grasp this overlap of both theoretical systems in their self-reflexivity, Krämer suggests a novelty. She thereby opens the doors to a gain of academic and artistic knowledge about historical performances, since the performative concept of the "here and now" gets undissolvably linked to media history. Krämer opens Marshall McLuhan's media theory[16] historically by expanding its time horizon, which refers to the mass media during the last century, into longer past times and their specific medialities. In order to further derive Viardot-García's female and performative authorship in *Sapho* on the basis of this overlap of performativity and mediality, I start by examining a visual motive that is deeply inscribed in *Sapho*: the motive of "lady with the lyre". Building on this, my essay first looks at the genesis of the opera and then analyses the music and images of Sapho's improvisational sequences in Gounod's/Viardot-García's opera.

13 Jefferson, *Genius in France,* 140.

14 Sybille Krämer, "Was haben 'Performativität' und 'Medialität' miteinander zu tun? Plädoyer für eine in der 'Aisthetisierung' gründende Konzeption des Performativen," in *Performtivität und Medialität*, ed. Sybille Krämer (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2004): 13–32.

15 „Aber kommt uns die Denkfigur [des Mediengenerativismus], etwas zu vermitteln und dabei das Vermittelte zugleich zu erzeugen, nicht bekannt vor? Die Genese des Performativen aus dem Geiste einer nicht-repräsentationalistischen Sprachphilosophie hob an mit der Entdeckung, dass sprachliche Äußerungen nicht nur etwas bezeichnen, sondern dasjenige, was sie bezeichnen, unter gewissen kulturell-sozialen Bedingungen zugleich auch vollziehen." ("But doesn't the figure of thought [of media generativism], to mediate something and at the same time to produce the mediated, sound familiar to us? The genesis of the performative from the spirit of a non-representationalist philosophy of language began with the discovery that linguistic utterances not only designate something, but also perform that which they designate under certain cultural-social conditions." Krämer, „Was haben", 21.

16 Marshall McLuhan, *The Medium is the Message: An Inventory of Effects* (Berkeley: Gingko Press, 2017).

A Visual Motive

As Mario Praz wrote in 1940, *Corinne ou l'Italie* functioned as one of the main points of reference with the generation of the "positively contagious" visual motive of "woman with lyre" at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[17] Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Lebrun's *Portrait of Madame de Staël* (fig. 2) was painted two years after de Staël's novel *Corinne, ou l'Italie* had been published for the first time.[18] Lebrun (1755–1842) not only depicted the portrait's sitter, Madame de Staël, but simultaneously the main character of her novel, Corinne, a talented improviser of poetry.[19] She portrayed Corinne/Staël in a moment of inspiration, sitting in the rocky landscape of Capo Miseno near Naples and accompanying herself with the lyre. Lebrun thereby illustrated one of the famous improvisation scenes of the novel. The painting shows the poet, looking for the sources of her artistic endeavour in a transcendent space. At the time of the novel (and also de Staël's real journey through Italy in 1804), female improvisers in fact rendered performances at this very exact area. This happened in a manner they thought to be inspired by ideas from Greek and Roman antiquity. The performances were enacted close to the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum that made antique art and life seem even closer. Further, this reference to antiquity connected de Staël's Corinne with the ancient Greek poet Corinna, believed to have lived between the fifth and third centuries before Christ, who was reportedly crowned at the Roman capitol.[20] The rapid rise in popularity of female improvisers in Italy in the late eighteenth century was further fuelled and geographically expanded by de Staël's novel, to the degree that improvised singing in general acquired a distinctly feminine association.[21]

More than being only the result of a merging of the poet of the novel and of its main character, Lebrun's painting includes reference, through the costume depicted, to yet another female figure – to Domenichino's *Cumaean Sybil* (fig. 3) that was part of the Royal collection exhibited in Paris:

> Elle était vêtue comme la Sybille du Dominiquin, un châle des Indes tourné autour de sa tête, et ses cheveux du plus beau noir entremêlés avec ce châle; sa robe était blanche, une draperie bleue se rattachait au-dessous de son sein, et son costume était très pittoresque, sans s'écarter cependant assez des usages reçus, pour que l'on pût y trouver de l'affectation.[22]

17 Mario Praz, *On Neoclassicism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969): 255–267, here 255; and Judith Ellen Stein, *The Iconography of Sapho*, 1775–1875," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1981), 85–87.

18 Madame de Staël, *Corinne ou l'Italie* (Paris: H. Nicolle, 1807).

19 Stein, "Iconography," 88–97. Yvonne Bezard, *Madame de Staël d'aprés ses portraits* (Paris, Neuchâtel: V. Attinger, 1938).

20 Derek Collins, "Corinna and Mythological Innovation," *The Classical Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (May 2006): 19–32.

21 Alessandra di Ricco, *L'inutile e meraviglioso mestiere: poeti improvvisatori di fine settecento* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1990), 9. Esse's articles "Encountering" and "Sexual Politics" dealt extensively with the subject.

22 "She was dressed like the Sybille of Domenichino, an Indian shawl draped around her head, and her most beautiful black hair interwoven with this shawl; her dress was white, a blue drapery was at-



Fig. 2: Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Lebrun, *Portrait of Madame de Staël as Corinne on Cape Misenum*, 1809, oil on canvas, 140 × 118 cm. Geneva: MAH Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève. Don d'Albertine-Adrienne Necker-de Saussure, 1841 (inv.-no. 1841-0003). Copyright © Musées d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève, with kind permission.



Fig. 3: Jean-Baptiste Foseilleux after Domenico Zampieri, called Domenichino, *The Cumaean Sibyl, half-length looking upwards, holding a book*, in: Louis Abel de Bonafous De Fontenai, *Galerie Du Palais Royal Gravée d'aprés les Tableaux des differentes Ecoles*, Paris 1786, engraving, 49 × 32 cm. Copyright © The Trustees of the British Museum, with kind permission.

By introducing a Sybil-like costume for her main character, Corinne, de Staël references the transcendent premises and qualities of artistic creation and performance: as antique female visionaries, the Sybils made their predictions in trance. Additionally, the Cumaen rocky cave of the legendary Sybil depicted by Domenichino (1581–1641) (fig. 3) was located near to the place of Corinne's performance, the rocky island of Capo Miseno.

This merging of different personae into the female body depicted in Lebrun's picture was mirrored in the creation of the painting itself, again putting female authorship and otherworldly connections into focus. The picture was conceptualised and begun during a weeklong stay of the painter Lebrun at the castle owned by Madame de Staël at Coppet.[23] This village on the coastline of Lake Geneva in Switzerland with the Swiss Alps within close sight, was the place of origin of de Staël's family. According to Lebrun, during her stay she read *Corinne ou l'Italie* and thereby was inspired to merge the author with her main character, de Staël with Corinne (and, with her own female authorship, not mentioned in this context).

> J'ai passé une semaine à Coppet chez Madame de Staël; je venais de lire son dernier roman, *Corinne ou l'Italie*; sa physionomie si animée et si pleine de génie, me donna l'idée de la représenter en Corinne, assise, la lyre en main, sur un rocher; je la peignis sous le costume antique.[24]

By doing so, she also merged different rocky landscapes into the one seen in the painting's background: the Swiss Alps near Coppet, the waterfalls of the gulf of Naples and the Tivoli-temple in Rome on the Acropolis, home of the Vesta-cult and situated close to the temple of another Sybil, the Albunean one.

Lebrun's canvas therefore becomes a unique comment on female authorship by visualising it and being itself, in a self-referential loop, similar to Balzac's in *Louis Lambert*, the result of female authorship: visualisation and the visualised merge into one.

Genesis of Sapho

Pauline Viardot-García and Charles Gounod (1818–1893) spent, geographically and mentally, time together on the creation of *Sapho,* comparable to merged authorships in the case of the creation of Lebrun's painting.[25] It was Viardot-García who, after

---

tached below her bosom, and her costume was very picturesque, without, however, deviating too much from usual habits, so that you could relate to it emotionally." Staël, *Corinne*, vol. 1, 43–44.

23 Stein, *Iconography*, 91.

24 "I have spent a week at Coppet at Madame de Staël's; I had just read her last novel, *Corinne ou l'Italie;* her physiognomy, so animated and so full of genius, gave me the idea of representing her as Corinne, seated, the lyre in hand, on a rock; I painted it in ancient costume." Bezard, *Madame*, 15.

25 Marix-Spire, "Gounod 1", "Gounod 2". Angela Faith Cofer, "Pauline Viardot-Garcia: The Influence of the Performer on Nineteenth-Century Opera," (DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 1988), 34. Michèle Friang, *Pauline Viardot au miroir de sa correspondence. Biographie* (Paris: Hermann, 2008), 97–102. Esse, "Sexual Politics". Melanie von Goldbeck, "Dokumente einer Künstler-

her international success as Fidès in Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Le prophète,* was ready, willing, and able to promote the young composer. At the beginning of 1850 she linked her further performances at the Parisian opera to a contract for the new piece composed by Gounod, including a stipulation that she herself perform the leading character. This opened the doors into the world of opera for Gounod. Less than a year before he signed the contract for the composition of *Sapho*, he had reportedly been living with Carmelite nuns, and may have aspired to a career in church.[26] It was suspected that the revolutionary upheavals in 1848 made him change his mind in favour of music as a profession.[27] But Viardot-García's empowerment of the young composer did not stop there: she supported him after the death of his brother in 1850, and invited him to work on the opera at her castle in Courtavenel, located about 40km southeast of Paris. Judging from the letters by Gounod addressed to her (her correspondence to him is lost) what followed was a collective process of creation.[28] Melina Esse, who analysed the correspondence, referred to the letters of Gounod as a "discursive merging […] as if the two were fused into a single creative force."[29]

The numerous references in the correspondence to "notre Sapho," as well as to the mutual loving friendship and adoration of the couple might be best summoned up in the following quote from Gounod's letter to Viardot-García from the beginning of autumn 1850, referring to a piece he just composed for her as Sapho: "Car enfin ce morceau, c'est Sapho, c'est vous, c'est a vous, c'est pour vous, et quand vous le direz, je voudrais bien qu'il vous parût *venir de vous*."[30]

Sapho and Corinne

Sapho is linked to the motive of the lady with the lyre and therefore to Madame de Staël's *Corinne* not only by a similar concept of a merged – at least in part female – authorship. There are also outstanding visual connections: the comparison of Paul Lormier's sketch for the costume Sapho wore for her appearance in the final act of the first production (fig. 4) in 1851 with Lebrun's painting (fig. 1) might illustrate that.[31] Also, the landscape of the opera, set on the rocky idyll of the Lesbian isle and ending with Sapho's suicidal leap from the Leucadian rock into the sea, after having bid a last farewell to her lyre, is a clear reference to the discourse of the lady with lyre, and therefore also to Lebrun's painting.

---

freundschaft. Die Briefe Charles Gounods (1818–1893) an Pauline Viardot (1821–1910)," *Musik und Gender im Internet*, Universität Hamburg, accessed May 5, 2019, https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/Beatrix_Borchard/index.html%3Fp=208.html. Marix-Spire, "Gounod 1", "Gounod 2".

26 Marix-Spire, "Gounod 1", 193.

27 Cofer, *Pauline*, 134. The degree as to how much this might have been a biographical stylisation, playing with the ideal of the artist as priest, has not yet been examined.

28 Charles Gounod, *Lettres de Charles Gounod à Pauline Viardot* (Arles: Actes sud, 2015), 200.

29 Esse, "Sexual Politics", 171. See also Friang, *Pauline*, 102.

30 "For finally this piece is Sapho, it's you, it's yours, it's for you, and when you say it, I would like it to seem to come from you." Gounod, *Lettres*, 200.

31 Paul Lormier (1813–1895) worked as costume designer for the Paris opera 1828–1875.



Fig. 4: Paul Lormier, *Costume of Sapho*, 1851, pencil, ink, watercolour, approx. 22 × 14.5 cm. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, D216-17 (17). Copyright © Bibliothèque Nationale de France, with kind permission.

Sapho's role-portrait in the opera is defined by two diegetic arias she performs as an improviser in the first and last acts of the opera (in between, in the second act, she performs a short song). In this respect she comes close to the characteristics of Lebrun's/de Staël's Corinne. In addition, there is a clear remark about the "trouble" of female musical authorship given in the plot of the opera: She wins Phaon's heart with her artistic ability. But in doing so, she also arouses the jealousy of her rival Gylcère, whose intrigue ultimately leads Sappho to renounce Phaon in order to save his life. As the moral and artistic superior, she becomes the defeated in "real life": the opera ends with Sappho's suicide after Phaone has left with the beautiful Glycère.

Media Transgressions in *Sapho*
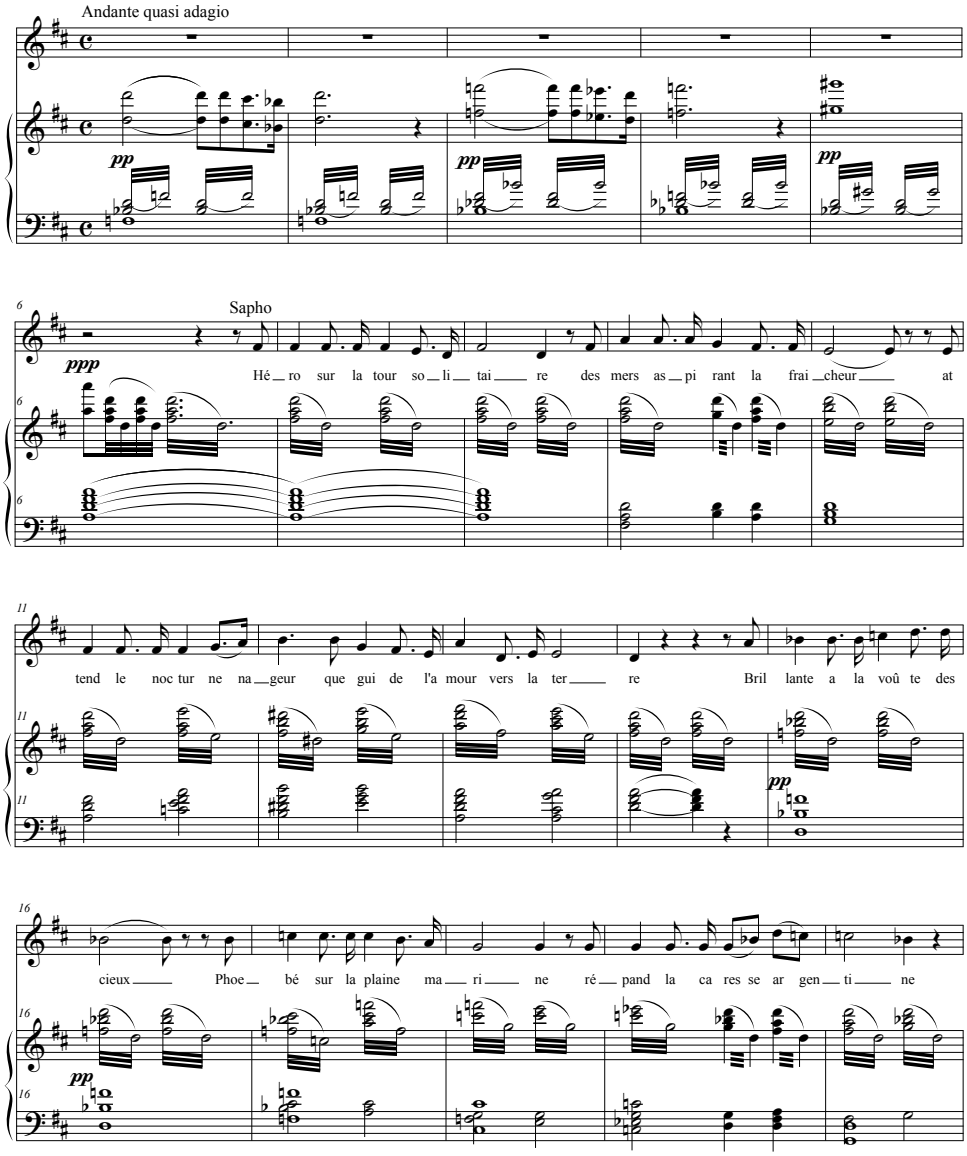
The following analysis of Sapho's first improvisation in the Olympic competition at the close of Act I takes these considerations into account. Sapho's improvised diegetic song refers to the myth of Hero and Leander, two mythological lovers separated by the Hellespont and trying to reunite. Hero awaits Leander who swims from the Asian side of the shores to her.[32] Standing on a tower, she lights a fire to guide his way – and probably, as the setting suggests – also calls for him to bridge the sea dividing them (music example 2, bars 2–3, 9–10, 13).

Sapho clearly draws the inspiration for her song from the motive of the solo flute in the instrumental introduction (music example 1, bars 1–4, upper staff; and music example 3a). Her first verse picks it up and develops it further, completes it into a musical phrase, and introduces it to the harmonic frame of the number, D major (music example 1, bars 6–8; and music example 3b). In unusual parallel octaves Sapho later merges again with the flute motive at the beginning of a new verse of her improvisation (music example 3c, bars 3–4). The mimetic function of the instrumental accompaniment of Sapho's solo is clearly outlined in that it imitates nature via sound and text painting. As soon as the sea ("la mer") is mentioned in the text, the instrumental accompaniment illustrates the waves of the sea (music example 1, bars 35–38, bass staff, bassoons, violins, string bass). Therefore, it is reasonable to relate the flute motive of example 3a to a seagull's cry, coming closer and thereby raising a third in pitch in its repetition (music example 1, bars 1–4, upper staff; and music example 3a, bars 3–4). Like the flutes in this short instrumental introduction, Sapho starts to tell the story of Hero, waiting for her lover by reciting on one note, only slowly widening the vocal range into intervallic leaps further on. It seems to be a smooth gliding from naturally generated speech into the art of melody, from the spoken to the sung voice.

In the end of Sapho's transgression from spoken to sung, the flute even imitates her phrase on "La nuit d'amour / Est le vrai jour." ("the night of love is the real day") not literally, but recognisably, leaving the impression of a reversion of the transgression from flute/nature to Sapho/art at the beginning.
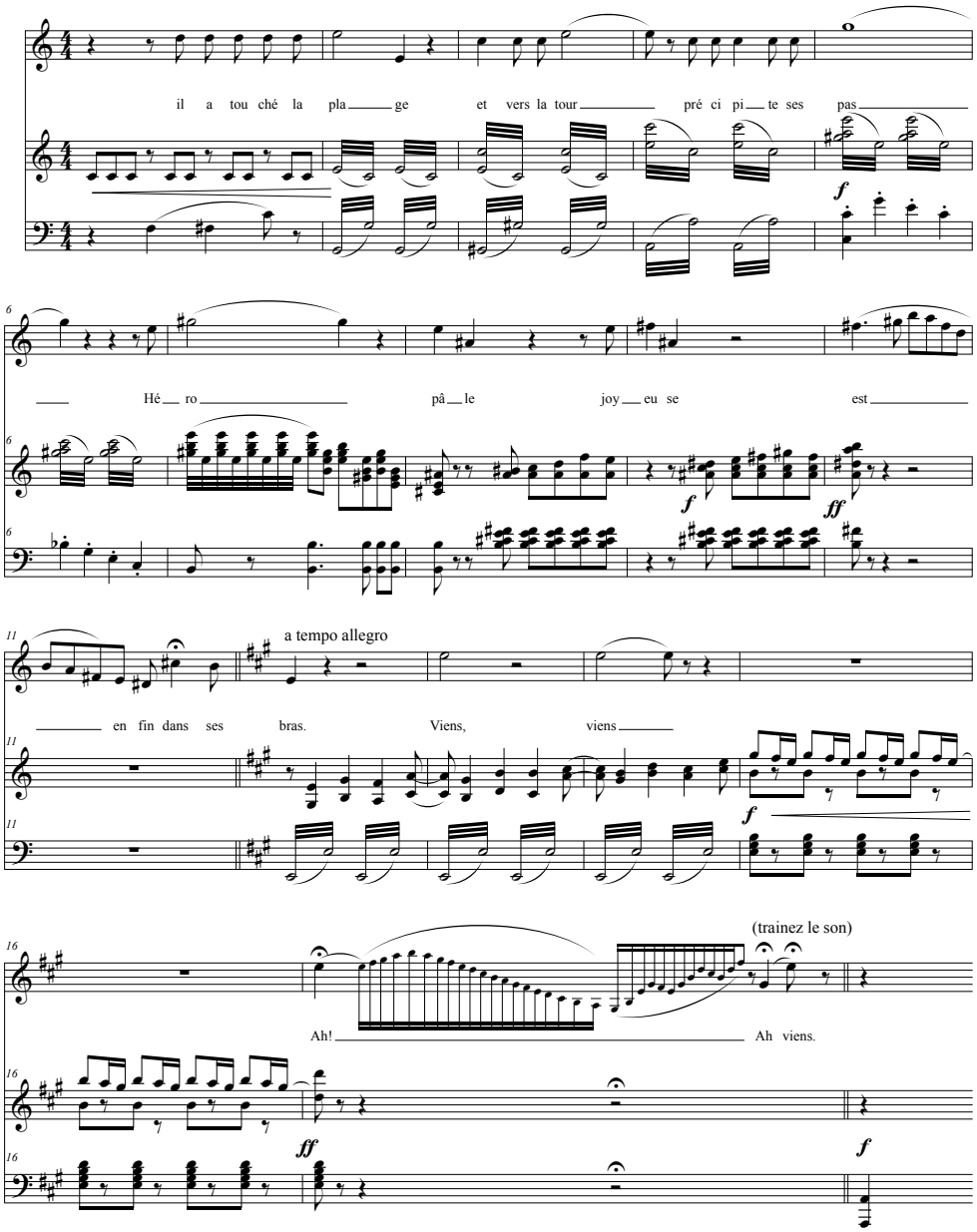
32 Hans Färber, *Hero und Leander. Musaios und die weiteren antiken Zeugnisse* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).

Muisc example 1
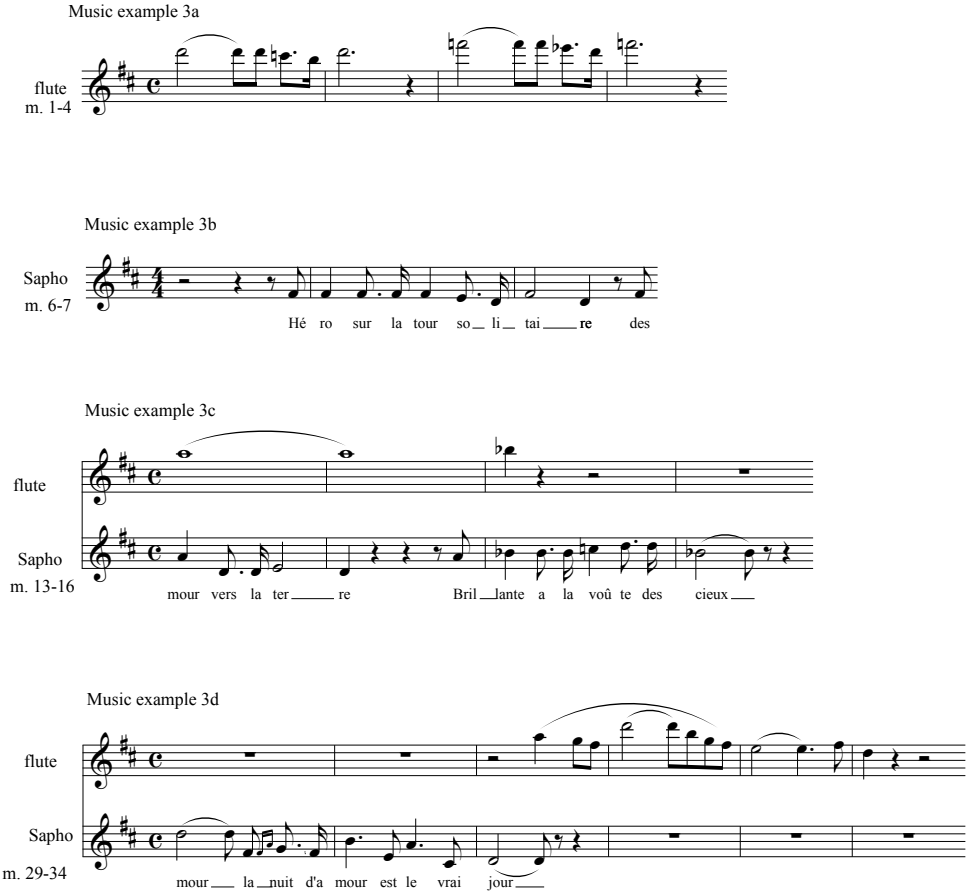


Music example 1: Beginning of Charles Gounod, Pauline Viardot-García, "Héro sur la tour solitaire, Ode," Act II, No. 8 of *Sapho* (1851), according to the piano reduction by Emile Augier, Paris, 1860.

Music example 2



Music example 2: End of the first part, leading up to the cadenza of Charles Gounod, Pauline Viardot-García, "Héro sur la tour solitaire, Ode", Act II, No. 8 of *Sapho* (1851), according to the piano reduction by Emile Augier, Paris, 1860.



Music example 3a-d: Interplay of Sapho's part and the solo flute during the first part of Charles Gounod, Pauline Viardot-García, "Héro sur la tour solitaire, Ode", Act II, No. 8 of *Sapho* (1851), according to the manuscript at Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, A-573 (A,1).

Sapho's voice merges back into the marine landscape surrounding her (music example 3d). The text underlines this conflation of nature and art by referring to the transcendent qualities of sexually fulfilled love via a reversal of night and day. Sapho's cadenza begins exactly at the point of time when the lover finally reaches the arms of his beloved (music example 2, bars 12–17). This repetition of transcendence from the spoken to the sung leads even further into larger melismas without text – into pure melody. This pure vocalisation seems to close the circle from nature to art to nature, from a seabird's cry to speech and song and finally back to a textless, but human sound. It transports Sapho, in the course of an intensification, continually closer to "uncivilised" sound expressions, ending in the

two cries of Hero, "viens, viens", which might resemble seagull's calls again (music example 2, bars 12–13).

In her improvisation, Sapho herself functions as medium to subtract sound from nature and transform it into art – from the medium of the spoken voice into the sung. The entire section of the aria up to the cadenza is set as an introduction to the factual song that follows.[33] It can be looked upon as the performance of a merging process between Sapho and the surrounding marine landscape into art. This conflation takes place as a musical setting of the story of two lovers, Hero and Leander, that culminates in the act of bodily merging, of lovemaking. It therefore also mirrors the couples standing "behind" Sapho's performance, Sapho and Phaon, as well as Viardot-García and Gounod. Ultimately, the immersion of the audience into the performance by the alluring qualities of Sapho's art completes the conflation.

This refers to another metatext of this aria, the paragon qualities present in the opera since Phaon is a poet and the rival of the musician Sapho, Glycère, is described as extraordinarily beautiful, a representative of the visual arts. The audiences of *Sapho* therefore witnessed a process of defeat of the otherworldly qualities of music against text and the visual.

Media Transgressions in the Creation of *Sapho*

The unfulfilled love of Sapho also reflects the situation of Viardot-García and Gounod during the creative process of the opera. They were longing to be physically close at Courtanevel but could not because of Viardot-García's numerous obligations as a singer, performing in Germany and Great Britain while Gounod was composing back home. This suggests that the comprehensive exchange of letters during that time is only partly due to necessary artistic exchange, and has to be also assessed as the "staging" of a merging process[34] negotiated by means of media transgression and, at least in part, denied fulfilment. Gounod's letters to Viardot-García offer manifold sections that underline this.

Gounod repeatedly describes his creative process as taking place in nature. He took the libretto of *Sapho* and his notebook and went on a walk in the woods surrounding Courtavenel "to look for" the music. Sometimes he was successful and "found" the music:

> Hier [...] je suis allé faire un tour de promenade avec mon livret de *Sapho* sous le bras et mon calepin dans ma poche. J'ai mis en effet en train la chanson à boire de Pythéas [...]. Et le soir avant de me coucher, elle était complètement faite et écrite sur mon calepin, autant de moins à faire. [...] Je vais faire un tour de promenade

33 A discussion of the use of aria forms in *Sapho*, in between Italian and French traditions, is a lacuna in Gounod-research. To fill it seems even more desirable in the light of the diegetic qualities of Sapho's most prominent numbers.

34 Esse, "Sexual Politics", 171.

> jusqu'au dîner; j'ai encore ¾ d'heure: je vais chercher mon duo de Pythéas et Glycère.[35]

Sometimes this strategy did not work, especially when Gounod was bothered by noisy insects:

> Hier [...] pendant cette longue promenade que je suis allé faire au bois de Blandureau et ou j'ai cependant été très heureux, je n'ai rien trouvé; il est vrai que j'ai été continuellement ahuri, assailli de bêtes, de mouches, de cousins, de taons, enfin de toute l'engeance ailée aussi taquinante pour la peau que pour les oreilles, et que cela ne m'a pas fort disposé au travail, ne me laissant presque pas un moment de tranquillité.[36]

In one of the letters he even describes a bird concert outside his window, transcribing the song of one of the singers as written music (fig. 5):

> Dimanche 5.[5.1850] 8 h ½ matin.
>
> Tout seul au grand salon, fenêtres ouvertes, accompagnement d'un nombreux orchestre de petits oiseaux qui zizizilent de tous cotés, et dont le gazouillement aigu est dominé par le chant de je ne sais quel oiseau qui me paraît un virtuose très remarquable non seulement comme exécution mais comme composition. Il fait des choses comme ceci par exemple:
>
> [music example]
>
> Je trouve un sentiment incroyable dans ces derniers triolets enveloppés dans un grand *legato* et qui répètent avec plus de tendresse et de caressant abandon le dessin qui les Précède et qui est d'abord bien plus ferme. Et puis cette attaque de la phrase comme elle est bien posée! Comme on voit le petit bec et la petite tête qui se relèvent qui ont l'air d'être au guet pour voir si le petit ami vient![37]

35 Letter by Charles Gounod to Pauline Viardot García, July 3, 1850: "Yesterday I went to make a walk with the booklet of Sapho under my arm and the notebook in my pocket. I have in fact started the drinking song of Pytheas [...]. And the evening before I went to bed, it was completely made and written on my notebook, so little left to do. [...] I'm going for a walk until dinner; I still have three quarters of an hour: I will go to look for my duo of Pythéas and Glycère." Gounod, *Lettres*, 166.

36 Letter by Charles Gounod to Pauline Viardot García, July 5, 1850: "Yesterday [...] during this long walk that I went to do in the Bois de Blandureau and where I was, however, very happy, I found nothing; it is true that I was continually bewildered, assailed by beasts, flies, mosquitos, horseflies, finally all the winged breed as teasing for the skin as for the ears, and that that did not make me strong willing to work, hardly leaving me a moment of peace." Gounod, *Lettres*, 167.

37 Letter by Charles Gounod to Pauline Viardot-García, May 5, 1850: "All alone in the large living room with open windows, I was accompanied by an orchestra of numerous birds which twittered from all sides and whose acute chirping was dominated by the song of I do not know which bird which seems to me a virtuoso, very remarkable not only in execution but also as composer. He does things like this for example: [music example] I find an incredible feeling in these last triplets wrapped in a large legato, which repeat with more tenderness and caressing abandonment the mo-

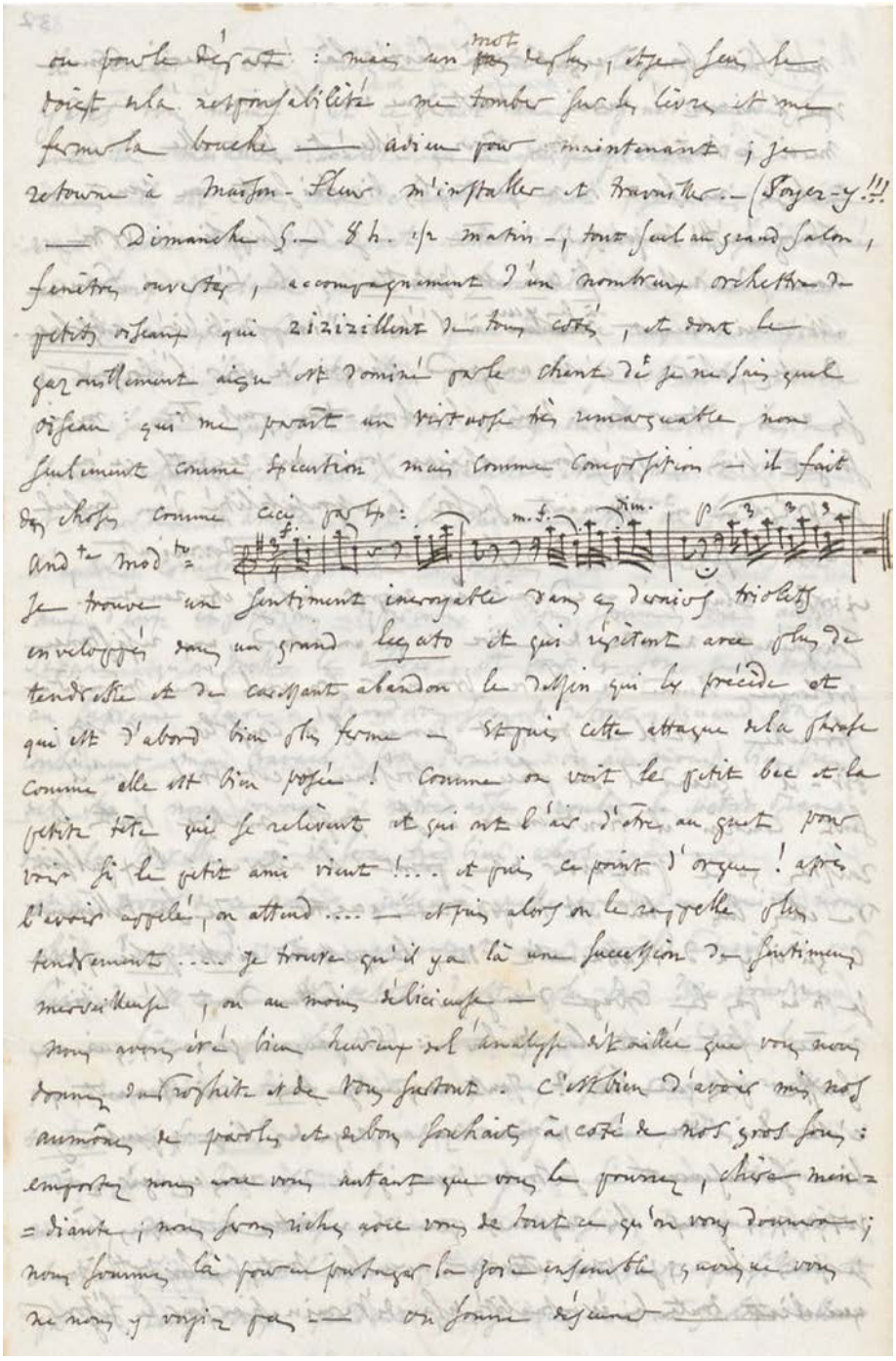


Fig. 5: Charles Gounod, Letter to Pauline Viardot-García, May 5, 1850, autograph, ink on paper. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, Collection Viardot, NLA-23. Copyright © Bibliothèque nationale de France, with kind permission.

It is not hard to guess with whom Gounod associates this bird's voice, real or invented, that makes him visualise the singer and feel close to her: Viardot-García, a most talented musician and composer, who herself was championing her friend. His realisation of sounds from nature to musical composition and the media transgression of his compositional process is reflected upon not only by the semantic content of the letter, but also on other levels of this document. He combines text and musical notation in order to describe the bird concert, and thereby locates it between nature and art. He widens the expression with the use of onomatopoetic language that describes the bird's call ("zizizilent"). The letter is in itself a media transgression, representing the inspirational act of composing.

Gounod even comes close to the rocky nature of Corinne's and Sapho's meaningful landscapes in his correspondence, where he ascribes alpine qualities to the skies of Courtavenel:

> 7 juillet/50. 5 h moins ¼
>
> Vous avez sans doute parcouru la Suisse et les Alpes: hé bien, notre ciel d'aujourd'hui à Courtavenel est un vrai ciel des Alpes dans ces jours couverts où on voit comme un océan de gros nuages couleur de crotte courir impétueusement au-dessus des immenses forêts de sapins ou des pics glacés: c'est aussi gai que cela.[38]

This reference to the Alps is not incidental. Although examined already by Huebner and Buller, it is hardly known to what degree *Sapho* was intended to be a strongly political piece.[39] It was composed and performed for the first time in the years after the Europe-wide revolutionary upheavals of 1848. In France they resulted in a republican government, presided by Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte during the years 1848–1851. Already at the time of the first performance of Sapho in April 1851, anti-Republican tendencies had been strong,[40] a fact that might have contributed to the unfavorable reception of the opera.[41] The Republican components of the

---

tive which precedes them and which is at first much more locked. And then the beginning of the phrase, how well it is set! It is as if you saw the spouted beak and the little head that get up and seem to be on the lookout for a little friend to come!" Gounod, *Lettres*, 99.

38 "Doubtlessly you have crossed Switzerland and the Alps: ok, but our sky today at Courtavenel is a real alpine sky in those covered days when one sees an ocean of big clouds of dung running impetuously over the immense fir forests or icy peaks: it is as gay as that." Gounod, *Lettres*, 176.

39 Huebner, *Operas*, 26–35. Buller, "Sapho".

40 John M. Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic. The Repression of the Left in the Revolutionary France 1848–1851* (London: Yale University Press, 1978), 25–50.

41 Up until now there is no complete study of the reception of the first performance of *Sapho* in France and abroad. There seem to have been quite some successes with and right after the premiere. But since the opening night was delayed, Pauline Viardot-García could not sing all the performances because of other obligations. That might have contributed to bad reviews later on. See also below, fn. 52. For reception studies on *Sapho* see Condé, *Charles Gounod*, 297–299. Beatrix Borchard, "Eine 'Anti-Diva'? Zur Rezeption Pauline Viardot-Garcias im 19. Jahrhundert", in *Diva: die Inszenierung der übermenschlichen Frau. Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zu einem kulturellen Phänomen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Rebecca Grotjahn, Dörte Schmidt, Thomas Seedorf

piece are outstanding, not only in its references to Greek antiquity, but also in the oath scene, that was removed by censors after the first performances.[42] It is a reference to Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (and therefore the Alps), which premiered in Paris in 1829. With the foundation of the Swiss Federal State in 1848, this piece of Parisian operatic culture might have developed new contemporary political relevance. For a certain period even the sale of the *Sapho* libretto was forbidden.

Pauline Viardot-García's image as singer and performer must have been strongly connected with the Republican tradition. As previously discussed, this was evidenced by her composition of *La jeune republique* and her friendship with George Sand.[43] Even the performances of *Sapho* in London in 1851 were embedded in the attempts to establish a Republic of artists with the Royal Italian Opera.[44] Viardot-García had contributed to overcome the financial difficulties of the house with a self-governed administration conducted by its performers. However, before Gounod's opera could be premiered at the Thames, the company entered bankruptcy in February 1851. Similar to the situation in Paris, the political implications of *Sapho* were no longer suited to the London context at the time of the premiere. *Sapho* closed in London after two performances.

Sapho's Last Song

Crossing the many layers of coupled authorship of music and returning to the stage performances of *Sapho* in 1851, we now should specifically focus on the rocky idyllic landscape of Leukas and the famous Leucadian cliff; and with it on Sapho's final aria, "Oh ma lyre immortelle!", the only portion of music from the opera that made it into the established mezzo-soprano repertoire. It is the final and central piece of the last act, if not the whole opera.[45] How that particular moment, with its landscape, and featuring yet another lady with a lyre, became iconic can be deducted from Gounod's own words. The composer dedicated a manuscript of por-

(Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011), 114–125. Melanie Stier, *Pauline Viardot-Garcia in Großbritannien und Irland. Formen kulturellen Handelns* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms, 2012), 107–109. On a successful approach to a female singer's performance via reception studies based on Mauss, see Céline Frigau Manning, "Playing with Excess: Maria Malibran as Clari at the Théâtre Italien", in *Art, Theatre, and Opera in Paris, 1750–1850*, ed. Sarah Hibberd, Richard Wrigley (London, New York: Routledge, 2014), 203–221.

42 On oath scenes in opera and their political significance see Antonio Baldassarre, "'Onore a questi prodi. Onore a tutta l'Italia che in questo momento è veramente grande'. Giuseppe Verdi und seine Musik im Kontext der italienischen Revolutionsbewegungen von 1848/49," in *Musik und Revolution. Die Produktion von Identität und Raum durch Musik in Zentraleuropa 1848/49*, ed. Barbara Boisits (Wien: Hollitzer, 2013), 509–539. Maria Birbili, "Conflict Between State and Church in Verdi's Risorgimento Operas. French Influences in Models of Dramaturgy", in *Viva V.E.R.D.I. Music from Risorgimento to the Unification of Italy*, ed. Roberto Illiano (Brephols: Turnhout, 2013).

43 See above, "Methodological Framework".

44 Melanie Stier, *Pauline Viardot*, 65–84.

45 Esse, "Sexual Politics".



Fig. 6: Edouard Despléchin, paper stage model of Charles Gounod's *Sapho*, Act III (IV), signed and dated March 11, 1851, photographed by Christine Fischer. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, MAQ A-268. Copyright © Bibliothèque nationale de France, with kind permission.

tions of his score to Hector Berlioz, referring to the lack of success of the opera's first performance series with the ironic words,"Débris d'un naufrage au rocher de Leucade" – "Debris from a shipwreck at the Leucadian Rock."[46] This reference to Greek antiquity made the rocky landscape most telling: the Ionian island of Leukas was, at the time of the performance, part of the independent Republic of the Ionian Islands. Gounod's dedication therefore transmitted a further facet of Republican political attitudes to his opera.[47]

Further evidence of the importance of the last scene is currently located in the collections of the Parisian Musée d'Opéra. A paper stage model of the last scene is the only surviving artifact from the staging-process of the first production (figs. 6, 7).[48]

46 Charles Gounod, *Sapho. Débris d'un naufrage au Rocher de Leucade (à mon ami H. Berlioz)*, manuscript with fragments of Sapho, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Richelieu, MS-1756. See Condé, *Charles Gounod*, 299.

47 Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy. State, Class, and Colonialism in the Ionian Islands, 1815–1864* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

48 Nicole Wild, *Décors et costumes du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1987), 245. On staging practices in the Salle le Peletier see Karin Pendle, Stephen Wilkins, "Paradise Found. The Salle le Peletier and French Grand Opera", in *Opera in Context. Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini,* ed. Mark A. Radice (Portland OR: Amadeus Press, 1998),



Fig. 7: Detail of Edouard Despléchin, paper stage model of Charles Gounod's *Sapho*, Act III (IV), signed and dated March 11, 1851, photographed by Christine Fischer. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, MAQ A-268. Copyright © Bibliothèque nationale de France, with kind permission.

A comparison between the model and a drawing of the last scene (fig. 8), shows many differences, although they were executed by the same artist, Edouard Désplechin (1802–1871). He also created the stage decoration and backdrops for the Salle Le Peletier. In the set model, the site of Sapho's leap is centre stage, not on the right side like the sketch suggests. This choice was probably made for the sake of better acoustics. The sea in the model is far more distant, unfolding its alluring qualities only as a horizon.

Even though the photographs of figures 6 and 7 were taken in difficult lighting conditions, the three-dimensional qualities of the paper model are alluring. The

171–207. H. Robert Cohen, Marie-Odile Gigou, *Cent Ans de Mise en Scène lyrique en France (env. 1830–1930). Catalogue descriptif des livrets de mise en scène, des libretti annotés et des partitions annotées dans la Bibliothèque de l'association de la régie théâtrale (Paris)* (New York: Pendragon, 1986). H. Robert Cohen, Marie-Odile Gigou, *The Original Staging Manuals for Twelve Parisian Operatic Premières* (Stuyvesant NY: Pendragon, 1991). Arnold Jacobshagen, "Analyzing Mise-en-Scène. Halévy's *La Juive* at the Salle Le Peletier", in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer. Paris, 1830–1914*, eds. Annegret Fauser, Mark Everist (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 176–194.
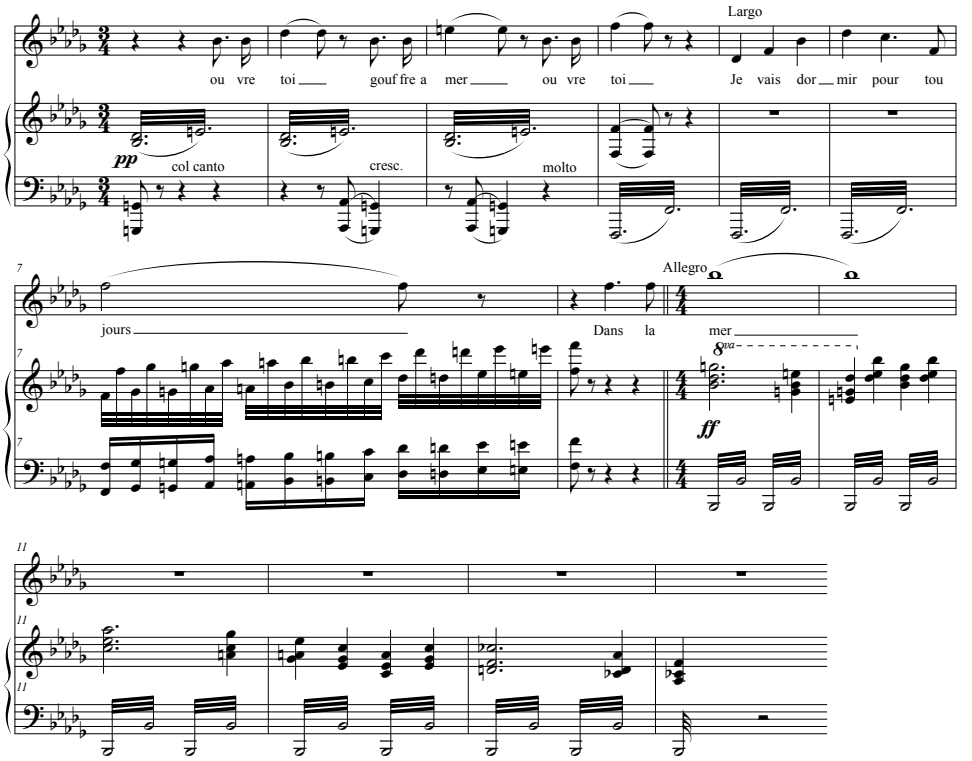


Fig. 8: Edouard Despléchin, *Les rochers*, sets for Charles Gounod's *Sapho*, Paris, Le Peletier, 1851, Act III (IV), pen, watercolour and gouache highlights on beige paper, 31.5 × 48.6 cm. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, BMO ESQ DESPLECHIN-18. Copyright © Bibliothèque nationale de France, with kind permission.

low upper limit of the stage and the resulting integration of the proscenium arch into the floral decoration might have been intended to create a visual immersion of the viewers' gazes towards the horizon. The immersive affective qualities of Sapho's last song to her lyre, that although being the instrument of her artistic inspiration cannot consolidate her unfulfilled love, might have been visually underlined by this design of the stage set. It might have made her leap into the sea into a motion accompanied by the longing desire of the spectators towards the attraction of the blue sea and the horizon.

Since Phaon left with Glycère, text and visual arts are eliminated from the opera at this point, and only sound and music are left for Sapho. With a final cry on B_2flat to the word "mer" (see music example 4), she leaps from the cliff to her death, merging once again with nature, this time physically, in order "to sleep eternally in the sea."[49] After having emerged as a singer from enlivened nature in her first aria, she now merges back to nature, a leap that results in her invisibility and the silence of a muted landscape.

49 "Je vais dormir pour toujours dans la mer."

Music example 4



Music example 4: End of Charles Gounod, Pauline Viardot-García, "Oh, ma lyre immortelle!", last act, no. 19 of Sapho's "Stances", *Sapho* (1851), according to the piano reduction by Emile Augier, Paris, 1860.

In 1992, Elisabeth Bronfen offered a most insightful reading of artistic acts of suicide in relation to female authorship:[50]

> an aesthetically staged performance of death may […] also signify a moment of control and power, given that the woman's self-disintegration also becomes an act of self-construction. […] Dying is a move beyond communication yet also functions as these women's one effective communicative act in a cultural or kinship situation otherwise disinclined towards feminine authorship. It involves self-reflexivity in so far as death is chosen and performed by the woman herself."[51]

50 Esse, "Encountering," 762, already connects Bronfen's perspectives on female suicide and the Sappho-myth on the opera stage.

51 Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over her Dead Body. Death, Femininity and the Aesthetics*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 141.

This paragraph comes close to an *aisthestis* of suicide (in the sense of Krämer) in a gendered view. By killing herself, the woman combines two subject positions into one: the female dyer and the male spectator. Ridding herself of her body that represents social constraints and denied fulfilment (artistic or sexual) makes suicide a physical act of liberation into authorship.

Two Final Comments



Fig. 9: André Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri (1819–1889), *Pauline Viardot-García as Orphée*, 1859, photograph, 9.5 × 5.5 cm. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, ESTMACNUTT106. Copyright © Bibliothèque nationale de France, with kind permission.

With the interpretation of Sapho's suicidal leap in the sense of Bronfen's move beyond communication, this essay should have ended here. Nevertheless, let me follow up with two short, finalising comments that might open new ways for future research.



Fig. 10: Joseph Hoffmann, Stage Model of *Die Walküre*, Act III, 1876. Reconstruction by Joseph Zehetgruber, 1927. Nationalarchiv der Richard Wagner Stiftung, BBM_004 Walküre III 1876. Copyright © Nationalarchiv der Richard Wagner Stiftung, Bayreuth, with kind permission.

Viewing Sapho as a staging of female authorship changes the perspective on another much more successful opera role, also created by Viardot-García. Her interpretation of Berlioz's arrangement of Gluck's *Orphée* in 1859 was the next peak of her career (fig. 9). Beatrix Borchard has already examined Viardot-García's reluctance to interpret the male role.[52] Following up the path of my examination of *Sapho*, the transgender qualities of Viardot-García's Orphée can be looked upon as another, less spectacular but more successful act of disintegration of the female body by the sounds and visuals of an opera performance.

Finally, in order to reference the introductory remarks of this essay, I would like to call into memory another lady on a rock (fig. 10), without lyre, but with spear, a lady closely attached to animals as well, and like Sapho associated with

52 Borchard, "Mehr als". See also pp. 56–89 in Katrin Müller-Höcker, *Pauline Viardots Orpheus-Interpretation in der Berlioz-Fassung von Glucks Orphée* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms, 2016). Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

wild cries. Brünnhilde was surrounded by fire because she authorised herself to interfere in a divine plot. And she also performs a suicidal leap, in her case for the sake of the creation of a new world.

A more thorough incorporation of the concepts of female and performative authorships into an examination of opera performances of the nineteenth century, and also the incorporation of the mighty scenic and musical tradition of nineteenth-century French opera into the hegemonic German tradition,[53] two of the many cultures Pauline Viardot-García merged in her artistic persona, are worthy of further consideration.[54] This will contribute new perspectives on the basic concern of opera, not only that of the nineteenth century – the constant redefinition of the paragonal interplay of the arts involved in its creation.[55]

53 On this prominent, but not yet gendered area of research, see Anselm Gerhard, *Die Verstädterung der Oper. Paris und das Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts,* (Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 1992) and more recently Jeremy Coleman, *Richard Wagner in Paris: Translation, Identity, Modernity* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2019). Gundula Katharina Kreuzer, *Curtain, Gong, Stream: Wagnerian Technologies of Nineteenth-Century Opera*, Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018.

54 As the latest publication on Viardot García's international cultural background, see Orlando Figes, *The Europeans: Three Lives and the Making of a Cosmopolitan Culture* (London: Allen Lane, 2019).

55 On the specific characteristics of the interplay between music and art in French opera up to 1850 see Sarah Hibberd, Richard Wrigley (ed.), *Art, Theatre, and Opera in Paris, 1750–1850. Exchanges and Tensions* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

SPLIT SPECTRUM: VISUAL ARTISTS AND THE PRISM OF MUSIC

Sheridan Palmer and David Harley

In 1861, Baudelaire wrote "it would be truly surprising if a musical tone could not elicit a colour, if colours could not evoke a melodic motif, and if notes and colours were not suited to conveying thoughts … a mutual analogy."[1] When aesthetic form, as in visual art, attaches itself to another form, as in music, a unique interpretation within the human spectrum occurs. This poly-sensory mode emancipates emotions, can create synaesthesia and automatism, where "the irrational and rational … run parallel and send sparks into each other."[2] As this translation of the optical, aural and creative unconscious mingles with logic, it triggers mental images that seem to have a will of their own. Henri Matisse (1869–1954), felt Neo-Impressionism's theoretical aspects stopped him from "putting very expressive colours side by side" and he freed himself by practising the violin for one hour before picking up his paint brushes. That practice helped produce what is known as Matisse's harmonious "colorist" music, or jazz cut-outs.[3] For Paul Klee (1879–1940), music was his muse; an accomplished musician and married to a pianist, Klee often titled his works accordingly, such as "Dance You Monster to my Soft Song!".[4] The Czech artist František Kupka (1871–1957), a complex spiritist who experienced intense colour visions and "split consciousness",[5] similarly believed that by deconstructing and superimposing form he could apply it to music, which had "the capacity to unfold a specific chromaticism and a 'kinetic dimension in art'", thus achieving abstract visual patterns while simultaneously and radically playing with temporal time.[6]

In this essay, David Harley and I address the interdisciplinary relationship of music and art that visual artists employ as a contingent component in their practice and uncover how earlier antecedents have influenced this active binary in contemporary Australian art. This connectivity between the visual artist, composer or musician challenges the notion of "individual authorship," or put another way, the

1 Karen V Maur, *The Sound of Painting Music in Modern Art* (Munich, London: Prestal, 1999), 12.

2 Roberto Matta, interview, *Roberto Matta, Alain Jouffroy: Correspondance 1952–1960*, ed. Christian Demare (Paris: Arteos: Galerie Diane de Polignac, 2018).

3 Maur, 20.

4 Klee was married to a pianist and in this small work on paper the monster hovers over the little painter who stands before the piano with a seven-branched candelabrum on top of it. This 1922 watercolour and oil transfer print is in the Guggenheim Museum, New York.

5 Media Mladek "Central European Influences," in *František Kupka 1871 –1957, A Retrospective* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1975), 28.

6 Media Mladek, "Central European Influences," 26; and Maur, *The Sound of Painting Music in Modern Art*, 46.

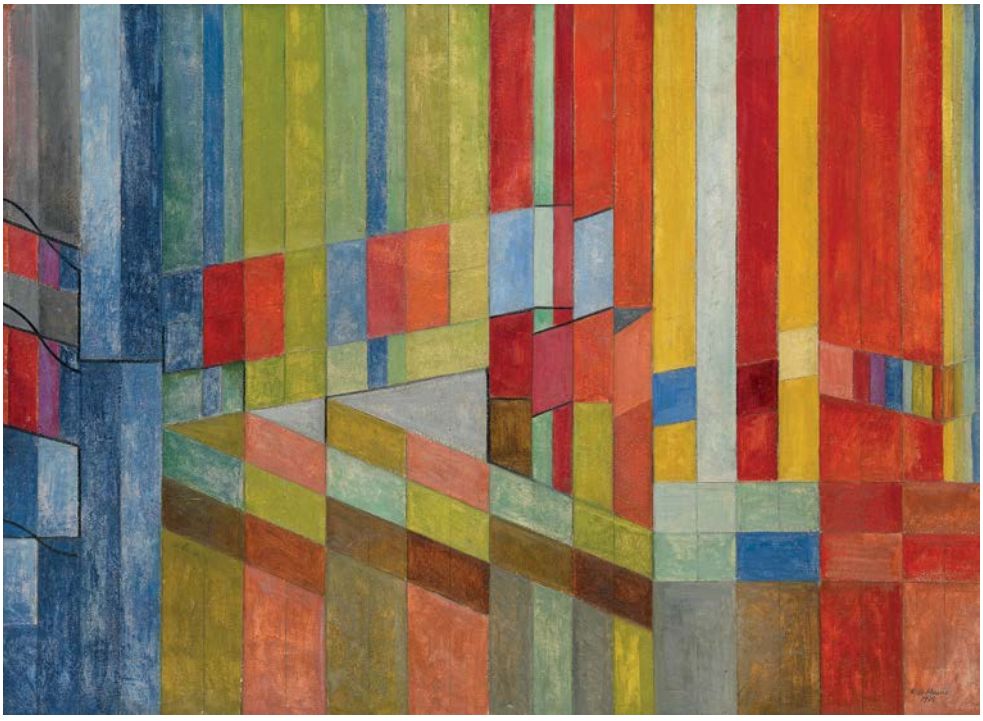


Fig. 1: Roy De Maistre, *Arrested Movement from a Trio*, 1935, oil and pencil on composition board, 72.3 × 98.8 cm. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria © Courtesy of the artist's estate.

contingency of both the musician and visual artist produces a unique intermediary and cross-medium exchange. The potent agency between music and art has a long history and has produced works from the elegiac to the spectacular, the sublime to the disruptive avant-garde. Music has the capacity to activate poly-sensory modes integral to the aesthetic process of art production, and for artists who often create within a closed or isolated studio space, many use music or sound for inspiration. This interplay or subconscious conceptual symbiosis performs as a link between the idea, image or object, whether in painting, sculpture or performance.

Ted Gott, the senior curator of international art at the National Gallery of Victoria, recently gave a paper entitled "Born on Waves of Sound: Theodore Wohng, Odilon Redon and Music,"[7] and I want to borrow this notion of "waves of sound" to briefly describe the journey of modernism as it was transmitted from Europe to Australia in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and how art and music functioned in addressing a sense of 'belonging and detachment'. I will focus on several Australian artists for whom Europe's avant-garde created a transnational or truly cosmopolitan medium: these artists absorbed and integrated international

7 This paper was delivered October 2, 2019 at a print symposium at the University of Melbourne.



Fig. 2: Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack, *Set of Colour Chords*, 1950s, steel frame with twelve wooden resonating chambers and steel strings. Geelong Gallery, Gift of The Geelong College Preparatory School, 1976. With kind permission of Geelong Gallery.

abstraction into their artistic practice and are precursors to the artists that David discusses in the second half of this paper.

In 1917 the artists Roland Wakelin (1887–1971), Roy de Maistre (1894–1968) and Grace Crowley (1890–1979), painted post-cubist, colour-spectrum-inspired works based on "synaesthetic–music theories," which were "circulating in Sydney's art, musical and theosophical circles." [8] De Maistre, well before he left Australia in 1930, considered himself part of an international movement, declaring that "In every country throughout the world one may observe the first manifestations of the awakening of the latent colour sense".[9] In 1919, de Maistre and Wakelin held an exhibition called *Colour in Art* at Gayfield Shaw's Art Salon in Sydney;[10] their sophisticated abstractions, swirling spirals of colour and nuanced geometric abstractions reflected a desire to belong to this new current of international dynamism, in which colour and music modalities found a certain contrapuntal structure similar to the avant-garde movements of Futurism, Rayonism, Orphism and Synchronism.

8 See Rex Butler and A.D.S Donaldson, "Stay, Go, or Come: A History of Australian art, 1920–40," in *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Art (ANZJA)* 9, no 1–2 (2008/9): 121–3.

9 See Heather Johnson, *Roy De Maistre: The English Years 1930–1968* (Roseville, N.S.W.: Craftsman House, 1995), 13. Palmer, private notes.

10 This exhibition occurred around the same time that the Bauhaus was established in Weimar, Germany.

During the early stages of the Second World War, the exiled Bauhaus artist Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack (1893–1965), was arrested in London and transported as an enemy alien to Australia. Having fled Germany in 1936 for England, where he developed his colour–coded instruments and taught disadvantaged British children and students "to play music by following colour prompts", Hirschfeld-Mack not only introduced a radical educational experimentation – and was fondly known as the Pied Piper – but this transient sense of belonging was abruptly terminated when he was transported across the waves and interned in POW camps in New South Wales and Victoria. While in the camps, Hirschfeld-Mack used art and music to adjust to his new environment as well as alleviate alienation, but when it was discovered that an important modernist Bauhäusler was an internee, the headmaster of Geelong Grammar, James Darling, "extracted" Hirschfeld-Mack and appointed him as art master of the school.[11] Subsequently, Hirschfeld-Mack taught generations of boys about form, function and how to experiment with colour, light and music. This legacy in creative education exemplified the teachings of the Bauhaus during its Weimar phase, at a time when Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) and Paul Klee, Hirschfeld-Mack's colleagues, had "brok[en] down the barrier between music and painting," and their seminars encouraged students to invent new kinds of instruments and music specifically written to create "a unity of rhythmic movements" with form, colour and light.[12]

Another significant example of this artistic migration from Europe to Australia occurred prior to the Second World War when Colonel Wassilly de Basil's *Ballet Russes de Monte Carlo* toured major Australian cities. In Melbourne, *Le Coq D'Or* was performed at His Majesty's Theatre between March and June 1940. It was an electrifying spectacle of vivid colours, avant-garde dance, music by Rimsky-Korsakoff and bold costumes and dramatic backdrops originally designed by the Russian artist Natalie Goncharova (1881–1962), who, at the time, was considered one of the twentieth century's most successful female artists.[13] The impresario Diaghilev, a figure who "sparked ideas in artists" had commissioned Goncharova to design for several of his

11 For a recent overview of the Bauhaus see Andrew McNamara and Ann Stephen, "Exile, Internment and Hirschfeld-Mack," in *Bauhaus Diaspora and Beyond: Transforming Education Through Art, Design and Architecture*, eds. Philip Goad, Ann Stephen, Andrew McNamara, Harriet Edquist and Isabel Wünsche (Sydney: Power Publications, and Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, University of Melbourne Press, 2019), 60–71.

12 These Bauhaus compositions were shown in "Berlin, Hamburg and at a Music Festival in Vienna in 1923 with Fernand Léger's experimental film". Michael Sadler, in *Wassily Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1977), xix; Ludwig. Hirschfeld-Mack, *The Bauhaus: An Introductory Survey* (Melbourne: Longmans, 1963), 5–6.

13 By 1915 Goncharova and Michael Larinov were touring with the Ballet Russes through Switzerland, Italy and Spain, creating exotic costumes and back-drops, much of which were peasant inspired. I am grateful to Lee Christofis for this information on the *Ballet Russes* performances in Australia. Also see, the *Art for Theatre and Ballet Exhibition*, held at David Jones Art Gallery, Sydney in 1940, while at the Mural Hall, Myer emporium, in Melbourne in April 1940, there was an exhibition of "500 original décor, costume, setting and backcloth designs from [various production companies such as de Basil, Vic Wells Ballet and other ... included the Australian Loudon Sainthill."

ballets and she worked alongside Russian composers, artists and choreographers. In Melbourne many artists watched these remarkable and inspiring performances, including a young Leonard Crawford (1920–1996). Crawford obtained minor walk–on parts and once his stage role was finished he would run upstairs to the "gods" and immerse himself in the spell-binding combination of colour, movement and music below – he especially remembered Goncharova's striking peasant–inspired costumes.[14] Crawford however, had discovered this combination of music and colour when as a small boy he pumped the pedals of the family's pianola, "jumping up to watch the golden lights growing more or diminishing in time with the music." He later realised "those lights were the brass rods showing through the perforations of the pianola roll," but recalled, "the experience crystallised the magic of music and colour."[15]

These experiences consolidated Crawford's aesthetic direction and he became a significant geometric abstractionist in the 1950s and 1960s as well as a revered teacher at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT). Remembered as passionately knowledgeable on the history of art and music of all periods, he encouraged visual experimentation and brought a selection of his LP vinyl records to the art school for students to listen to his improvised lunchtime concerts. *A Page from Landino*, (fig. 3) with its punctuating marks, intervals of colours that pictorialise musicality, pays homage to the revered fourteenth-century blind Italian composer Francesco Landini, whose music freed the style from older rhythmic modes with "more shapely melodic curves."[16] For Crawford music was instrumental in his approach to reshaping Australian modernism.

Another young artist, Roger Kemp (1908–1987), was also influenced by the *Ballet Russes* and, like Crawford, had a passion for music. As an introspective, solitary young artist, music was important to his detached state, and as a student at Melbourne's National Gallery Art School, he was known to "occasionally break spontaneously into song as he worked at his easel."[17] The music, movement and colour of the *Ballet Russes* led Kemp to explore "synchronism," or "colour harmonies," and the connections between "tonal sounds and chromatic hues."[18] These early paintings were "infused with an electric energy … the brushstrokes mirroring the muscles of the dancers straining to stretch and leap and spin".[19] Inspired by the aural and visual impact of the ballet, Kemp's inner need and excitement at orchestrating the pleasures of the spectacle resound with Kandinsky's concerns with colour harmony and its corresponding principles of association.

14 Len Crawford, interview by Barbara Blackman, National Library of Australia, 1988, sound recording, https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/293333?lookfor=Len%20Crawford%20artist&offset=1&max=5.

15 Bill Dye, "Len Crawford," original notes, private collection.

16 Percy A. Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, tenth edition revised (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 55–6, 564.

17 Charles Nodrum, "Roger Kemp", exhibition catalogue essay, (Melbourne: Charles Nodrum Gallery, September 2019), np.

18 Christopher Heathcote, *A Quest for Enlightenment: The Art of Roger Kemp* (Melbourne Macmillan, 2007), 46.

19 Nodrum, "Roger Kemp", np.

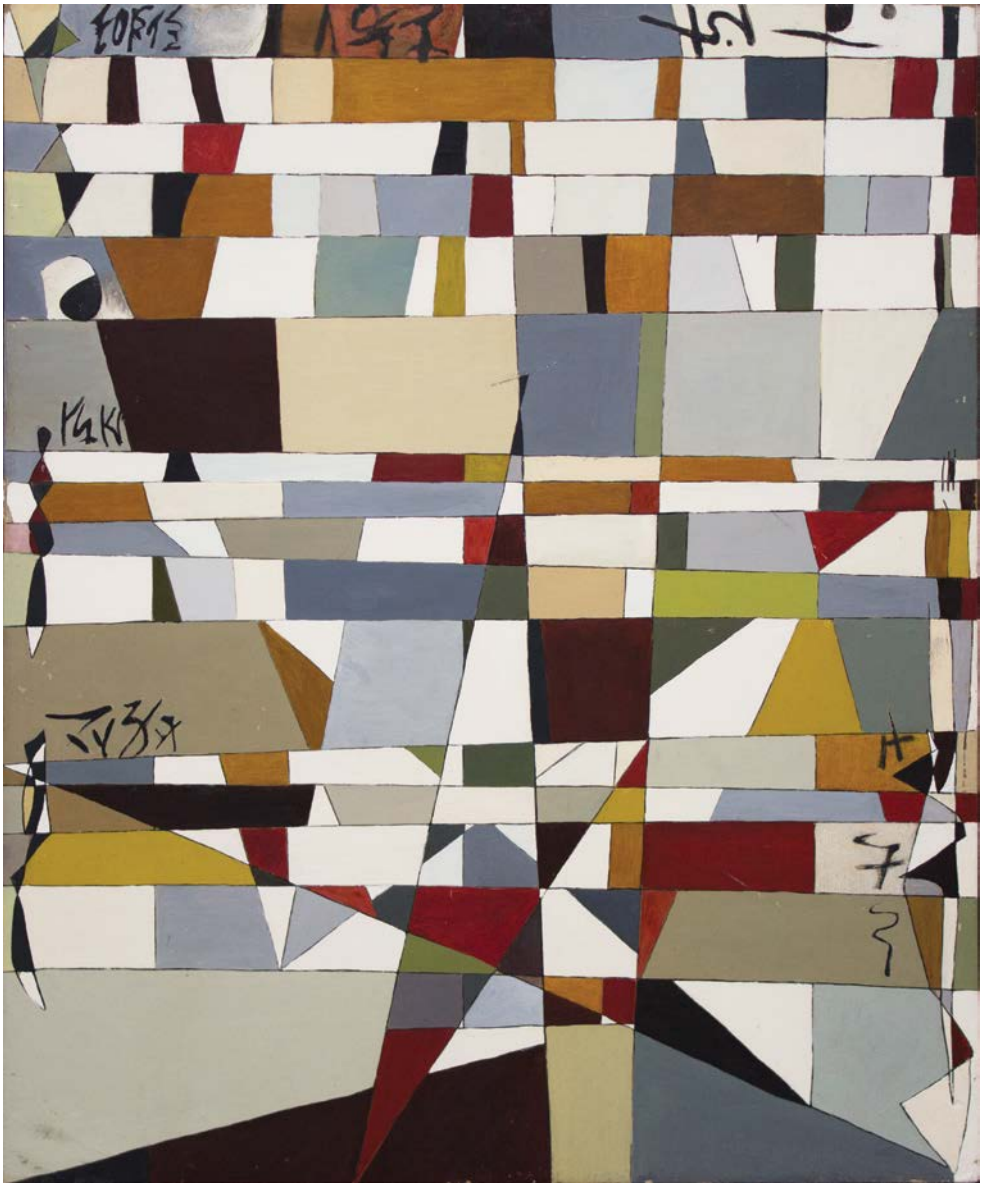


Fig. 3: Leonard Crawford, *A Page from Landino*, c. 1955, enamel on card on masonite, 76.2 × 63.6 cm. Image © Estate of Len Crawford, courtesy RMIT, University Art Collection.



Fig. 4: Yvonne Audette, *Cantata no. 12: The Journey*, 1963, oil on composition board, 130.2 × 192.2 cm. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, courtesy of and © Yvonne Audette.

Writing of the musicality or synaesthesia in her work, the painter Yvonne Audette, (b.1930) who played the piano and had studied counterpoint, in particular that of Bach, stated:

> Bach's cantatas breathed for me a kind of mystical joy and I tried in my paintings to relate the vibrations of tone and colour to the sound. Musical pitch and tone reverberate … infinite variety of colours and textures. The melody is woven *into*. … the abstract mark … [and I] tried to create these combinations of two or more independent melodies in line and colour … harmonic textures equivalent to this counterpoint.[20]

For Audette, music remains an enduring and vital component in her art practice, but the waves of sound flowed in the opposite direction for her. In New York during the 1950s she attended orchestral concerts and sketched musicians, from which she produced paintings in a figurative, realistic mode. Through her early introduction to the work of Cézanne and her meetings in the early 1950s with Clement Greenberg and major abstract expressionist artists such as Mark Rothko, Lee Krasner and Willem De Kooning, Audette developed an abstract language of a distinctive rhythmic

20 Audette, quoted in Bruce Adams, "Yvonne Audette: The Later Years," in *Yvonne Audette: Paintings and Drawings 1949–2014* (Melbourne: Macmillan Art Publishing, 2014), 170.



Fig. 5: Helen Maudsley, *The Heart. The Wineglass. The Pear. The Light Globe. The Lips. The Leaf. The Three Quarter Face. The Cello. An Arrow. A Dagger. All from one image.*, 2019, oil on canvas, 60.5 × 60.5 cm. Courtesy of Niagara Galleries and the artist.

syncopation that was, in part, a process of "belonging" within the modern expressionistic canon. Later in Italy she befriended the painter Cy Twombly with whom she shared an interest in intuitive mark-making that also replicated a visual parallel to counterpoint. Twombly similarly found inspiration listening to seventeenth-and eighteenth-century music, in particular Handel and Mozart.[21] By 1966, Audette returned across the waves to Australia where she lives and paints in Melbourne.

21 Cy Twombly, interview by Nicholas Serota, Rome, September/December 2007, http://blog.decintivillalon.com/cy-twombly-interviewed-by-nicholas-serota/.

The painter Helen Maudsley (1927) also saw the *Ballet Russes* perform in Melbourne. She studied at the Melbourne Conservatorium while simultaneously studying at the National Gallery School of Art in the immediate postwar years. Art won the day, but music continued to subliminally thread through her highly intellectualised work. In looking at Maudsley's painting, the image of the cello, the movement of symbols and modalities of colour perform as a notational iconology, in which her structurally complex grammar of association and visual analogies deal with the preservation or protection of the self and others within the patriarchal chambers of power. A tension exists between detachment and belonging and for her, are symbolic of life's triumphs and tragedies. Moreover, Maudsley's aesthetic spectrum and chromatic perspective are also informed by European antecedents such as Jan van Eyck and Johannes Vermeer.

Whether performed, as with Matisse, Kemp, Klee and Audette, or listened to and internalised like Crawford, Kupka, and Maudsley, music operates as a liberating dialogue between aurality and visuality, between belonging and detachment.[22] This creative and contingent mutuality has flowed to subsequent generations and is explored by David Harley in the following section.

Split Spectrum in the Work of Three Contemporary Abstract Painters of a Similar Generation

This section of the paper explores the work of three currently working artists who were born between 1953 and 1960. From a personal perspective as a practicing artist also from this generation, my art is in a "free-form" abstract idiom in which the listening to music and its effect on the painting process is of significant interest. A distinct connection exists with the Australian artists mentioned in Palmer's section in that I was fortunate to have Leonard Crawford as a tutor while at art school and spent time with him in his later years.

The listening to music has always been a driver for my art. To a certain extent I can identify how this assists my working processes which has many parallels with the antecedents discussed in the first section of this essay: by distracting parts of my consciousness and thinking that enables me to improvise through a form of automatism.[23] My painterly practice has been also greatly expanded through the incorporation of digital processes into my work since the mid 1990's. For

22 See Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text* (London: Fontana, 1984), 153.

23 Automatism is, in the sense that I am using it, a more secular version associated with pure improvisation, rather than being associated with spiritualist processes engaged by Georgiana Houghton or Hilma af Klint, or the surrealist notion of revealing the unconscious such as found in Salvador Dali or that of André Masson. There is also the abstract expressionist conception outlined by Robert Motherwell employing the material engagement of the medium. See Robert Hobbs, "Surrealism and Abstract Expressionism: From Psychic to Plastic Automatism," in *Surrealism USA*, ed. Isabelle Dervaux, exhibition catalogue (New York: National Academy Museum in conjunction with Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2005), 56–65.

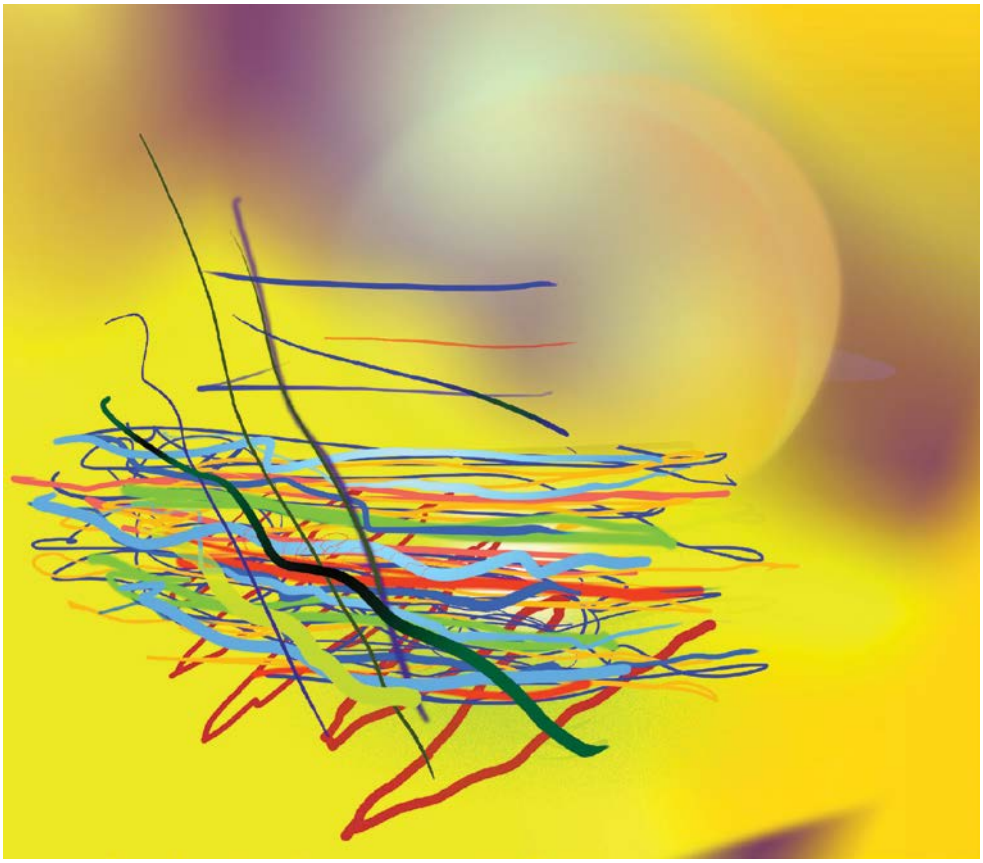


Fig. 6: David Harley, *File_v-aldi rv522*, 2017, pigmented inkjet print on Ilford rag mounted on composite board, 105 × 117.8 cm. Courtesy of the artist.

me, listening to music helps to heighten and particularise my emotional state and produce a feeling of conviction and confidence to begin making.[24] Other times it is the parallel structures and spatial relationships that I perceive in the music that are incorporated into the evolving imagery. Yet I continue to find music's role perplexing and I am fascinated by the various ways that it seeps into a visual artwork's creation, and hence, my undertaking of further research into the ways other abstract painters use music in both reflexive and expanding ways for the development of their artwork.

My intention is to elucidate some of the unexpected ways that music continues to affect the development of, for want of a better term, "free-form" abstract painting, and thus the way that "split spectrum" resonates in current practice.

24 In a sense accentuating an aspect of identity/personality to be able to make from, through identification with aspects of different music as a form of role play and not working from a *false* notion of a singular identity.



Fig. 7: David Palliser performing at his solo exhibition, *Endless Conditions*, Jacob Hoerner Gallery, Melbourne, 2022, Photographer/Videographer: Levi Liauw.

I am focusing on the work of three abstract painters of my generation: Melbourne-based artists Elisabeth Bodey (b. 1953) and David Palliser (b. 1960), and Cologne-based Michael Jäger (b. 1956). All of these painters currently combine improvisatory with deliberative processes while working with painting and music in a variety of ways. The instrumental musical experience for each of these artists however, is diverse. Bodey plays the piano and guitar and comes from an eminent musical family; Palliser is a performing improvisational saxophonist who works with other instruments including a loop peddle and performs with other musicians in ensembles such as the *Charles Ives Singers*. Jäger played the saxophone in the past, and since the late 1980s, has expanded his art through engaging in installation and collaboration. These three artists work in the fourth or fifth wave of abstract painting in the Western tradition.[25]

Palliser's music and visual art have a reciprocal relationship. As a regularly performing improvisational musician, his own listening is eclectic, ranging from free jazz and improv to traditional Turkish music, punk and classical European music. With a constant soundtrack playing in his studio, and with a collection of over a thousand compact discs, part of his studio routine is taking the time to select and switch the compact discs while painting. This implies both a deliberate and improvised choreographing of the music, depending on what feels right and what will keep the creative process going. In an interview with Palliser in July 2019,

25 Bodey and Palliser in earlier work have worked in figurative idioms as well.

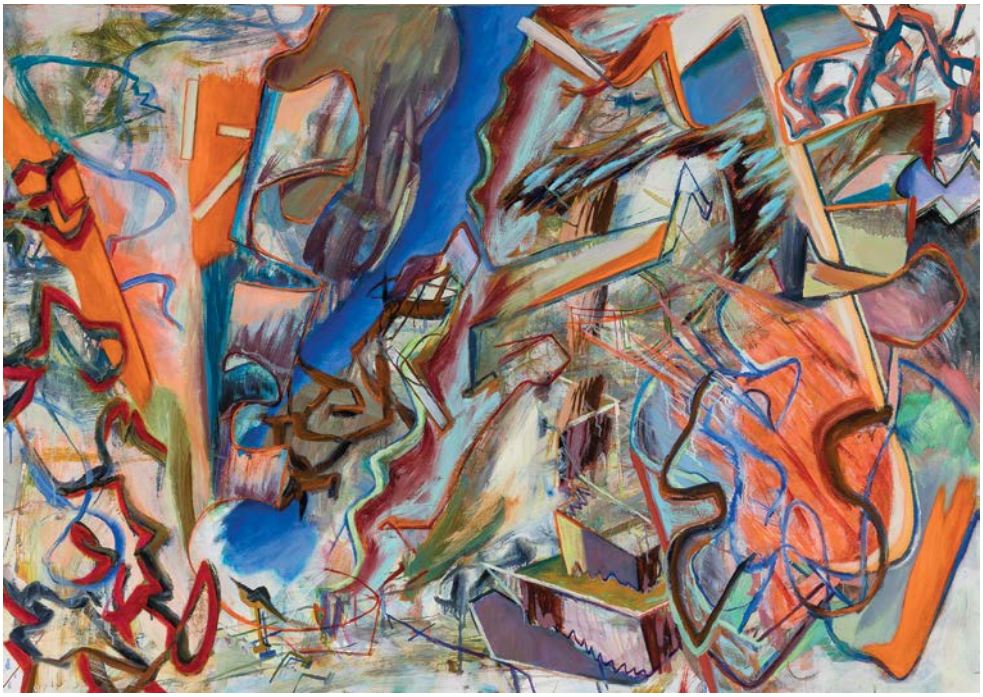


Fig. 8: David Palliser, *Brink,* 2018, oil and charcoal on canvas, 107 × 152 cm. Courtesy of the artist.

he used metaphors to describe his painting; for example, "as spatial collapse or implosion, shifts in forces," which suggest a mutuality between the visual, aural, and spatial perceptions and sensations.[26] He gave another indication of the way that music enters the work, when he described how he wanted to achieve a certain sensation in his paintings that corresponded to a "lackadaisical physical movement," equivalent to a repeated phrase that is distinctive of the saxophonist Frank Wright (1935–1990).[27] Among the many ways that this reciprocal relationship works, Palliser spoke of the way he would aim to achieve painterly affects that would emulate a particular instrumental timbre. This is where his experience of being a musician directly informs aspects of his visual artwork thus having a "productive imaging of music."[28]

Michael Jäger, with whom I have collaborated, lives and works in Germany. He has also worked and exhibited in Australia, and as in former generations – the cross-currents between Australia and overseas art centres continue through

26 David Palliser, interview by David Harley, July 2019.

27 Palliser, interview.

28 Nicholas Cook uses the term "productive listening" to differentiate practicing musicians' way of imaging music from the reception of music by non-musicians. Nicholas Cook, *Music Imagination & Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).



Fig. 9: David Palliser, *Midnight versus Something*, 2018, oil on canvas, 122 × 168 cm. Courtesy of the artist.

international exchange and travel (with the exception of the current pandemic) but also since the inception of the internet – though collaborative exchange over the internet.

Like Palliser, Jäger has an enthusiasm for free jazz and improvisation, as well as having equally broad and eclectic musical listening interests. Jäger creates painted installation rooms often juxtaposed with panel paintings that are set-off in a broader flow of imagery, rupturing their status as autonomous images (fig.11). Amongst his wider oeuvre, he has made various series of works with free jazz musicians in mind, such as Ornette Coleman, Lester Bowie, and Cecil Taylor. He has also made an extensive series of works titled *Bells* referring to Albert Ayler's legendary live 1965 album.[29] Jäger describes his interest in music in relation to many of these painting as how an "undirected work becomes a directed work."[30] In order to explain this he used the example of Ayler's improvisation session *Bells*, where he says that the music moves from chaos into melody.[31] He also said that these paintings are more con-

29 Albert Ayler's album *Bells* is a recording of a live performance made at the Town Hall in New York City in 1965. The performers were Albert Ayler on tenor saxophone, Donald Ayler on trumpet, Charles Tyler on alto saxophone, Lewis Worrell on bass and Sonny Murray on drums.

30 Michael Jäger, in conversation with David Harley, November 2019.

31 Ibid.

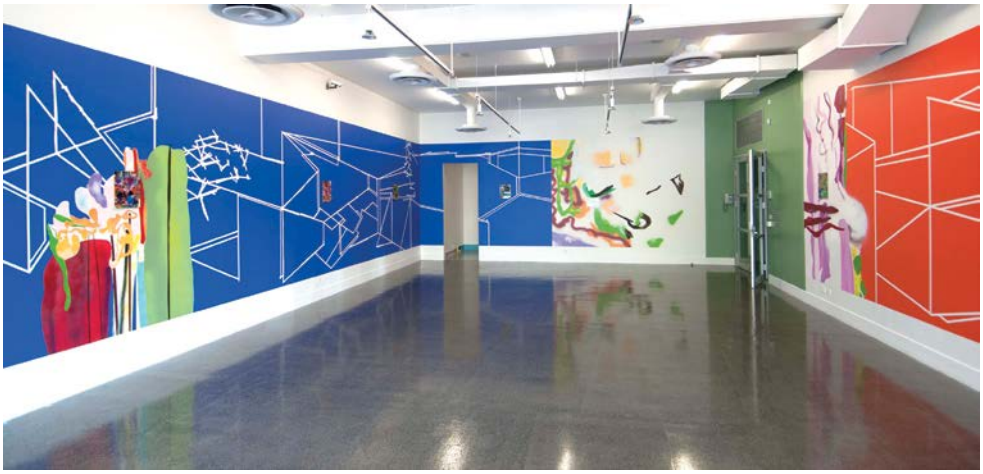


Fig. 10: Michael Jäger and David Harley, *Energetic Frieda,* installation view, Melbourne, Project Space, RMIT University, 2008.

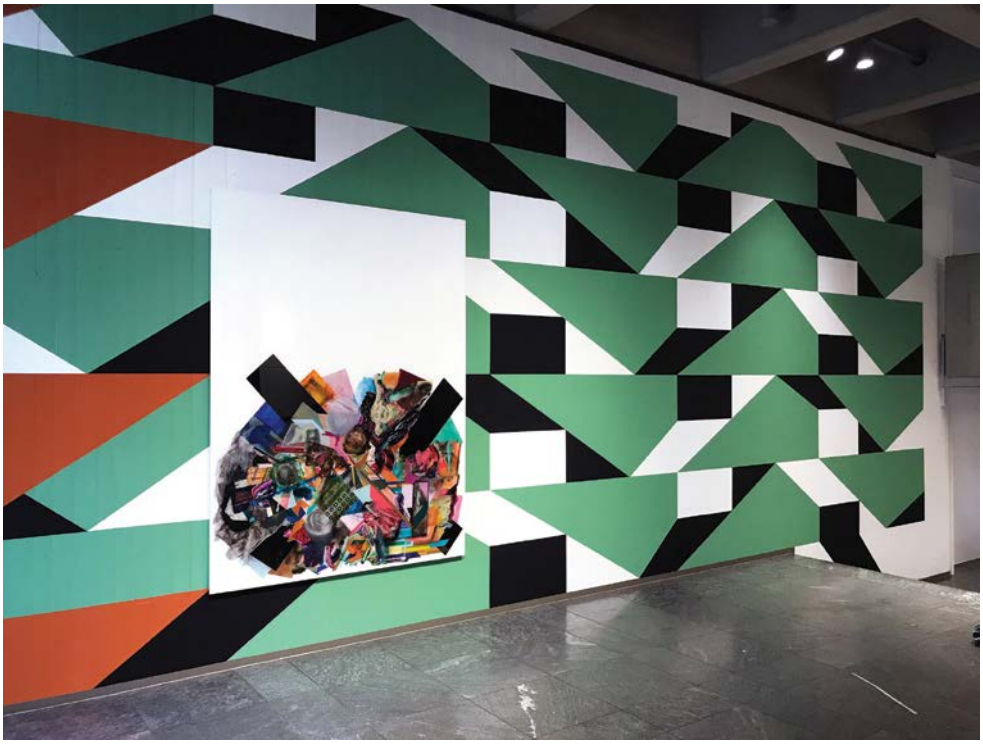


Fig. 11: Michael Jäger, *Lester #4* (panel and wall painting by Jäger), installation in the group exhibition Attention-Glass, Clemens Sels Museum Neuss, 2020.

nected with how the "musicians compose music and what the music stands for."[32] Rather than being representative of a particular piece of music, Jäger's works could be said to evolve in the same way as a free jazz piece finds a form and then embarks on its development, mindful of the different methodologies of the particular free jazz musicians that he is making work in relation to.

Jäger's main method of producing his panels is to paint on the reverse side of transparent acrylic glass panels finishing with a coating of white paint or by attaching another opaque support to the rear. As the unpainted side of the glass is hung to face the viewer, we see the reverse of what you would normally see in a conventional painting; the least obscured paint marks are those applied first, unlike a canvas painting where the first marks are often obscured by subsequent marks. This allows one to imagine the progression of the painting from beginning to end, and an unravelling of the process. The painterly elements often appear to enter into the "field" of the panel, sometimes from an edge or corner. For example, in *Cecil* (fig. 12), the linear coloured elements project inward from the panel edge toward the centre. Jäger describes this to be akin to the way the phenomena of notes appear and disappear in free jazz music. In these works, Jäger commits to the association of music's influence through the titles that directly link to the musicians or albums' names.

Although there are fundamental differences regarding the process of development in Palliser and Jäger's work, there are also similarities. As mentioned, their musical interests cross over, both have a love of free jazz. In free jazz there is often a sense of the present that combines honed histories and the knowledge of improvised extreme usage of the instrument's limits. They are both conscious of the ephemeral nature of the experience of this type of music and in Palliser's case this comes from the actual experience of producing the sounds on his instruments. For both, many of their paintings combine articulated and non-articulated areas which parallel how form and formlessness relate in free jazz. Notions of purity and impurity have been discussed in relationship to both their works.[33] There is an interesting paradox between the real-time communicated experience of the music

32 Ibid.

33 Stephan Berg writes of Jaeger's work, "His own strategy could rather be described as following a principle of controlled 'depurification': meaning an approach where nothing ever occurs in a pure or unequivocal state; where things only subsist in a permanent process of crossing over and hybridization." Catalogue essay for Michael Jäger's exhibition *Bells* at RAUMX, London, 2014, accessed May 25, 2020, https://raumx-london.com/category/michael-jaeger/. Peter Westwood writes of Palliser, "There is an anxious and obsessive preoccupation in Palliser's working methods as he constantly seeks 'a sense of inter-connectedness to disparate things, working out the logic.' He relies on uncertain relations to serve his desire to glimpse other possibilities. He works with something impure to imply transcendence, possibly to propose moments of the Ideal, yet remains aware of the necessity of playing with 'collapse to' avoid didacticism and the banality of perfection." Peter Westwood, "The Brain Hand Thing," in *Imagine*, exhibition catalogue (Melbourne: Heide Museum of Modern Art, 2006), accessed May 25, 2020, https://www.peterwestwood-art.com/writing.



Fig. 12: Michael Jäger, *Cecil*, 2009/2010, acrylic glass, enamel & oil. Courtesy of the artist (Cecil refers to the musician Cecil Taylor).

performance with the contemplative nature of the painting's production. Their painting goes through a considered development over a period of time where they both return to, mull over, adjust and modify the work. For Palliser in particular, there is a parallel with the temporal experience of the music and the orchestrated durational viewing experience of the painting. Further, Palliser extends this durational strategy through making us visually aware of the oil paint's apparent elasticity and pliable thickness. For the viewer there is a perception of a suspension in time when the painting coheres into the right semblance in a flux continuum.

By comparison, we see in Jäger's *Lester #2* (fig. 13) lattices, meshes, triangular patterns, distorted grid patterns, and layered splotches, all adhering in the same panel appearing as fluid outpourings of elements. These elements are almost pictorial and defy being classed as an object but are "characterised," though not as recognisable figurations, but as amalgams or elements. Although Palliser often starts with a general structure at the beginning, the colour relations often go through a series of modifications some areas can be obliterated by being painted over or scrubbed back and thus re-formed during the process.[34] In Jäger's panel paintings, parts are preserved and layered over, but to the viewer they are perceived as layered behind due to his method of working on the back of the panels.

In Elisabeth Bodey's work there is a meta-organisational principle at work, unlike the logic of the structures that emerge during the development of Jäger and Palliser's work. In her painting, *Push and Pull* (2015) (fig. 14) she has employed structural systems used in the codification of music such as "counterpoint," which provide a visual model to bring together different layers of resonance and cultural information related to "place". This resists an overarching subjectivity but enables different aspects to co-exist in a cosmology preserving the elements separate identities without infringement. It means she has been able to incorporate aspects of the rhythmic application of paint to the recreated aural memory of the sound of Indigenous clapsticks, together with swathes of applied watercolour washes that involve "chance operations," in which pigments serendipitously react with each other on the page. [35]

Initially her art "engaged with ideas of place and performance of the Warlpiri people of Central Australia … then moved into an engagement with contemporary classical or New Music, with both feeding Bodey's interest in structures in music/sound as the connecting element."[36] Being present at Indigenous performances and ceremonies has been an important catalyst for Bodey's artwork.[37] Other music

34 David Palliser, in conversation with David Harley, May 3, 2020.

35 Bodey's experience of ceremony involving the use of clapsticks at The Women's Law and Culture Week at Watiyawanu in 2011 made an indelible impression. The memory of this experience would go on to become a resonant part of her ongoing process when painting and applying particular marks: realising that the phenomenology of touch in both the act of painting and sonic memories, such as the sensation of the clapstick beat, was an important part in her art. Elisabeth Bodey, in conversation with David Harley, May 2020.

36 Elisabeth Bodey, in conversation with David Harley, May 2020.

37 Much of this information is sourced from Bodey's PhD thesis. Elisabeth Claire Bodey, "Fields



Fig. 13: Michael Jäger, *Lester, #2*, 2006, acrylic glass, enamel & oil, 242 × 172 cm. Courtesy of the artist (Lester refers to the musician Lester Bowie).

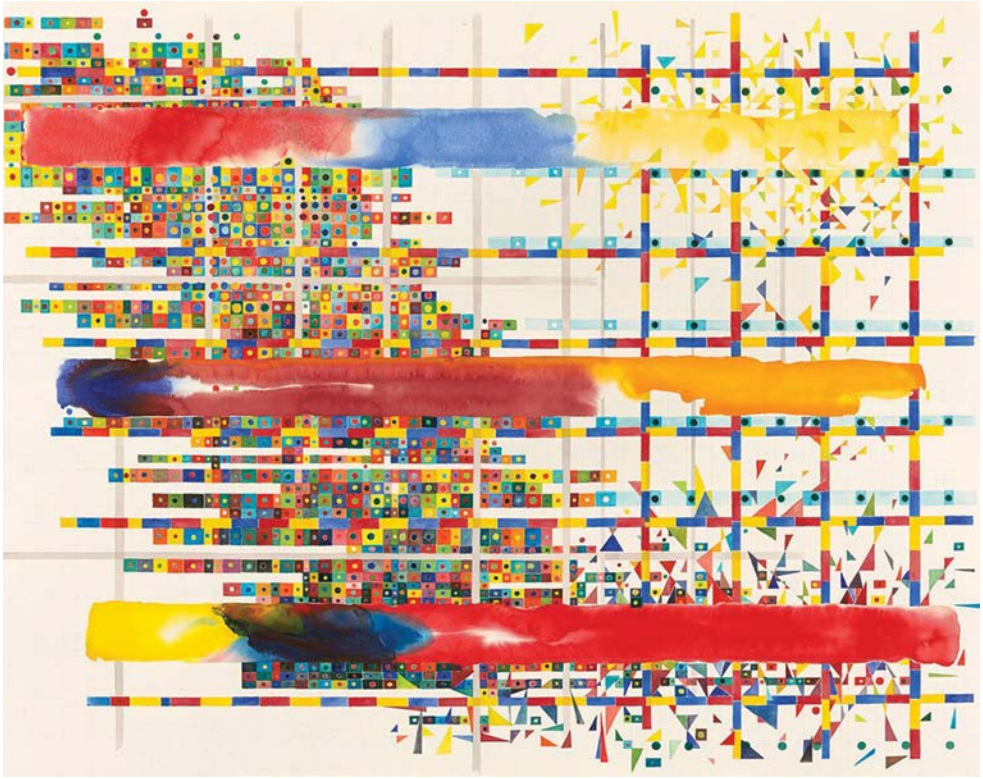


Fig. 14: Elisabeth Bodey, *Push and Pull,* 2015, watercolour & pencil on Arches paper, 95 × 152 cm. Courtesy of the artist.

events that have affected the development of her work are live performances of John Luther Adams and Morton Feldman's compositions. She describes the experience of a concert of Feldman's *Patterns in a Chromatic Field*,[38] as, "When hearing *Patterns* performed, I had the sense that I could actually walk into and around that space surrounding each single note and feel each as it was played in the field of sound. It was tangible, as if each carefully pronounced note was literally being played on my body."[39] This experience manifested itself in the way she was dealing with spatial and structural elements and is a good example of how a performance

of Relations, Boxes of Jewels: A Practice-Led Enquiry into Aspects of Place as Foundation for a New Language of Cultural Abstraction in Painting" (PhD diss., Australian National University, 2015), https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/101194.

38 Morton Feldman, *Patterns in a Chromatic Field/Untitled Composition for Cello and Piano* (1981). Bodey attended a performance given by Judith Hamann, cellist and James Rushford, pianist of *Patterns in a Chromatic Field/Untitled Composition for Cello and Piano* by Morton Feldman, at The Salon, Recital Centre, Melbourne, April 30, 2012.

39 Bodey, "Fields of Relations," 51.

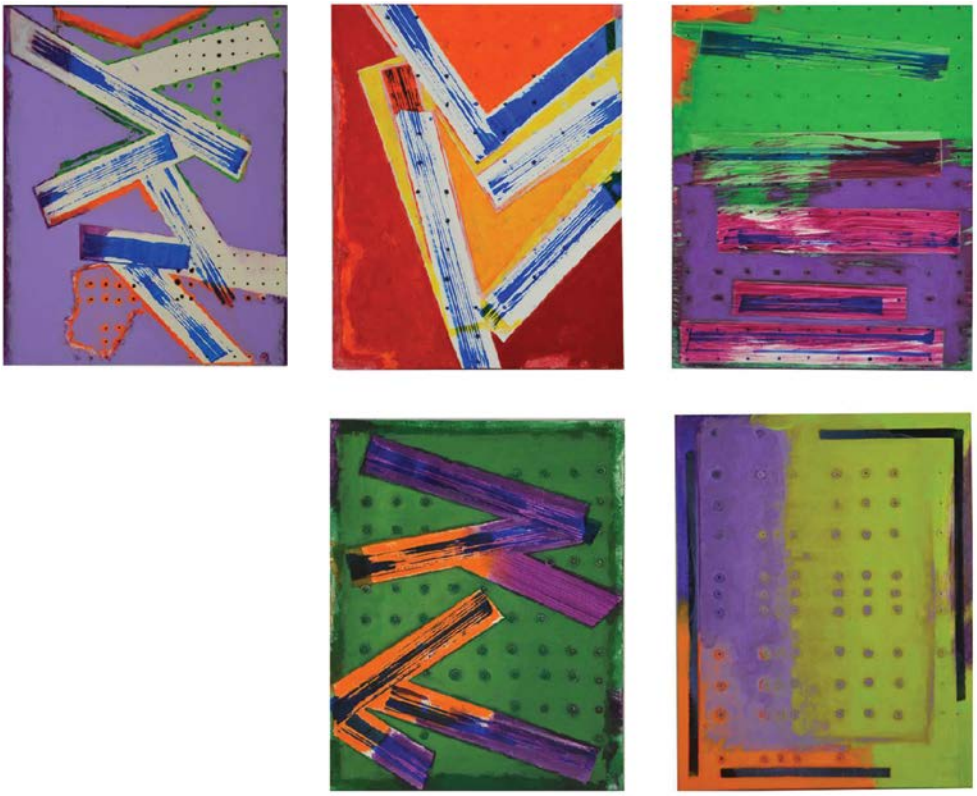


Fig. 15: Elisabeth Bodey, *Developing Structures* (part of the series), 2018, acrylic & ink on canvas board, each 23 × 30 cm. Courtesy of the artist.

of music can trigger new possibilities that become significant to an artist's work, and thus coexist as intentionality within the artist's processes.

In more recent works such as in *Developing Structures* (2018) (fig. 15), "the use of the triadic colour relationship has been a starting point for Bodey's compositions, along with the grid and free approach initially to composition. In the auditory sphere, similar colour relationships are also a consideration of composers."[40] Interestingly Bodey's art, like Jäger's panels, speak beyond the autonomous artwork, and are modular and can be re-arranged.

I have focused on the diverse and sometimes surprising ways that music can affect the creative processes within the work of contemporary painters working in an abstract idiom. The paradox is that their intentionality usually engages with improvisation in some form. This notion of a split spectrum between music and visual art since the inception of Western abstract painting more than a century ago

40 Elisabeth Bodey, in conversation with David Harley, May 2020.

still provides ongoing agency, not only in terms of creating psychological states from which to perform the creative act, but that these can also provide mutual associations of perceived spatial and temporal properties. Finding equivalences in methodologies and assistance in timbre for expanding paint-affects and structures, this split spectrum of music and visual art offers ongoing renewal to this furtive connection that music provides painting.

MUSIC IN ARCHITECTURE: LEST WE FORGET

Jocelyn Wolfe and Bruce Wolfe

Introduction

The field of music and visual culture has diversified,[1] permitting investigation of such hybrid topics as music and architecture – topics that show additional ways to know and relate our music histories, visually. Looking into the literature, music and architecture appears to be a fledgling topic within the purview of music and visual culture. Yet architecture is said to be appreciated primarily through its visual aesthetic,[2] and in many respects, fundamentally connects us with our musical past in its visual presentation. Architectural forms have also revealed more about social and political demands on music cultures as Europeans explored, colonised, and settled more extensively from the sixteenth century.

This essay explores the theme of music and architecture through a project called the Piano Mill from the perspective of the architect (Bruce Wolfe) and the musicologist involved (Jocelyn Wolfe). The Piano Mill brings us to a way of artistically, and quite boldly, exploring our musical past, through the artefact of the piano and the combined imaginings of an architect and a composer. We are left with "a strange sense of both dislocation and nostalgia,"[3] the composer, Erik Griswold, concludes.

The Piano Mill Project

1. Idea to concept

From an architect's perspective, The Piano Mill Project has a very practical side as well as its own history as an idea. An idea remains just that unless we act on it or communicate it. Some histories are remembered but more often lost. The history of the large number of pianos in Australia in the nineteenth century was committed to my memory in 1975 when reading for my architectural thesis. The first pianos arrived in Australia with the first fleet in 1788, but by the end of the nineteenth

1 Tim Shephard and Anne Leonard, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2018), e-book.

2 Colin Ripley, "Hearing Places: Sound in Architectural Thought and Practice," in *Hearing Places: Sound, Place, Time, Culture*, ed. Ros Bandt, Michelle Duffy and Dolly Mackinnon (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 95–107.

3 Erik Griswold, "The Piano Mill: Nostalgic Music and Architecture in the Australian Bush," *Leonardo Music Journal* 27 (2017): 53–54.

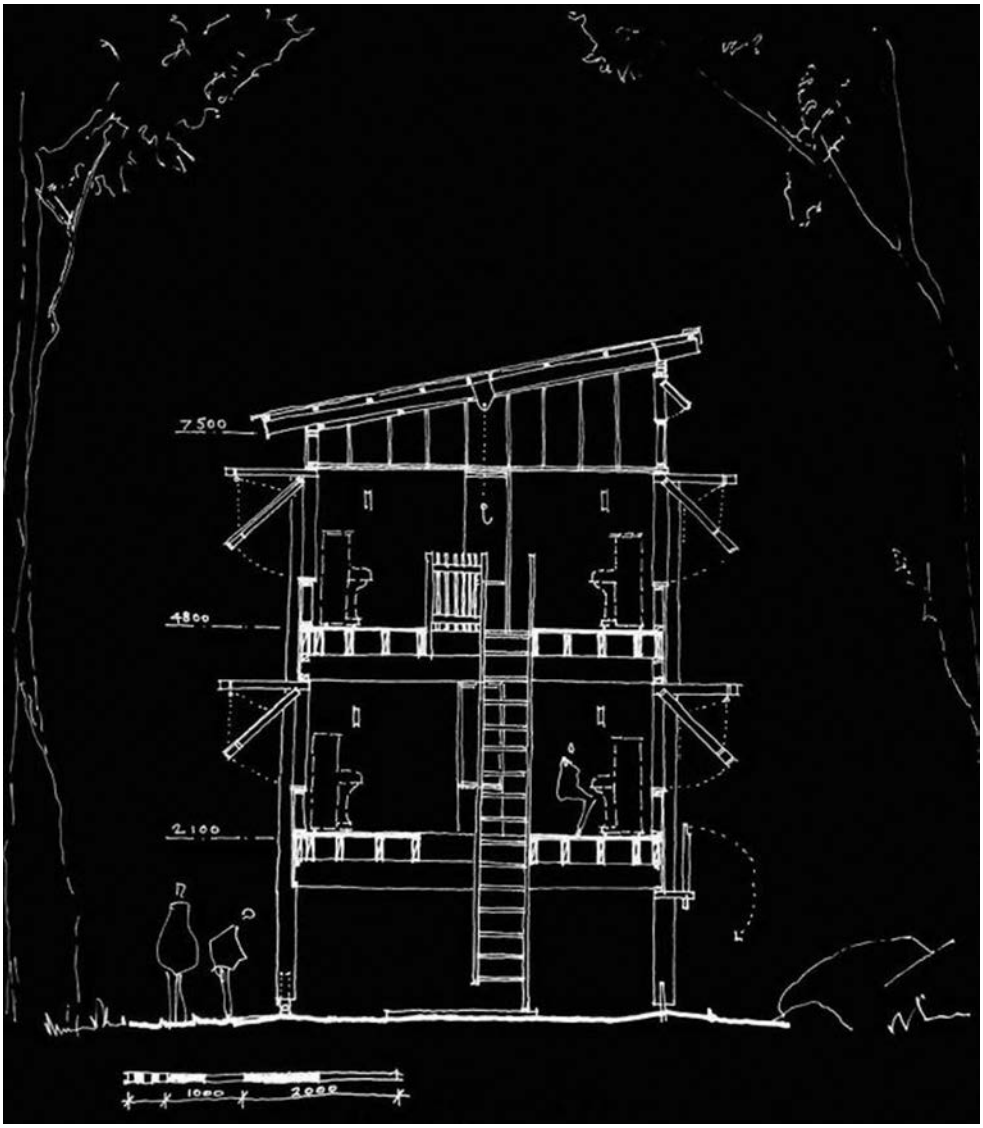


Fig. 1: Preliminary sketch showing arrangement of pianos (image credit: Bruce Wolfe).

century, a hundred years later, around 700,000 pianos had been imported[4] alongside, and despite, a growing piano manufacturing industry in Australia. Based on credible statistics, by the end of the nineteenth century, Australia had more pianos per person than anywhere else in the world. These pianos, or many of them, are still in existence, un-used, un-tuned, gently decaying.

4 Humphrey McQueen, *A New Britannia* (Brisbane, Qld, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 2004), 111.



Fig. 2: The composer, inspired by pianos in the bush (image credit: Renata Buziak).

This remembered history surfaced when I met composer Erik Griswold, whose specialty is prepared piano. An idea formed: one could imagine celebrating the history by gathering a large number of these aged pianos, and in some way symbolising their role in early European history in Australia, bringing them back to life in their current condition. Think of them as being *pre-prepared* instruments, just by their age and neglect. Then, add in a composer to respond to these individually prepared instruments. This was the origin of The Piano Mill Project and all the subsequent practicalities of bringing it into existence.

The proposition to Erik Griswold was to join with me in assembling a significant number of these out-of-tune and fundamentally flawed pianos and compose a new work for a potentially preposterous instrument. The proposition went well beyond assembling the pianos in a room, to an idea that expresses purpose with a stronger visual identity, a tower of sound-inspired architecture (fig. 1): The Piano Mill Project, could be seen as an interface between sound and building which would strengthen during the design process. Those many pianos, the invaders, arriving in numbers were then to become building blocks which were to define the architecture.

First, there was the task of accumulating pianos. All sourced locally, the instruments were brought to our property in northern NSW, where the project was to be constructed. Here was a balance between context and purpose. As the number of pianos grew, some of the pianos were set up among the trees for the composer to work directly with the individual instruments in this unique environment (fig. 2). These remote pianos gave Erik a chance to get to know their inherited qualities,

their past stories and individual histories and to become familiar with the build-up of his *mega instrument*.

Despite their diminished playing condition, these pianos were beautiful things, works of craft and art. They brought with them their design, their individuality, from all corners of the world. Pianos came here with the British and other European cultures as an invasion: a musical colonisation of the outback. Although now more scattered, and somewhat deconstructed, our collected pianos became a symbol of the expansion of that European settlement.

To the architect, these pianos were all seen as treasures in their own right yet, in their as-found condition, full of their own character, and to become the unique building blocks of the Piano Mill. To that end, the Mill is actually designed around the piano: a project defined by the number of collected instruments and by sound, defined by its environment; defined by the very composition that was being undertaken concurrent with construction; defined by artistic vision and, in another sense, capturing a cultural history.

2. Design and construction

2.1 How big?

The design of the Piano Mill was informed by this capturing of history and sound but the question remained: just how many pianos? What is a significant number that dignifies the celebration of the instrument's history of invasion? The piano can be seen as a simple unit of measurement and a square is a simple plan form. Placing two pianos against each wall while creating an aperture in the centre large enough to raise the widest of the pianos forms a plan of 4.5 metres square with a 1.6m × 1.4m hole in the centre. This also provides sufficient room for each seated pianist. Add another floor of similar proportion: that is sixteen pianos in a near cubic volume 4.5m square and 4.5m tall (fig. 3).

With this intimate relationship between instrument and structure, it is nearly as though the building were constructed from the pianos themselves.

2.2 Up off the ground

Insertion of the pianos required the building to be raised off the ground for the pianos to be slid under the walls and then lifted up through the centre (fig. 4), but how high? Height off the ground would need to accommodate the tallest pianos as well as the transporting mechanism. Choosing just the right height would have the musicians genuflecting on entry, a nice homage to the instrument and a practical solution to construction.

2.3 Acoustic imperatives

It is a little unusual to have the musicians with their instruments separated from the audience by a wall, except that in this case, the whole building may be con-



Fig. 3: Creating a volume sufficient for sixteen pianos (image credit: Bruce Wolfe).



Fig. 4: Each piano was lifted up through the centre of the building (image credit: Jocelyn Wolfe).



Fig. 5: Sonic periscopes add a dynamic range to the instrument (image credit: Tangible Media).

sidered as an instrument. The fabric of the building therefore has an additional function as the vibrating membrane (similar perhaps to a sound board or speaker cone). With a very stiff and crisp structure, the skin is a single thin ply sheet with attached copper, allowing a reasonable direct transmission of the internal sound to the outside. Articulation of that sound is made firstly by *operable awning dampers*. Normally open for performance, these are opened and closed by means of large external levers and act a little like the mutes on a trumpet. The second is made by the sonic periscopes (fig. 5), with their pickups (copper funnels) located over the top end of two of the lead pianos. The sound travels through a PVC tube to the copper bells at audience level. These, like the dampers, are also activated and directed by the performance team.

2.4 Materiality

As well as focussing on resonance with its membrane wall and stiff columns, these external materials are designed to weather with the trees. The copper cladding (fig. 6) will oxidise, creating a gentle patina, and the rough-sawn Australian hardwood will turn grey: an instrument of the Australian bush.

2.5 Light into the instrument

Lifting the roof, with the insertion of a clearstory above the copper cube containing the pianos, provides the principal source of natural light and is supplemented by the transparent vertical strips that run between the pairs of pianos on each wall for the full height of the tower (fig. 7). Suspended reading lights are positioned over the keyboard of each individual piano with a spotlight illuminating any theatre in the central void, creating a sort of lantern effect.

2.6 Loading the pianos

It is one thing to collect the pianos; it is another to bring them to the property, two at a time, on the back of a one-ton truck. After hunting for the first few pianos, the rest came in a rush. Over a period of six months the required number of sixteen instruments, plus a few spares, was assembled in a shed on the property. The pianos that had provided the composer with his inspiration in the forest were brought in, and were replaced in the bush by others that were considered unusable.

Pianos were to become part of the construction methodology. They were therefore fully embedded in the design process and the reality of transforming ideas into outcomes. The real challenge though was to get all sixteen into the tower and into their respective places. Each piano was transported by tractor (fitted with a fork-lift) to a runway – built under the structure and extending outside – to accept the pianos. A homebuilt trolley was strapped under the piano which allowed the "package" to move along the runway to under the hole in the centre of the building (fig. 8).

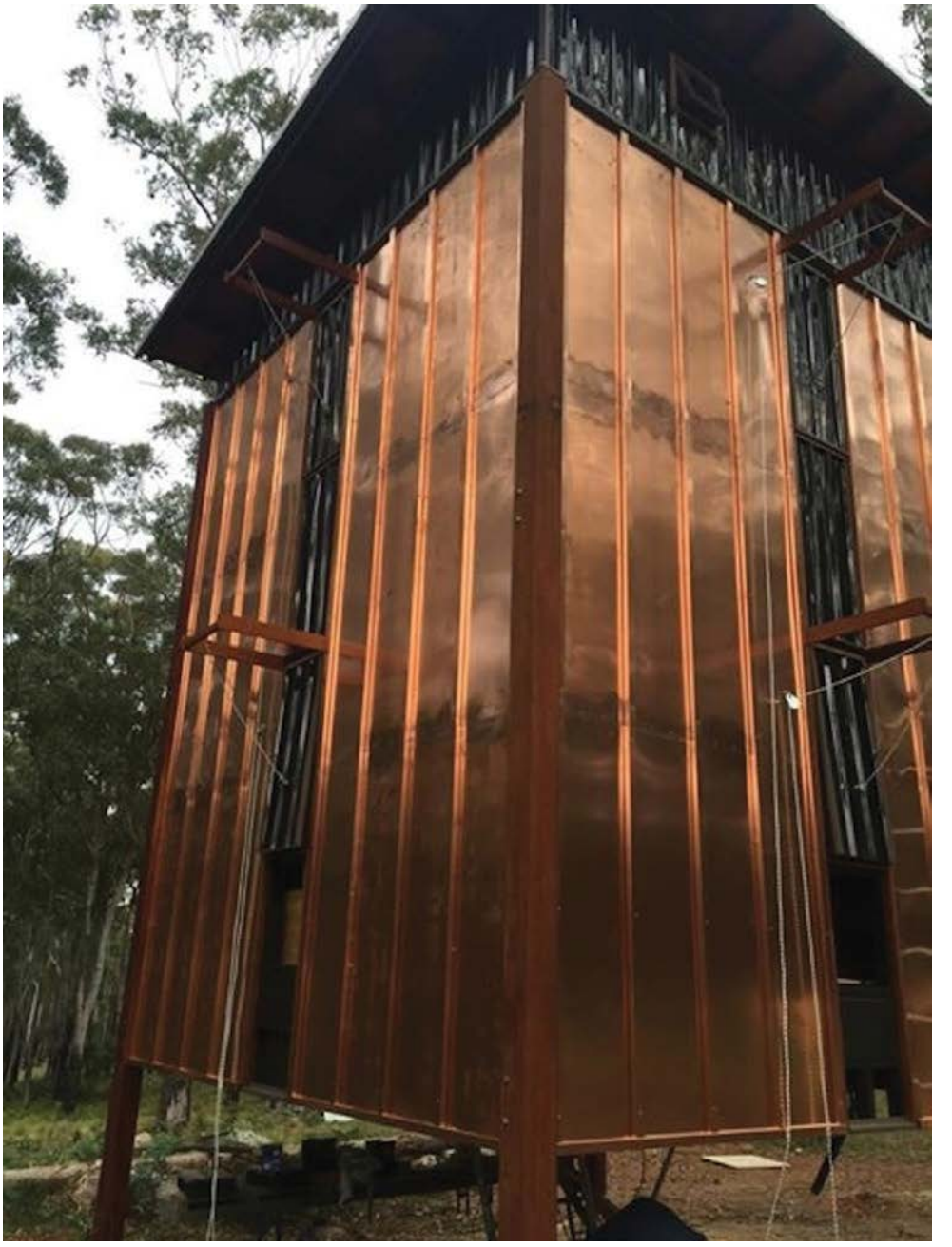


Fig. 6: Initially bright, the copper will eventually oxidise and blend more into the environment (image credit: Ray Toaldo).

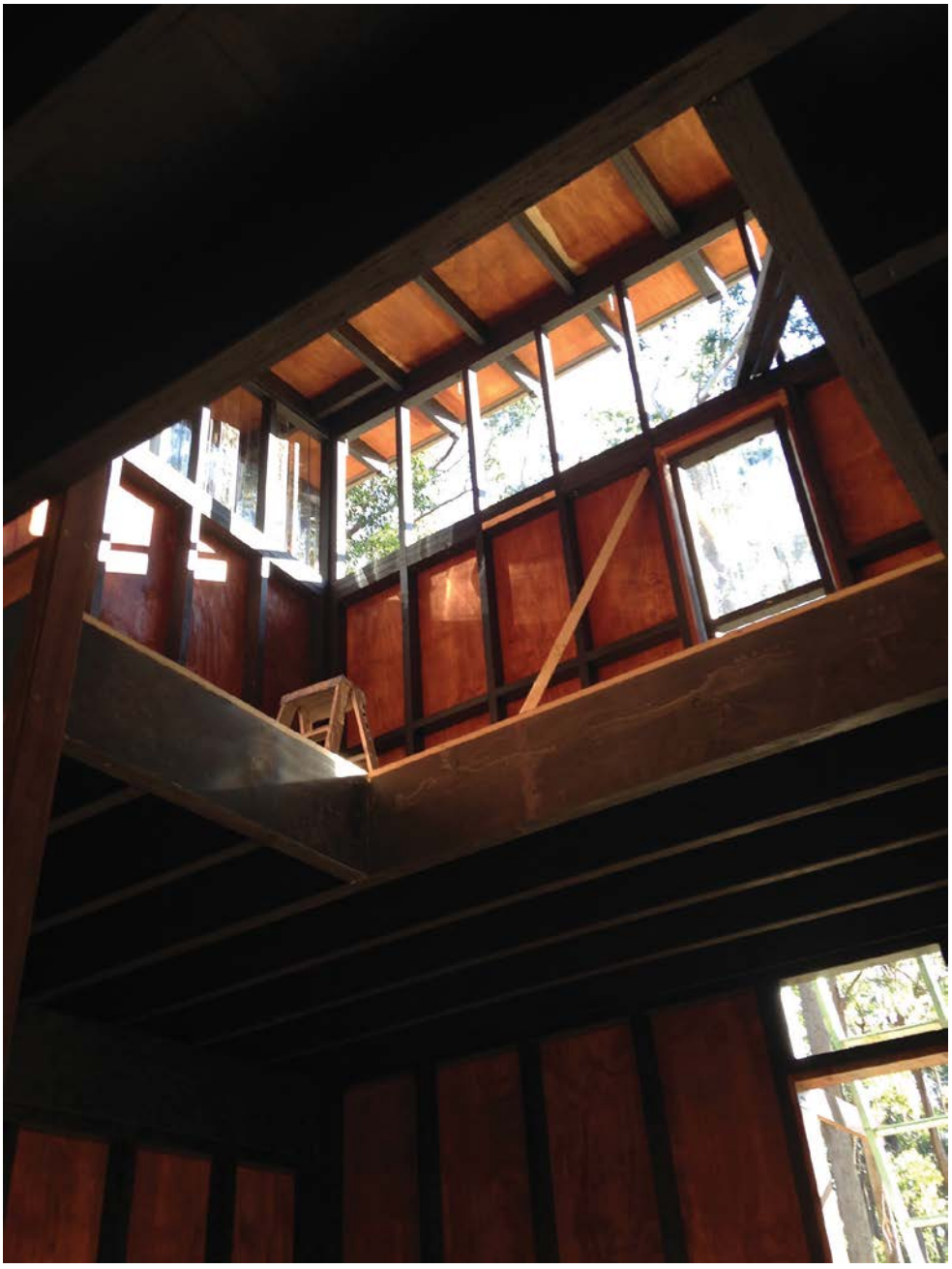


Fig. 7: The clearstory is the principal source of natural light (image credit: Jocelyn Wolfe).

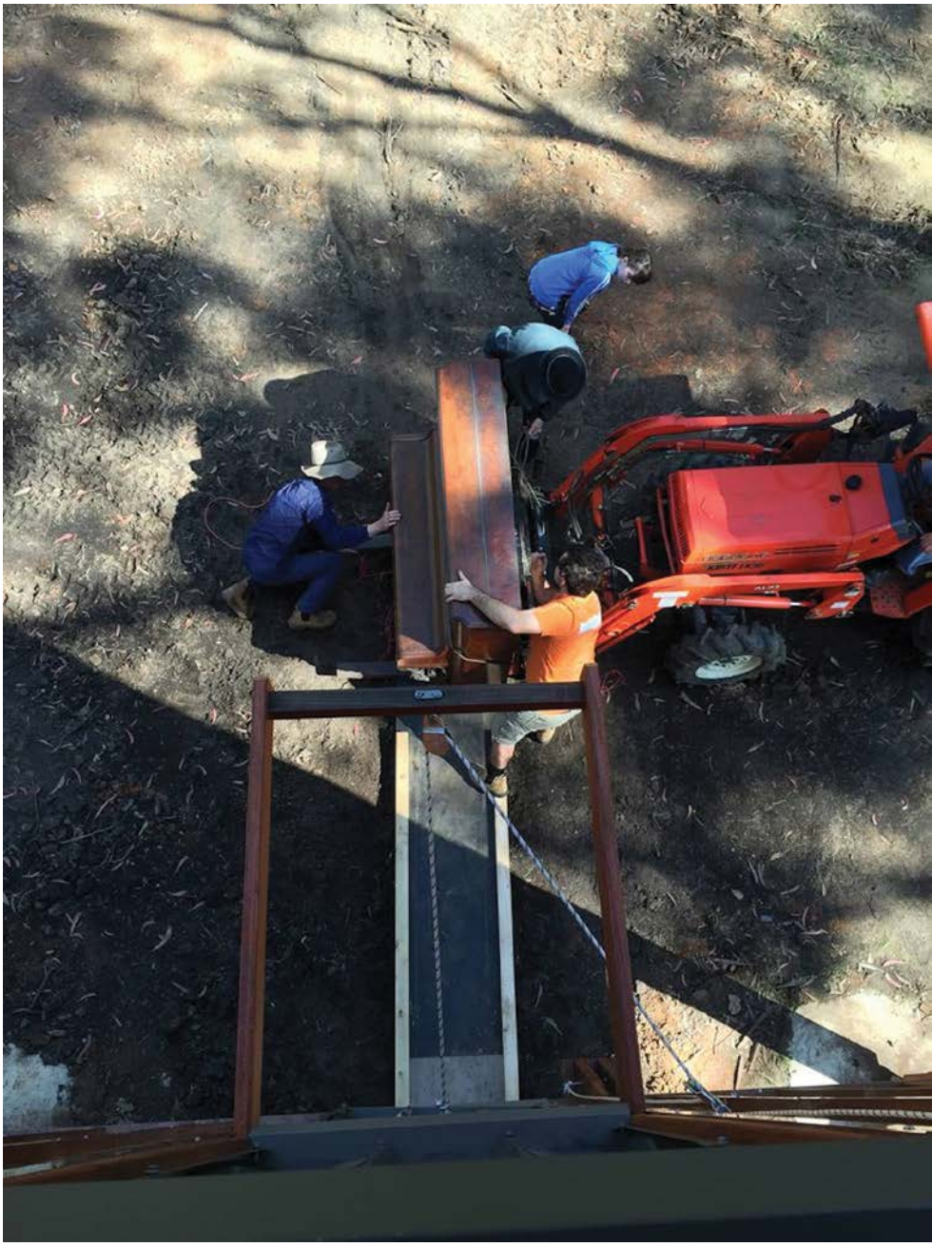


Fig. 8: The pianos were moved along a runway to under the hole in the centre of the building (image credit: Jocelyn Wolfe).



Fig. 9: The interior aesthetic is dominated by the pianos (image credit: Renata Buziak).

A simple winch and centrally located pulley, suspended from the roof beams, were employed to raise the piano to above the level of the floor and then lowered onto a temporary structural bridge, inserted after the piano was lifted to sufficient height. Each piano was then rolled into position and the bogey removed. This was repeated fifteen more times, with the time for manoeuvre decreasing from over one hour for the first, to twelve minutes for the last.

2.7 Interior

The aesthetic treatment of the interior is very much determined by the visual dominance of the pianos (fig. 9). They take up a considerable percentage of the volume and their rich design features, timber finish and peculiarities render an interior more like a 'music box' than a building. The interior wall lining of natural plywood adds to this, but the instruments provide a visual expression of purpose, and a reflection, perhaps, of the cabinetry of the pianos themselves. This is an interior specifically designed to carry its musical identity.



Fig. 10: Four grader blades were tuned and hung as chimes (image credit: Marc Treble).

2.8 Adding chimes

The idea of using the heavy metal blades from road-making machinery as the set of chimes (fig. 10) may be considered a later 'thought bubble.' However, some variety had already been introduced to the 'all piano' concept with one piano on each level reduced to being played like a harp (by removing the hammer mechanism and front panel). This allowed a single musician on each level to play side-on and therefore be able to see and communicate with each other throughout the performance. Adding this unusual set of chimes also has its own logic. The transportation of the invading pianos, and the construction of the early gravel roads necessary for their carriage, was the link that led to some experimentation with these heavy steel blades. The tuning of the grader blades was remarkably simple: by suspending the blade and striking it to measure the pitch, a quick calculation could be made to determine where to cut with the Oxy torch; then the finer tuning was done with the angle grinder. These chimes are suspended from the roof structure and played by a musician on the lower level, armed with a pair of carpenter's hammers.

3. Performance

3.1 Audience on the outside

I imagined the intrigue of being outside this instrument hearing the performance, not knowing what was happening inside to generate the sound. I also wanted to reveal this over the course of the performance. With the performance programmed for sunset and beyond, simultaneous projection was an obvious answer but projecting onto a traditional screen did not seem to be in keeping with this extraordinary building.

Part of our solution was to transpose the audience into a screen by cladding them all in white T-shirts and handing out one hundred white umbrellas. This audience then became a pixilated screen, translating the action from the keyboards directly onto the audience; two projectors and two parts of the audience … yet we still wanted to deliver a little more.

This led to the use of a third projector but still with simultaneous translation. Projecting onto the copper wall of the instrument an image of what you would see if the wall were not there, gave the impression that the wall actually dissolved (fig. 11a and 11b). This 'indulgence' was kept until after a moment of absolute darkness between movements.

3.2 Smoking

The two small vents at the top of the clearstory (that look eerily like eyes) were included in the design with the single purpose to let out smoke. Acknowledging the sort of steam punk imagery of the instrument, it was a natural extension to think of this mill smoking into action (fig. 12), with the smoke machine located just below the vents and going into operation just prior to the performance.

3.3 Preparing the instrument

One imagines the scene. The chimes ring out in the forest followed by the grinding sound of a winch. A strange creature of the Mill descends in a pool of light: this is the movement artist and member of the performance team who is lowered through the hole in the middle of the instrument. She appears and then prepares the entryway for the sixteen assembled musicians. Whilst they climb to their allocated place in the tower, the creature goes about her business of opening the acoustic shutters (fig. 13), directing the sonic periscopes and generally welcoming the audience.

3.4 Music for the Piano Mill

To launch the Piano Mill, my collaborator composed the new work, "All's Grist that Comes to the Mill" (fig. 14). This work responds firstly to the pianos but also to the various influences of the architecture, the natural environment and Australia's colonial history. Performed in the Mill on Sunday, March 27, 2016, it truly explores the capability and breadth of the instrument: from the massive



Fig. 11a: Images were projected onto the Mill (image credit: Tangible Media).



Fig. 11b: Images were projected onto the audience (image credit: Renata Buziak).



Fig. 12: Smoke machine and mist added to the drama of the performance (image credit: Tangible Media).



Fig. 13: Dramatic preparation of the Mill by the movement artist (image credit: Renata Buziak).



Fig. 14: Composer with score, "All's Grist that Comes to the Mill," (image credit: Tangible Media).

effect of all pianos sounding like an immense swarm of bees, to delicate variations of themes being passed from one instrument to another where the sonic periscopes are employed to full effect.

The Piano Mill has been described as many things, from mega instrument to gothic tower; yet to me, the architect, it is just a fanciful idea that has come to life in the Australian forest – an amalgam of visual art, history, environment, music and of course, architecture. In its World Architecture Festival award (WAF Amsterdam, 2018), it was described as "a prime instrument in an orchestra of trees."[5] In another's words:

> As a mill it is somewhere between a rustic grain mill (minus water wheel or sails) and an oversized designer pepper mill. Closer to a grain mill in scale and in its working integration with landscape, it is also like a lovely domestic pepper mill in the particularity and crafting of materials, its empty core and its contribution to the shared-table spice of life.[6]

5 Architectsdatafile, "World Architecture Festival 2018: Day One Winners of International Architecture Awards Announced," November 29, 2018, https://www.architectsdatafile.co.uk/news/world-architecture-festival-2018-day-one-winners-of-international-architectural-awards-announced/.

6 Jo Russell-Clarke, "The Piano Mill: In Remote Rural Australia, a Living Culture Builds on the Musical Bones of the Past," *Foreground*, December 7, 2018, https://www.foreground.com.au/culture/piano-mill-remote-rural-australia-living-culture-builds-musical-bones-past/.

It has also been described as a "performance machine" and a new home of place-inspired music and art. Surely a device that is both musical instrument and simple, yet celebrated architecture, personifies musical identity in visual culture.

The piano: At the intersection of music and architecture

While the Piano Mill needs no justification as a unique edifice – a building that has been recognised in the fields of both architecture and music – it nonetheless illustrates relationships that are often lost in the writing of histories. From the perspective of a musicologist, music and architecture, practised and studied together, engage us meaningfully with the lived historical realities of our culture.[7] Conceptually, the Mill pays tribute to musical and architectural traditions of old, where, for many centuries, architectural decisions determined musical compositional choices. It is a fundamental relationship that surely has influenced the development of western musical styles since early times,[8] with scholars pointing to Pythagoras's theory of harmonic ratios in the sixth century BC as one that would influence the formation processes of music and architecture for many centuries.[9]

In pre-modern times, the employment of antiphony to create a sense of space in a composition makes use of the resonant possibilities of the performance space, typically a church, and thus, as Richards describes, absorbs architecture into the musical principle.[10] From the middle ages through to the end of the nineteenth century it can be argued that it was common for composers to understand the acoustics of architectural forms and materials and to respond to architectural inventions with innovations in musical styles and instrumentations.[11] Their compositions ultimately belong to an interconnected architectural and musical history: the result of the buildings they were composed for.[12]

By the time of the rise of the concert hall in the nineteenth century, with the popularity of professional solo playing and new instrument technologies, performers, too, had to make choices resulting from a shift beyond small music rooms, not particularly designed for music-making, to the echoing resonance of large

7 Tim Shephard, "Musical Spaces: The Politics of Space in Renaissance Italy," in *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*, eds. Tim Shephard and Anne Leonard (New York: Routledge, 2018), 274–280, e-book.

8 Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

9 Cornelie Leopold, "Experiments on Relations Between Geometry, Architecture and Music," *Journal for Geometry and Graphics* 9, no. 2 (2005): 169–176.

10 Emma-Ruth Richards, "Music and Architecture: A Composer's Perspective on Form, Process and Product," (Doctoral thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2014), 4.

11 Braxten Boren, "History of 3D Sound", in *Immersive Sound: The Art and Science of Binaural and Multi Channel Audio*, ed. Agnieszka Roginska and Paul Geluso (New York: Routledge, 2018), 99–126.

12 Laura Moretti, "Music, Architecture and Activism," March 16, 2019, *Music Matters*, interview by Kate Mollison, podcast, 12:15, https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006tnvx

spaces where the acoustic could make "both harmony and melody unintelligible."[13] Performers chose music appropriate for the space, and in so doing, impelled the popularity of certain musical forms. This relationship of music and architecture, musician and architect, equally expresses the changing dynamics of society, hierarchies, and the power of Church and State.

The Mill project illuminates such cultural references and the powerful agents that have shaped musical identities and aesthetic appreciation in the colonising of Australia through that iconic musical artefact, the piano – emblem of Victorian gentility – on its journey to colonial Australia and to the present day.

The Mill illustrates the relocation of the piano from the drawing room or parlour of Victorian Europe, where it was a sign of bourgeois prosperity, to places of residence distant and unknown, moving "beyond the ambit of aristocrats and the Church."[14] The journey of pianos to the Mill reminds of both *attachment* to the object, signifier of status, and also *detachment*, signifier of exile and emigration. Despite the piano's bulk, it was brought not only 12,000 miles across the ocean to Australia, but often another 1,000 miles inland, to become one wall of a clay-floored and windowless hut,[15] "a cumbersome symbol of higher values."[16] On the domestic scene, it came with the expectation of respectability, a respectability that was supposed to be maintained by what was played, and *where* it was played.[17] The parlour, for example, was a woman's realm, as Radic describes: "a place of preserved memories, pianos, afternoon tea, tedium, respectability, and the vicar.[18] But this changed as the social norms surrounding the piano in the Victorian parlour gradually shifted in colonial outposts of Australia. Described by Colebourne and MacKinnon as an essential part of domesticity and the material culture of the colonial home in Ausralia from the nineteenth century onwards, it came to be used as a healing treatment, with medical records extolling the moralising and emotional benefits of the instrument.[19] At the same time, Atherton makes the point that piano repertoire could be highly controversial: as the piano made its way to the outback it became further removed from Victorian etiquette and polite society, a feature of

13 Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 22.

14 Michael Atherton, *A Coveted Possession: The Rise and Fall of the Piano in Australia* (Melbourne, Vic., Australia: LaTrobe University Press, 2017), 8.

15 Humphrey McQueen, *A New Britannia* (Brisbane, Qld, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 2004), 111.

16 Roger Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes for a New Society* (Melbourne, Vic., Australia: Sun Books, 1967), 21.

17 Atherton, *A Coveted Possession*, 41.

18 Therese Radic, "The Lost Chord of Australian Culture: Researching Australian Music History," in *Community of Researchers: Proceedings of the XXIInd Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Music Education*, eds. Jane Southcott and Ros Smith. (Melbourne, Vic., Australia: Australian Association for Research in Music Education, 2002), 7.

19 Catharine Colebourne and Dolly MacKinnon, '*Madness' in Australia: Histories, Heritage and the Asylum* (St Lucia, Qld, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 2003), 165.

bush bands that played "vulgar" jigs and reels for dances.[20] Perhaps more so here, in outback Australia, the piano crossed social boundaries and inhabited different architectures, a feature not only of the parlour – a woman's realm – but also of goldfields, singing tents, pubs and brothels. It was also an active participant in the making of Australian legends.[21] Australia's national song, "Waltzing Matilda", inspired by a disrespect for authority, was composed around a piano in a remote homestead in western Queensland.

We see the piano's cultural significance documented in the writings of musicologists and journalists, in the memoirs of pianists, and in the imagined colonial homes and town halls of Australian historical fiction. Even at the end of the twentieth century the piano was foregrounded in the writing of twelve Australian fiction writers as a primary musical force in their exploration of the meaning of music in the life of a character.[22] What is noticeable in the twenty-first century is its absence from our homes. With changes in music technology and lifestyle it has seemingly been denied a place, increasingly seen as a vestige of a golden age in Australia, the truths around which are only recently being re-evaluated. The piano's relocation to the colony and the outback brings an interesting divergence in historical viewpoints of this country's musical life, some of which fail to recount the catastrophic and irreversible impact on the musical heritage of the first Australians, and also ignore the birth of "Australian-ness" in musical taste."[23] In some respects, a symbol of cultural invasion.

For me, the piano strongly recalls a connection to place: a measure of distance and space as its music reached across streets, neighbours' yards, down lanes, into gardens and the bush. To imagine a piano being played, one also imagines its setting, part of the architectural fabric of the history of buildings: private homes, churches and public halls in the relative sparseness of the Australian landscape. It is a nostalgic residue of an Australia lost. While the piano is a feature of colonial expansion in other parts of the world, it is noted that in Australia it is particularly prevalent in our national subconscious, and more than that, it is no longer the music so much as the piano itself that inspires.[24]

The Mill exemplifies this through Wolfe's architectural inspiration and Griswold's musical response, importantly illustrating the capacity of architecture to reclaim or reinterpret our musical histories and to broaden the experience of what music and concert going entail, negotiating both musical belonging and detachment through the spaces that the piano has inhabited and the journeys it has been on.

20 Atherton, *A Coveted Possession*.
21 McQueen, *A New Britannia*.
22 Radic, "The Lost Chord of Australian Culture."
23 Radic, "The Lost Chord of Australian Culture," 8.
24 Radic, "The Lost Chord of Australian Culture," 10.

THE MUSICAL IDENTITY OF ANCIENT GREEK CITY-STATES ACCORDING TO COINAGE (SIXTH–FIRST C. BCE)

Sylvain Perrot

It is difficult to determine exactly when coinage started in the ancient world. The consensus of most contemporary scholars is that it was invented[1] in the late seventh century BCE in Sardis, the capital of Lydia (Asia Minor), as already suggested by the Greek author Herodotus.[2] At that time, these were only tiny ingots made of electrum (an alloy of gold and silver that was highly prized and abundant in that area) or silver. As shown by the excavations under the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, the first coins, made of electrum, were issued during the first half of the sixth century, on the one hand by the king of Lydia Alyattes, Croesus' father, and on the other hand by Greek cities of Ionia (the Western coast of Anatolia), especially Phocaea and Miletus. In the middle of the sixth century, King Croesus replaced the electrum coins with coins of pure gold and pure silver, called Croeseids. By the end of the century, important Greek city-states started to issue coins made of silver, especially Chios and Samos, but the technique flourished a bit later on the other shore of the Aegean Sea, following the two Persian wars (490–479 BCE). From that time on, ancient Greek city-states struck coins widely spread all around the Mediterranean Sea. Gold and silver coins were meant to travel more than bronze coins, which were designed for local use.

From the beginning, it was essential to advertise which authority had issued the coins. Since they were used for trade or payment of mercenaries, they were also supposed to travel. Thus, those coins depicted symbols or features that represented the city and promoted the prestige of the state.[3] Such a symbol could be either a local mythological character (e.g. Pegasus in Corinth), an endemic animal or vegetal species (e.g. the marine tortoise in Aegina or the silphium in Cyrene), or a kind of riddle relying on a word play (e.g. the seal for Phocaea, since the Greek name of the seal is *phōkē*), etc. The most famous is probably the owl (Athena's favourite animal and symbol of wisdom) with a branch of olive tree, which Athens depicted on its drachms. Many Greek city-states decided to represent themselves with mu-

1 Abbreviations used in this paper: ANS: American Numismatic Society; *BMC*: *Catalogue of the British Museum Coins*; *HN*: *Historia Nummorum*; *SNG*: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*.

2 Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 94. See Koray Konuk, "Asia Minor to the Ionian Revolt," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. William E. Metcalf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 43–60.

3 Olivier Picard, "L'empreinte de la *polis* sur la monnaie," in *Hommage à Jacqueline de Romilly. L'empreinte de son oeuvre*, eds. Marc Fumaroli, Jacques Jouanna, Monique Trédé and Michel Zink (Paris: AIBL, 2014), 23–37.

sical instruments, which are mainly string instruments (lyre and *kithara*), usually related to the god Apollo. These instruments represented as much as 95 percent of the whole corpus of musical instruments. Nevertheless, since coins are intrinsically meant to circulate, we can never be absolutely sure that the idea to depict an instrument was original or if it was an imitation of the coinage of another city-state.

Among all the iconographical sources on ancient Greek music, coins have been quite underestimated until today. The fact that many cities depicted a *kithara* or a lyre (considering that the musical iconography usually coexists with other symbols) allows us to reflect on this phenomenon in terms of identity. Greeks did not constitute a united nation in Antiquity, but they thought they belonged to the same culture. Yet, at the same time, they were regularly in war with their neighbours, which is a kind of detachment from this idealistic Greek community. One of the best expressions of this paradox may be found in the last paragraph of the eighth book of Herodotus's *Histories*. In his long narrative of all the events of the second Persian War (480–479 BCE), he reports a public debate between the Athenians and an embassy of Spartans, who suspect Athenians of cooperating with the Persians. The Athenians answer they would never deal with Persians, because they belong to "the kinship of all Greeks, which is same blood, same language, the shrines of gods we have in common, the sacrifices, the habits and customs, the same way of life" (τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα).[4]

The context of Herodotus's statement is enlightening. The Athenian answer highlights the existence of a Greek community, whereas some Greek cities decided to support Persians, hence the fear of Spartans. Obviously, it is a reconstruction of the past, since Herodotus writes some decades after the events, but he probably wants his Greek readers to maintain the fight against the common enemy, the Persians. Herodotus is a Greek author, but he was born in Halicarnassus, a Greek foundation in Caria, which had been under the Persian rule before joining the Athenian alliance (the Delian League) in 479. Afterwards, in the late fifth century, Halicarnassus left the Athenian alliance and joined the Persian satrapy of Caria. In 367 BCE, Halicarnassus became the capital of the satrap Mausolus. In between, Halicarnassus minted coins with, on the obverse, a helmeted head of Athena or a laureate head of Apollo, and on the reverse the legend of the city surrounding a four-stringed *kithara* (fig. 1).[5] An inscription testifies the presence of a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo, Athena and Parthenos.[6] This is a perfect example of a city expressing a Greek identity, although it was under Persian rule.

4 Herodotus, *Histories*, VIII, 144.

5 *BMC Caria – Halicarnassus* 7–8; *SNG* Kayhan, 761. See Koray Konuk, "Coinage and Identities under the Hekatomnids," *Publications de l'Institut français d'Études Anatoliennes 28* (2013) = *4th Century Karia. Defining a Karian identity under the Hekatomnids*: 101–121. For similar issues much later in Caria: Cnidos (*SNG Copenhagen* 326), Alabanda (*BMC Caria – Alabanda* 15; *SNG* von Aulock 2388; *SNG* Copenhagen 4).

6 *Syll.*[3] 46.



Fig. 1: Halicarnassus, silver hemidrachm, ca. 400–367 BCE, 1.80 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 586) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Thus, I would like to examine how ancient Greek coins with music instruments show a feeling of belonging to or detachment from Greek culture based on same language, same gods, and same customs according to Herodotus's definition. How did music instruments on coins express this relation to Greek culture on the one hand and the political antagonisms between the city-states on the other? First, I shall explore what the depiction of a string instrument meant for Greek people, in terms of religion and culture, and then I will focus on the political significations. Finally, I will show some cases in which the musical instrument is obviously the symbol of a common Greek cultural heritage, especially from a non-Greek perspective. The purpose of this enquiry is not to discuss carefully the iconography, given that the instrument is often depicted on its own and not always realistically. For my topic, it is actually more relevant to provide a serial analysis, although I am aware that the shape of the instruments could be considered more in detail. Furthermore, I must confess that understanding these coins in a comparison with other represented subjects than music would be helpful in better comprehending their cultural significance, but this is a wide topic that deserves further studies to which this paper invites.

Belonging: A Multi-Scale Identity

One of the most ancient issues featuring the backside of a *kithara* was minted in the sixth century BCE in Delos, an island in the Cyclades,[7] considered the birthplace of Apollo. From the beginning of its coinage up to the end of its independence (in 478 BCE), a string instrument was engraved on Delos's coins. Its design is not fixed, but rather evolved gradually.[8] The earliest coin of this series, dating back to ca. 530 BCE, is a silver didrachm (also known as a stater) showing the backside of a seven-stringed *kithara* with prominently curved arms and two dolphins atop the yoke (fig. 2).[9]

A silver hemidrachm (also known as a triobol), which was issued a bit later, features the backside of a five-stringed lyre on the obverse and a quadripartite incuse on the reverse.[10] In the decades between 510 and 480, there are several examples of silver didrachms with seven- or six-stringed *kitharai* seen from the back on the obverse, and either a quadripartite incuse or a pebbled mill-sail pattern on the reverse (fig. 3).[11] The shape of the instrument varies, especially the curve of the arms, the prominent part of the sound box, and the tuning system. A unique silver didrachm shows a seven-stringed *kithara* on the obverse and on the reverse a five-stringed lyre, the sound box of which looks like a shield rather than a tortoise shell.[12]

In the Hellenistic period, when Delos recovered its independence (314 BCE), there was an important change. The *kithara* was relocated to the reverse, and the head of laureate Apollo, looking left, was placed on the obverse. Furthermore, the front of the five-stringed instrument was newly depicted with the legend ΔH (for Delos).[13] The *kithara*, which was a professional instrument, more clearly refers to the Greek agonistic culture rather than the simple lyre. After the archaic period, the combination of Apollo's head on the obverse and the *kithara* on the reverse became the most common design on Greek coins with a string instrument.

There is no doubt that the string instrument is depicted as the attribute of Apollo, since Delos had one of the most important shrines dedicated to the god. However, the choice of the music instrument cannot be interpreted only as a simple attribute of the god because it also refers to musical performances that took

7 See Kenneth A. Sheedy, "Aegina, the Cyclades, and Crete," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. William E. Metcalf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 105–127.

8 Tony Hackens, "Le monnayage de l'atelier de Délos à l'époque archaïque," *BCH* suppl. 1 = Études déliennes (1973): 209–226.

9 Kenneth A. Sheedy, *The Archaic and Early Classical Coinages of the Cyclades* = *RNS SP* 40 (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 2006), pl. 9 n° 1.

10 Ernest Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines II–I* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1907), n° 1930; Oliver David Hoover, *The Handbook of Coins of the Islands* = The *Handbook of Greek Coinage Series* 6 (Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group, 2010), n° 489.

11 Babelon, *Traité*, n° 1928 var.; Sheedy, *Coinages of the Cyclades*, pl. 9 n° 10–11.

12 Unedited: on sale in Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 59, lot 601 (April 2011).

13 See e.g. *BMC Crete – Delos* 4–10; *SNG* Copenhagen 670.



Fig. 2: Delos, silver stater, ca. 530 BCE, 7.40 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 1966.453.2434) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 3: Delos, silver hemidrachm, ca. 510–480 BCE, 8.54 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 185) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 4: Akanthos, silver hemiobol, 392–379 BCE, 0.54 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Luynes 1546) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

place in Apollo's precincts.[14] We are especially told by the historian Thucydides that Delos welcomed the *Delia*, a festival opened to all Ionians,[15] i.e., Greeks speaking the Ionian dialect (Cyclades and Ionia) and forming an ethnical[16] community with a common mythic ancestor, Ion. The city of Akanthos, which was a foundation of Andros (a Cycladic island), also struck a silver mint with Apollo and a seven-stringed lyre[17] in ca. 392–379 BCE (fig. 4). This is one of the very few depictions of the front of a lyre on coins.[18] Until the Roman conquest, other cities of the Cyclades sometimes minted bronze coins with Apollo's head and a string instrument such as Kythnos (lyre and *kithara*)[19] or Thera (lyre),[20] or with a quince and a lyre (Melos).[21]

14 Sylvain Perrot, "Musical and Choral Performance Places in Hellenistic Delos," in *Musical and Choral Performance Spaces in the Ancient World* = Telestes 5, ed. Angela Bellia (Rome-Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2020), 59–74.

15 Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 3.104.2.

16 I am using this term in its ancient Greek meaning: Greeks divided themselves into groups according to origin and dialect.

17 *BMC Macedonia – Acanthus* 40–41.

18 For another example in Smyrna, see *SNG* Copenhagen 1179–1180.

19 *BMC Crete – Kythnos* 1–3. See Kenneth A. Sheedy & Charikleia Papageorgiadou-Banis, "The Coinage of Kythnos," in *Kythnos: History and Archaeology* = *Meletemata* 27, ed. Lina Mendoni & Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1998), 649–655.

20 *BMC Crete – Thera* 3–4.

21 *BMC Crete – Melos* 30–31.

Therefore, it is probably not a coincidence that the Ionian city of Kolophon (Asia Minor) struck the head of Apollo on the obverse and the *kithara* on the reverse from 480 BCE, when Delos came under Athenian rule and was forced to stop its own coinage. Kolophon was likely one of the oldest of the twelve cities of the Ionian League (a confederation of Greek microasiatic city-states and islands formed in the seventh century BCE). The earliest coin dated with certainty is a silver drachm with a beautiful laureate head of Apollo (in the typical Archaic style) facing right, his hair bound with *taenia*, and the legend ΚΟΛΟΦΙΩΝ ("of the Kolophians"). A very realistic seven-stringed *kithara* in incuse square is found on the reverse (fig. 5).[22] From 480 to the conquest of the city by Lysimachus in 294 BCE, the city minted the same iconography on its silver drachms with some variations. In the fifth century, Apollo is looking right and the *kithara* is in an incuse square with the legend ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΝ (fig. 6).[23] Later, in the fourth century, Apollo is looking to left and the *kithara* is in the field with two legends, one for the city and one for the magistrate (fig. 7).[24] One of the last bronze issues (ca. 330–294 BCE) is particularly remarkable.[25] The three-quarter facing laureate head of Apollo is found on the obverse. On the reverse, a palm tree is placed to the right of the *kithara*. The palm tree is an evocation of the tree that marks the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis in Delos, which recovered its independence in this period. In 478 BCE, Kolophon could be considered as the successor of Delos to federate all Greeks from Ionian origin. It competed with Athens, which claimed the same cultural heritage, based on a common mythical ancestor, Ion. Kolophon was the home to an important sanctuary dedicated to Apollo, Claros, which contained a temple and a very famous oracle of Apollo. The depiction of the palm tree further reinforces the connection with Delos. Therefore, the *kithara* can be interpreted as a reference to an important Ionian sanctuary of Apollo, within a network of cities belonging to the same linguistic and ethnical community.[26]

However, the depiction of a string instrument is not a specificity of Ionian sanctuaries, as shown by the city-state of Kalymnos, an island that belongs to the Dodecanese archipelago in the south-eastern Aegean Sea. Around 500 BCE it minted a silver stater featuring a meticulous seven-stringed lyre, with the details of the tortoise shell and the tuning system on the yoke. On the obverse, a bearded head faces left, wearing a crested Corinthian helmet in a typical archaic style.[27]

22 *BMC Ionia – Colophon* 1; Colin M. Kraay & Max Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (New York: N. H. Abrams, 1966), n° 602.

23 Joseph Grafton Milne, *Kolophon and its Coinage* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1941), n° 13–49.

24 *BMC Ionia – Colophon* 5–8 and 11; Milne 1941, n° 51–85, 90, 95–100, 122–126, 142–144. On bronze coins, see *BMC Ionia – Kolophon* 13 and 15–16.

25 Milne, *Kolophon*, n° 145–146.

26 On Leto holding a string instrument in late Hellenistic times, see Nuran Şahin, "Étude iconographique des monnaies autonomes frappées par Colophon-sur-Mer: nouveaux acquis," *Anatolia Antiqua* 24 (2016): 147–162.

27 *BMC Caria – Calymna* 1–2.



Fig. 5: Kolophon, silver mint, ca. 480 BCE, 5.40 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 237) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 6: Kolophon, silver mint, 5th c. BCE, 5.30 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France inv. Fonds général 238) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 7: Kolophon, silver mint, 4th c. BCE, 2.90 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. M 4495) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 8: Kalymnos, silver mint, 3rd c. BCE, 8.21 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 1132) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

The city is in a part of the Greek world that speaks in the Dorian dialect. The lyre is an allusion to the guardian poliad god, Apollo, who had his sanctuary in the city.

The third century BCE (fig. 8) saw many important changes beyond the stylistic. The obverse displays a young man facing to the right, wearing an Attic helmet. The reverse features the frond side of a seven-stringed *kithara* with surrounding dots and the legend ΚΑΛΥΜΝΙΩΝ ("of the Kalymnians").[28] The general idea remains the same, but the modifications should be interpreted in terms of political changes and influences. The Corinthian helmet was a reference to the Dorian world, since Corinth also belonged to this linguistic community. In the fifth century, the city of Kalymnos became part of the Delian League, resulting in increased Athenian influence, exemplified by the Attic helmet. The change from lyre to *kithara* might be a fad phenomenon, due the increasing number of *kithara* minted on coins.

As a result, the depiction of a string instrument on Greek coins may refer to the presence of an important sanctuary to Apollo, which is not a question of devotion in classical Antiquity. However, it has strong political implications: either it may refer to the name of the city, Apollonia, making Apollo the guardian god,[29] or this is a way to advertise that the city-state rules over a sanctuary to Apollo. The situation is simple, when the shrine is located within its borders.[30] However, some

28 *BMC Caria – Calymna* 3–9; *SNG* von Aulock 274.1. The iconography is similar on smaller silver and bronze issues (*BMC Caria – Calymna* 10–26).

29 For instance in the 1st c. BCE: Apollonia of Aetolia (*BMC Thessaly – Apollonia* 80); Apollonia of Illyria (*BMC Tauric Chersonese – Apollonia* 81); Apollonia Salbace (*BCM Caria – Apollonia Salbace* 4–6; *SNG* von Aulock 2478).

30 For instance in Aigai (Aeolis): *BMC Aeolis – Aegae* 15 (2nd–1st c. BCE).



Fig. 9: Hamaxitos, bronze mint, 4th c. CBE, 5.89 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 674) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

of those sanctuaries were extra-urban and several cities laid claim. It was the coinage that identified the ruling city. One good example is the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus in the south-west of the Troad (Anatolia). In the fourth century BCE, it was controlled by the city of Hamaxitos, which was first settled by Mytilenaeans (Lesbos), who particularly worshipped Apollo. Their minted bronze coins (fig. 9) were adorned with the laureate head of Apollo and a four-stringed *kithara* bearing the legend AMAΞI (for Hamaxitos).[31]

Ruling over a sanctuary presented economic issues. The popularity of the cult of Apollo Smintheus grew in the Hellenistic period. The convenient proximity of its port to the god's shrine meant Hamaxitos benefited from an increasing number of pilgrims passing through the city-state's harbour. In the third century BCE, Hamaxitos continued to promote its relationships with Apollo Smintheus, introducing a second and more elaborate series of coins that advertised its link with the shrine. Nevertheless, in the early second century, Hamaxitos was synoecised to the city of Alexandreia Troas, created by Antigonus Monophthalmus in 310 BCE. In 95–85 BCE, Alexandria Troas minted bronze coins with a *kithara* and a tripod with the legend ΑΛΕΞ (for Alexandria).[32] The tripod is usually the symbol of an oracle, and yet there was no oracle in the Smintheion. The image perhaps contains another

31 *BMC Troas – Hamaxitus* 1–2; *SNG* von Aulock 7601 (Apollo right)/7602 (Apollo left). See Alain Bresson, "Hamaxitos en Troade," in *Espaces et pouvoirs dans l'Antiquité de l'Anatolie à la Gaule. Hommages à Bernard Rémy*, ed. Julie Dalaison (Grenoble : CRHIPA, 2007), 139–158.

32 *BMC Troas – Alexandria* 25–27. With Apollo on the obverse and a tripod or a *kithara* on the reverse, see *BMC Troas – Alexandria* 28.

function. It is most likely a reference to the Delphic tripod, suggesting a connection between the sanctuaries of Apollo Smintheus and Apollo Pythios in Delphi[33].

That is exactly what we find on coins minted by cities which wanted to promote links with Delphi. A first example is Megara, midway between Athens and Corinth. The city had two *acropoleis*. On one summit, there was an important sanctuary to Apollo Archegetes as well as a temple to Athena, both guardian gods of the city. According to the mythology, Apollo helped the hero Alkathoos to construct the defensive walls of Megara, a tale recalling the construction of Theban city walls thanks to the lyre of Amphion.[34] On silver staters minted between 400 and 338, we find the laureate head of Apollo looking right on the obverse and the legend ΜΕΓΑ-ΡΕΩΝ ("of Megarians") to left and right of a *kithara* on the reverse.[35] On silver coins struck around between 307 and 243 BCE (fig. 10), we find the typical association of laureate head of Apollo facing right along with the seven-stringed *kithara* and the legend ΜΕΓΑ-ΡΕΩΝ.[36] Bronze coins feature either a *kithara* or a tripod.[37] In the third century BCE, the colony Megara founded on the Black Sea, Chalcedon, minted a bronze coin with the heads of Apollo and Artemis on the obverse, with a *kithara*[38]on the reverse. A cult of Apollo Pythaios and an oracle is attested in Chalcedon.[39] Another example of the Delphic connection was produced by the city of Pellene (North Peloponnese) in the third century BCE. Its bronze coins featured a seven-stringed *kithara* and a tripod between Π and E (for Pellene).[40] Two examples demonstrate the occasional Delphic connection suggested by the presence of the *omphalos* instead of the tripod. The allegory of Sinope, located on the Southern shore of the Black Sea, is displayed on the obverse of a silver tetradrachm minted by the civic monetary workshops. On the reverse, Apollo is seated on the Delphic omphalos, holding a lyre (ca. 470–390 BCE).[41] Finally, a bronze coin from Naples reveals the laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and the *kithara* leant on the *omphalos* on the reverse (ca. 250–225)[42].

33 A famous silver stater minted in 337/336 by the Amphictyonic Council in Delphi shows Apollo seated on the omphalos looking to left, with branch of laurel tree, *kithara* and tripod in the field left: *BMC Central Greece – Delphi* 22.

34 Euripides, *The Phoenician Women*, 824.

35 *BMC Megaris – Megara* 1 and 4.

36 *BMC Megaris – Megara* 5–6.

37 *BMC Megaris – Megara* 7–8. That is the same after 146 BCE: *BMC Megaris – Megara* 15–16; *SNG* Copenhagen 466.

38 ANS inv. 1944.100.42021. See İnci Türkoğlu, "The Civic Coinage of Calchedon," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics*, eds. Kayhan Dörtlük, Oğuz Tekin, Remziye Boyraz Seyhan (Istanbul: Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations, 2014), 589–606.

39 See Adrian Robu, "Réflexions sur le culte d'Apollon à Chalcédoine," *Les Études Classiques* 75 (2007): 137–155.

40 *SNG* Copenhagen 223; *BMC Peloponnesus – Pellene* 5. Apollo Theoxenios was the god chiefly worshipped at Pellene.

41 ANS inv. 1952.128.3.

42 *SNG* Morcom 167; *HN* Italy 592.



Fig. 10: Megara, silver didrachm, 307–343 BCE, 20 mm, 7.95 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 1966.453.1500) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

In sum, the definition of the Greek community given by Herodotus can be found in the distribution of some Greek coins with Apollo and the *kithara*. This is what I would call a multi-scale identity. It may express the local identity of a city, in that a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo belongs to the city. However, the examples also show that it could be a regional identity based on the same dialect, especially the Ionian. It may even reveal connections between Apollonian sanctuaries, beyond the regional borders. Therefore, the musical instrument reveals a network of cities and sanctuaries with political issues.

Attachment and Detachment: Greek Alliances and Antagonisms

The most natural alliances between Greek cities were geographical, in order to defend a common territory against invaders. To a lesser degree, the alliances defined local, regional or ethnical identities. The coins that used the same iconographical model may refer to such alliances, although it is not always obvious.

In this perspective, the case of Sicilian city-states is one of the most complicated, because of many political changes.[43] Indeed, during the fourth and the third centuries BCE, many Sicilian cities struck coins with the laureate head of Apollo

43 To have an overview of the coinage of Sicily, see Oliver David Hoover, *The Handbook of Coins of Sicily* = The *Handbook of Greek Coinage Series* 2 (Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group, 2012) and Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, "The Coinage of Sicily," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. William E. Metcalf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 142–156.

on the obverse and a *kithara* on the reverse. The main problem is to determine whether they decided it individually or imitated one another. First, we have to highlight that the depiction of Apollo and the *kithara* may be related to the movement of the Greek diaspora in archaic times, when Greeks founded new cities all around the Middle Sea, including the west, southern Italy and Sicily. Apollo was worshipped as the protector of colons and as the guardian god of newly founded cities (it is the same in the East, e.g. in Olbia on the Black Sea).[44] That is probably the reason why in the late fifth century BCE Leontinoi, located on the south-eastern coast of Sicily, minted silver tetradrachms with Apollo on the obverse and a lion's head (alluding to the name of the city), three barleycorns, and a *kithara* or a tripod on the reverse.[45] This is the most ancient example from Sicily and the only one until 357–354, when the tyrant Dion ruled over Syracuse. His electrum coins featured the laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a single *kithara* on the reverse.[46] The oldest part of the city, Ortygia, hosted two main sanctuaries, one dedicated to Apollo and one to Athena. Syracuse had a strong influence on the newly founded cities located in eastern Sicily and southern Italy.

The Syracusan influence may be the reason why bronze coins with the same iconographical code (Apollo/*kithara*) were minted in the city of Adranon, on the southwestern slope of the Mount Etna, between 354 and 344 BCE.[47] The city was founded a few decades earlier by Dionysius I of Syracuse. However, this was probably not a civic coinage, but a coinage of mercenaries. Indeed, in the mid-fourth century, the political situation became more and more unstable, since some Sicilian cities wanted to emancipate themselves from Syracuse. In 345 BCE, the Corinthian general Timoleon disembarked on the east coast of Sicily, in Tauromenion, to rescue these cities against Syracuse. He established his military basis in Adranon,[48] which eventually reproduced the iconography chosen by mercenaries on its civic coinage between 344 and 336 BCE (fig. 11**).**[49] It seems to be paradoxical that mercenaries and cities struck coins with the same iconography as developed by a city-state from which they sought emancipation. This coinage was instead an assertion of new-founded independence rather than the will to create a specific coinage.[50] Much more, these are bronze coins, designed for local use. In the period of Timoleons's campaigns in Sicily, other cities enjoyed the opportunity to eman-

44 ANS inv. 1944.100.15130 (175–150 BCE).

45 *SNG* ANS 243; *SNG* ANS 270.

46 Théodore Reinach, "Sur la valeur relative des métaux monétaires dans la Sicile grecque," *Revue Numismatique* 3.13 (1895): 509–510 (n° 3).

47 *SNG* ANS 1151–1154; Romolo Calciati, *Corpus Nummorum Siculorum. La monetazione di bronze. The Bronze Coinage* (Milan: Edizioni GM, 1983–1987), Adranon 1.

48 Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 14.

49 *SNG* ANS 1155–1156; Calciati, *Corpus*, Adranon 2–3; *SNG* Morcom 872.

50 Richard John Alexander Talbert, *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily, 344–317 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 180–182.

cipate themselves, and minted similar coins like Centuripae[51] (fig. 12), Kersini,[52] and Herbessos.[53] Each of these cities has geographical and commercial connections with Adranon and with each other, which may explain the use of the same iconographical code. Thus, we may conclude the traditional influences of Syracuse through Adranon, as well as influences from Corinthian through Timoleon.[54] Corinth is known for a very important temple dedicated to Apollon.

After Timoleon's campaigns, Ameselon,[55] Tauromenion,[56] which particularly worshipped Apollo as their founder, minted this iconographical type. It could be also the case of Menaion[57] and Panormos,[58] although in those two particular cases, some dates remain indeterminate. These cities were independent until the situation changed in Syracuse, when the tyrannical Agathokles ruled from 317 until 289. Syracuse recovered its influence, and Agathokles minted electrum coins with the laureate head of Apollo (or Artemis) and the *kithara*, probably to promote his prestige (fig. 13).[59] Since the fourth century BCE, Apollo's cult, combined with Syracuse's influence, was significant on coins in southern Italy[60] including Rhegion,[61] Thourioi,[62] Canusium[63] and Tarentum,[64] and, in Roman times, Vibo Valentia/Heiponion.[65] This may also explain why those city-states had the same iconographical code.

In the subsequent decades, the general situation was complicated in Sicily because of the campaigns of Pyrrhus of Epirus (278–276) followed by the first Punic war (264–241).[66] After this period, Romans were increasingly present in Sicily, but

51 *SNG* Copenhagen 213; Hoover 2012, n° 635.

52 On the obverse, there is a bearded male head right: ANS inv. 2016.16.1 See Alberto Campana, "Aggiornamento al *Corpus Nummorum Antiquae Italiae* Sicilia: Kersini (ca. 357–339 a.C.)," *Monete Antiche* 36 (2007): 5–9.

53 On the obverse, there is the head of Sikelia: *SNG* ANS 136.

54 This is confirmed by the silver coinage, which features Pegasus, Corinth's emblem.

55 On the obverse, laureate head of Apollo left and on the reverse, *kithara* with seven strings: Calciati, *Corpus*, Ameselon 5.

56 *BMC Sicily – Tauromenion* 27; *SNG* ANS 1112.

57 *SNG* ANS 293.

58 *SNG* ANS 604.

59 With Artemis: Boston MFA inv. 446; with Apollo: *SNG* ANS 617.

60 To have an overview of the coinage of southern Italy, see Alfred Watson Hands, *Coins of Magna Graecia. The Coinage of the Greek Colonies of Southern Italy* (London: Spink and Son Ltd., 1909) and Neville Keith Rutter, "The Coinage of Italy," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. William E. Metcalf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 128–141.

61 *BMC Italy – Rhegion* 43–44 (ca. 351–280 BCE).

62 *BMC Italy – Thurium* 145–148 (270–240 BCE).

63 *BMC Italy – Canusium* 3; *HN* Italy 657.

64 *SNG* Morcom 259 (ca. 275–200 BCE).

65 *SNG* Morcom 422 (ca. 192–89 BCE).

66 After 268 BCE, the city-state of Cales struck coins with on the obverse the head of Apollo left, Nike flying behind and holding wreath, and on the reverse a man-headed bull right, *kithara* above, star between legs, CALENO in exergue: *BMC Sicily – Cales* 21; *HN* 436; *SNG* Copenhagen 311. The same iconography is on coins from Teate, South Italy: *HN* 698.



Fig. 11: Adranon, bronze mint, 344–336 BCE, 14.80 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 17) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 12: Centuripae, bronze mint, 344–336 BCE, 7.45 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 1966.453) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 13: Syracuse, Agathokles, electrum mint, 317–289 BE, 1.85 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France inv. Luynes 1269) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

the Greek cities remained free and minted their own coinage. After 241, four city-states, including Centuripae, Abakainon,[67] Kalakte,[68] and Lilybaeum,[69] minted coins with Apollo and the *kithara*. To this list, we add city-states including Alaesa[70] on the northern shore of Sicily, home to a temple dedicated to Apollo, and Melita (Malta),[71] which also struck bronze coins with a *kithara* in the early first century BCE.

The association between different city-states, well known in Greek history, may be institutionalised through the system of leagues. They are called *koinon*, i.e. literally the "common thing." As government of a league, *koinon* comprises understandings among its member states in different fields, including defence, diplomacy, economics, religious practices, etc. The monetary policy of each league depended upon the treatises, but usually included two main possibilities. The capital of the league minted the one and only coinage for all the cities members, or each city-state kept its monetary workshops but struck the same iconographical model. Regarding musical instruments as symbols of a league, the most relevant examples are the silver tetradrachms of the Chalcidian League in the fourth century and the ones of the Arcadian League in the fourth and third centuries BCE.[72]

In the spring of 432 BCE, a year before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta, several cities of Chalcidice broke away from the Athenian-dominated Delian League. In an act of synoecism, the inhabitants of these cities fled for Olynthos forming a single state, and adopting the demonym "Chalcidians." It seems that the League was at the pinnacle of its power in the second quarter of the fourth century. Chalcidians allied themselves in 357 BCE with Philip II of Macedon, and the League once again expanded to include 34 cities. In 348 BCE, Philip captured and destroyed Olynthos, putting an end to the League. The coinage, minted between 392 and 379, corresponded to the League's moment of glory (fig. 14). The League struck coins featuring the *kithara,* the symbol of the Chalcidians, one of the most beautiful instruments found on coinage. The name of the League and of the *stratēgos*, the commandant of the League, are prominent.[73] The *kithara* probably refers to the city of Apollonia, which was originally the chief town of Chalcidice, some 15 km north of Olynthus. Apollonia was likely the location of the monetary workshops.

The Arcadian League was a federal league of city-states of Arcadia, in the central Peloponnese, that formed a single state. The league was founded in 370 BCE, taking advantage of the decreased power of Sparta, which had previously domi-

67 Giacomo Tropea, *Numismatica Siceliota del Museo Mandralisca in Cefalù* (Messine: Tip. D'Amico, 1901), 7.

68 Calciati, *Corpus*, Kalakte 4.

69 *BMC Sicily – Lilybaeum* 2; *SNG* Copenhagen 374 var.

70 Calciati, *Corpus*, Alaisa 6–8 (around 200 BCE).

71 Calciati, *Corpus*, Melita 13.

72 See Seleni Psoma, "Greece and the Balkans to 360 B.C.," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. William E. Metcalf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 157–172.

73 BMC *Macedonia – Olynthus* 1–25; *SNG* ANS 499.



Fig. 14: Olynthus, Chalcidian League, silver tetradrachm, 392–379 BCE, 14.43 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 1966.453.916) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

nated and controlled Arcadia. Mantinea, a city that had suffered under Spartan dominance, was particularly prominent in pushing for its founding. The league was responsible for the foundation of Megalopolis, which became the capital. After the Battle of Mantinea in 362, the League lost power, although it endured until the 230's BCE. Some of the coins show Zeus or Pan on the obverse and a syrinx with the monogram AP on the reverse (fig. 15).[74] Pan was the traditional god of Arcadia, a country associated with the pastoral world and his beloved instrument was the syrinx. Therefore, the choice of the music instrument is closely related to his cult, as representative of all Arcadian cities.

Let us consider the same iconographical model on coins minted by different city-states. This is exemplified by the silver drachms of the Lycian League, with Apollo's head and the *kithara*.[75] The instrument was so important that these coins were identified as the so-called *kitharēphoroi* ("wearing *kithara*") in the inscriptions.[76] Strabo wrote that the six largest cities were Xanthos,[77] Patara,[78] Pinara,[79]

74 *SNG* Copenhagen 197.

75 On coinage in the Hellenistic period, see Richard Ashton, "The Hellenistic World: The Cities of Mainland Greece and Asia Minor," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. William E. Metcalf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 191–210.

76 Louis Robert, *Études de numismatique grecque* (Paris: Collège de France, 1951), 150–152.

77 Hyla A. Troxell, *The Coinage of the Lycian League* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1982), n° 5.

78 Troxell, *Coinage*, n°16–20.

79 Ibid., n° 7.



Fig. 15: Megalopolis, Arcadian League, silver obol, 4th c. CBE, 0.70 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 1966.453.2311)
© Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Olympos,[80] Myra,[81] (fig. 16) and Tlos (fig. 17).[82] The names of the other cities have been identified by a study of the coins[83] and mentioned in other texts. The coinage of all city-states (167–88) is exactly the same, and the Lycian League is stamped ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ("of the Lycians"). There are a few elements of identity added in the field. For instance, the tripod highlights the link with Apollo and the Isis's crown (*basileion*), a reference to the Rhodian and Ptolemaic influence. With few exceptions, each city kept its own identity, usually engraving the first two letters of the city. The four letters representing Phaselis (ΦΑΣΗ) is a notable exception[84] (fig. 18). In the late first century BCE, coins recognised two "independent" districts, termed, for want of a better term, "monetary districts." Masicytus[85] and Cragus[86] were both named after mountain ranges, in the shadow of which, presumably, the communities lived and conducted business. Where coinage of the cities is stamped ΛΥΚΙΩΝ,

80 Ibid., n° 41–45.

81 Ibid., n° 28–35; *SNG* von Aulock 4364.

82 *SNG* Tuebingen 4285; Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 10–13.

83 Antiphellos: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 23; Aperlai: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 23; Gagai: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 39; Kadyanda/Kandyba: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 9; Kyaneai: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 24–26; Limyra: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 36–38; Phellos: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 21–22; Rhodiapolis: *ANS* inv. 1973.101.7, Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 40; Sidyma: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 6; Trebendai: Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 27; Termessos Minor: *SNG* Copenhagen 139.

84 With the crown of Isis or thunderbolt to left, torch to right, all within incuse square: *BMC Lycia – Phaselis* 16–17; Troxell, *Coinage,* n° 46–47.

85 *BMC Lycia – Masicytes* 5–23.

86 *BMC Lycia – Cragus* 1–14; *SNG* von Aulock 4303 and 4315.



Fig. 16: Myra, Lycian League, silver drachm, 167–88 BCE, 1.69 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 213) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 17: Tlos, Lycian League, silver drachm, 167–88 BCE, 2.85 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. L 3591) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 18: Phaselis, Lycian League, silver drachm, 167–88 BCE, 2.16 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 284) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

it was only identified with KP or MA. This iconographical code can be explained by the presence of a big sanctuary to Apollo, more precisely to the Apolline triad (the divine twins Apollo and Artemis, with their mother Leto): the Letoon of Xanthos.

Most coins confirm alliances between Greeks, but others recall wars. The first example features the *salpinx* (trumpet), on a silver tetradrachm minted under the king Demetrios Poliorcetes (306–283), probably to recall his naval victory in Salamis (Cyprus) over Ptolemy in 306 BCE.[87] On the obverse, a Nike, the winged goddess of victory, is standing left, holding a *salpinx*, on prow left (fig. 19). On the reverse, the god Poseidon, viewed from the side, is striding left, brandishing a trident in his right hand, a mantle wrapped around his left arm, and a star in twinkling in the right. The goddess Nike is a well-known archaeological feature, frequently placed on the prow of a ship. Her ubiquitous presence is recognisable, even without a trumpet, like the famous Nike of Samothrace in the Louvre. A similar monument was erected on the central square, the agora, of Cyrene (Libya).

Thus, the music instrument may belong to a general political propaganda for Hellenistic kings or queens.[88] Demetrios wanted to proclaim his military victory over the Ptolemaic kingdom in a context of strong rivalries after the death of Alexander the Great and the division of his empire. The *salpinx* is the instrument traditionally associated to ancient Greek warfare[89] and is a symbol of victory in both war and in musical competitions. The influence of Hellenistic kings and queens is also obvious in the support they can give to some contests. It is the interpretation given to bronze coins (fig. 20) minted by the city of Thespiae (Boeotia) around 210–208 BCE,[90] where big festivals were organised to worship the Muses, the *Mouseia*, in the so-called Valley of Muses.[91] On the obverse there is a female head looking to right, wearing *modius* with a veil, and on the reverse a lyre within a laurel wreath. There is ongoing debate regarding the identity of the veiled woman. Scholars believe she might be the goddess Hera or the queen Arsinoe III of Egypt. Indeed, we know that the Lagid dynasty funded this festival and it was part of their cultural policy in Greek mainland, particularly in Samothrace. If she really is Arsinoe, she would be represented as the tenth Muse.

87 Edward Theodore Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrios Poliorcetes* (Chicago: Obol Intl., 1978), n° 51.

88 See also the coinage of Antiochos II Theos (Oliver David Hoover, *The Handbook of Syrian Coins* = The *Handbook of Greek Coinage Series* 9 (Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group, 2010), n° 278) and of Antiochos VIII (Leo Kadman, *Corpus nummorum Palaestinensium. The Coins of Akko Ptolemais* (Tel Aviv: Schocken Publishing House, 1961), n° 48).

89 Peter Krentz, "The Salpinx in Greek Warfare," in *Hoplites. The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, ed. Victor Davis Hanson (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 1993), 110–120.

90 *SNG* Copenhagen 406–407. See Catherine Grandjean, "La circulation monétaire à Thespies (Béotie)," *BCH* Suppl. 53 = *Nomisma* (2011): 257–271 ; Philippe Guittet, "Arsinoë, Thespies et Orchomène de Béotie. Un type monétaire régional ?," *Bulletin de la Société française de Numismatique* 67 (2012): 82–87.

91 The organization of musical competitions in Pella (the *Basileia*) may be the reason why Pella stroke coins with Apollo and the *kithara* between 187 and 31 BCE: *BMC Macedonia – Pella* 11–12; *SNG* Copenhagen 262.



Fig. 19: Ephesos, Demetrios, silver tetradrachm, 306–283 BCE, 27 mm, 17.15 g, 1 h. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 1973.1.73) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 20: Thespiae, bronze mint, ca. 210–208 BCE, 4.23 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 682) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

A music instrument may also appear in a context of secession from a Hellenistic king. This is exemplified by a coin combining the laureate head of Apollo Myrtous (since he wears a wreath of myrtle) and the *kithara*, struck in Cyrene between 282 and 261 BCE,[92] when Magas ruled over Cyrenaica. Magas was the first-born son of the noblewoman Berenice I, who became the wife of Ptolemy I Soter, the former general of Alexander and the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt. Through his mother's marriage to Ptolemy, Magas was a stepson to Ptolemy. He became an

92 *BMC Cyrenaica – Cyrene* 319, *SNG* Copenhagen 1266–1268. See François Chamoux, "Le roi Magas", *Revue Historique* 216 (1956): 18–34; Andrew Wilson, "Une cité grecque de Libye: fouilles d'Euhespéridès (Benghazi)," *CRAI* 147 (2003): 1647–1675.



Fig. 21: Cyrene, bronze mint, 282–261 BCE, 4.19 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. D 638) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Egyptian prince living in his stepfather's court and was a member of the Ptolemaic dynasty. His mother bore Ptolemy three children: two daughters and one son, who became the future Pharaoh Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Ptolemy I sent him to Cyrene to recover the Lagid authority on this territory. Cyrene was a Greek colony founded around 640, ruled first as a monarchy, and then as a democracy until it was conquered by Ptolemy I. Ophellas, the general who occupied the city in his name, ruled the city almost independently until his death, when Magas received governorship of the territory. However, when Ptolemy I died in 276 BCE, Magas crowned himself king and declared *de facto* independence, marrying the daughter of the Seleucid king, Ptolemy's rival, and forming with him an alliance to invade the Ptolemaic kingdom. Magas opened hostilities against Ptolemy II in 274 BCE, attacking Egypt from the west. However, Magas had to cancel his operations due to an internal revolt of the Libyan nomads. Magas at least managed to maintain the independence of Cyrenaica until his death in 250 BC. Nevertheless, the coinage with Apollo and the *kithara* (fig. 21) was not struck by Magas himself, but by the city, which obviously gained from Magas the right to strike its own coinage, demonstrating independence from the Lagid kingdom. When the Ptolemies controlled Cyrenaica, they struck their own coinage.[93] The iconography is a direct allusion to the spring Kyre, which the Greeks consecrated to Apollo. One of its more significant features is the temple of Apollo, which was originally constructed as early as the seventh century BCE. The wonderful Apollo Kitharoidos, currently displayed in the British Museum, comes from the Roman Cyrene.

93 Olivier Picard & Thomas Faucher, "Le monnayage de bronze de la Cyrénaïque hellénistique et les Lagides," in *Le monete di Cirene e della Cirenaica nel Mediterraneo. Problemi e prospettive*, ed. Michele Asolati and Giovanni Gorini (Padova: Esedra editrice, 2016), 127–140.

In summation, the use of musical images may reflect a political community or a secession, in the context of Greek city-states as well as Hellenistic kingdoms. However, in the end, is there any specific musical identity suggested by those instruments?

A Musical Identity? The Greek Culture Overseas

The *kithara* appears first as Apollo's instrument and the symbol of Greek communities, city-states or leagues, organised first around a common sanctuary and then around a common god. Nevertheless, all the examples studied above may also indirectly refer to the musical dimension of cults, especially festivals and contests, since the *kithara* was used in some rituals like processions or hymns, and was the only string instrument played in artistic competitions. As shown by the Arcadian syrinx, the instrument may have regional connotations, referring to local myths. That is also true for the morphology of the instrument, even if in most cases the general shape of the *kithara* is easily identifiable as typically Greek, so that they can recognise it as a cultural point of reference.

However, sometimes, some variations could suggest that the shape of the instrument could be different in certain regions. For instance, in South Italy, the *kithara* seems to have been more elongated, as suggested by the coins of Rhegion or Centuripae, or even of quadrangular shape.

It is plausible that, when Greeks saw the instrument, they could remember some Greek music they had already heard in any performance *in situ*. However, it seems very difficult to determine which genre this music could belong to. There are few exceptions, which prove that Greeks seem to have seen in the instruments more than a city-state or a political alliance.

One single instrument is usually not enough to identify a specific musical genre, since the *kithara* may be used in different kinds of ritual and artistic performances. However, some coins obviously refer to a poetic and musical heritage, which could be associated with a particular city-state. Indeed, some cities have depicted poets with musical instruments who were born in their territory, and became local celebrities. The island of Lesbos, and especially the city of Methymna, has always worshipped the gods Apollo and Athena, as shown by silver didrachms of the second half of the fifth century BCE. Featured is the left profile of the head of Athena wearing helmet on the obverse; a *kithara* on a slightly raised square is placed on the reverse (fig. 22).[94]

In Hellenistic times (330 and 280 BCE), the city minted a similar iconography with a kantharos, a bee, or a dolphin on the left of the *kithara* on silver triobols.[95] Later, the city decided to depict the poet Arion, a mythical figure, on his dolphin, a story reported by Herodotus.[96] Arion was kidnapped by pirates who forced him

94 *BMC Lesbos – Methymna* 10.

95 *BMC Lesbos – Methymna* 12–15; *SNG* Copenhagen 352.

96 Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 23–24.



Fig. 22: Methymna, silver hemidrachm, 5th c. BCE, 2.77 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 115) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

to jump into the sea. He played his instrument and a dolphin came to his rescue. As a result, the instrument refers not only to musical practice, but to a common musical mythology. Arion on his dolphin appears first as a secondary motive on silver tetradrachms minted under the reign of Alexander III of Macedon (fig. 23), when Lesbos belonged to his kingdom. On the obverse is the head of the king and on the reverse Zeus is seated on his throne and holding the eagle; the poet Arion with a *kithara* rides a dolphin on the bottom left.[97]

On later bronze coins (fig. 24), the obverse features the laureate head of Apollo facing right. The poet Arion, with a *kithara* in his left hand, wears a long chiton and *chlamys*. He is seated a on dolphin, facing right, with his right hand extended.[98]

A similar iconography is found on coins produced in the late third and second centuries BCE in Brundisium (southern Italy).[99] It is from this region that Arion was hosted before his misadventure.

Historical poets were depicted, including the poet Anacreon (sixth – fifth century BCE) on silver didrachms in Teos (Asia Minor) in the early Hellenistic period. Anaxcreon is found plucking a *barbitos* on the reverse of a silver didrachm with a griffin on the obverse.[100] Anacreon supposedly designed this instrument, longer than a lyre, and composed specific songs called *anacreonta* (drinking songs). The

97 Martin J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus* (London: British Museum, 1991), n° 1691–1695.

98 *BMC Lesbos – Methymna* 16, 27 and 35.

99 *SNG* ANS 779–786.

100 Classical Numismatic Group Auction 57 (April 2001), unedited. On the depiction of Anakreon in the art, see Michèle Blanchard & Alain Blanchard, "La mosaïque d'Anacréon à Autun," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 75 (1973): 270–271 and bibliography.



Fig. 23: Methymna, Alexander III, silver tetradrachm, 336–323 BCE, 7.00 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France inv. Fonds général 139A) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 24: Methymna, bronze mint, 330–280 BCE, 33 mm, 16.96 g, 12 h. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 1973.1.55) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. 25: Melos, silver tetradrachm, undated, 14.29 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 240) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

barbitos alone appears on silver and bronze coins.[101] In the early second century BCE, the city-state of Paros was represented on silver tetradrachms with the ivy-crowned head of Dionysos facing right (the guardian god of the island) and the poet Archilochus (sixth century BCE) on the obverse. The poet of Paros is seated on a *diphros*, holding a lyre.[102] A last, undated example is the coinage of the island Melos.[103] Silver coins illustrate the helmeted head of Athena, facing right, with the poet Diagoras of Melos (fifth century BCE) in a dot circle, seated on a throne with lyre (fig. 25). Diagoras is known for having composed a paean which was subsequently stolen. He lost his trial because he had no proof of authorship.[104]

The allusion to certain poets as local icons implies references to the musical genres in which they excelled. Drinking songs were associated with Anacreon, the iambic poetry with Archilochus, and the paean with Diagoras. Anacreon and Archilochus were credited with the creation of their genres, which later became a cultural heritage. Most of the Greeks living in Hellenistic times knew those poets and considered them to be symbolic of Greek poetry.

It does not suggest that Greek literature was considered as a monolithic ensemble without any foreign influence. From the beginning, Greeks underlined the links their music had with the Orient, even though intellectuals like Plato and Aristotle rejected any Oriental influence in their musical education.

The myth of the competition between Apollo and Marsyas is the most famous expression of this distrust. Although most artworks depict Apollo's triumph, a very famous bronze sculptural group made by Myron in the mid-fifth century BCE, and displayed on the Acropolis of Athens, showed the episode before the contest. Athena discarded the *aulos* she had just invented and Marsyas retrieved it. The group is reproduced on bronze coins minted by Athens under the reign of Hadrian, probably to display a famous piece of art than to create a specific reference to music.[105] The second representation of Marsyas playing *aulos* is more interesting, since it is clearly an ethnic symbol. The city of Apamea between 88 and 40 BCE minted bronze coins (fig. 26) with the turreted bust of the goddess Tyche facing right, symbolising the Fortune of the city, and, on the reverse, Marsyas advancing to the right and playing the Phrygian *aulos*.[106] It is an *aulos* with a curved bell on the end of one of the pipes.[107]

101 BMC *Ionia – Teos* 26 and 39; *SNG* Copenhagen 1444, 1460–1461, 1466; *SNG* Kayhan 610–612.

102 Arthur Löbbecke, "Griechische Münzen aus meiner Sammlung V," *ZfN* 21 (1898): 262 n° 2 pl. 8, 13; the same, but 1st c. BCE: Diskin Clay, *Archilochos Heros. The Cult of Poets in the Greek Polis* (Washington DC/Cambridge MA: Center for Hellenic Studies/Harvard University Press, 2004), VI 31, pl. 31.

103 ANS inv. 1947.84.1.

104 *Suidas*, s.v. *Diagoras*.

105 Léon Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques. La statuaire archaïque et classique* (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 1949), 252–253.

106 *BMC Phrygia – Apamea* 47, 49–51, 62, 74, 91–94 and 109.

107 Annie Bélis, "L'aulos phrygien," *Revue Archéologique* (1986): 21–40.



Fig. 26: Apamea, bronze mint, ca. 88–40 BCE, 6.81 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 1966.453) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

This is not the only example with an instrument bearing a non-Greek traditional shape. The city-state of Sestos[108] (Thracian Chersonese) minted bronze coins in the 2nd and the 1st c. with the god Hermes wearing the *petasos*, who was very popular in this region, and a lyre which recalls the shape of the Thracian lyre represented on the vases (fig. 27).[109] The bronze coinage of Myrina[110] in Asia Minor (second century CE) shows also an unusual seven-stringed instrument, which does not appear to be Greek at first sight. It might not be the realism involved, but the presence on the reverse side of the god Telesphoros that allows the hypothesis of a cultural melting pot. The garment of the god (a hooded cloak) is not Greek, leading scholars to surmise that this god was assimilated to Asklepios' son but was originally a Celtic deity. It probably came with the Galatian invasions in the first quarter of the third century BCE.[111] We cannot exclude the fact that the instrument is also the image of a hybridisation of the Greek and the Celtic culture. Although Apamea, Sestos, and Myrina are Greek cities, they decided to foreground their musical connections with Phrygian, Thracian, and Celtic cultures.[112]

108 Hans von Fritze, "Sestos. Die Menas-Inschrift und das Münzwesen der Stadt," in *Nomisma. Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der antiken Münzkunde*, I, ed. Hanz von Fritze & Hugo Gaebler (Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1907), 6 n° 15–17.

109 Annie Bélis, "La cithare de Thamyras," in *La naissance de l'Opéra, Euridice 1600–2000*, ed. Françoise Decroisette, Françoise Graziani and Joël Heuillon (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003), 27–56.

110 *BMC Aeolis – Myrina* 39.

111 Waldemar Deonna, "Télesphore et le 'genius cucullatus' celtique," *Latomus* 14 (1955): 43–74.

112 See Sylvain Perrot, "Elephants and Bells in the Greco-Roman World: A Link between the West and the East?," *Music in Art* 38 (2013): 27–35, for the depiction of bells on coins struck by Indo-Greek kingdoms.



Fig. 27: Sestos, bronze mint, 2nd – 1st c. BCE, 3.07 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 1907) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Finally, coins could suggest that non-Greeks depicted Greek musical instruments to show they shared the Greek culture. With this observation, caution must be exercised. For instance, the British Museum owns a silver tetradrachm[113] that features a Persian head facing right on the obverse and, on the reverse, a seven-stringed *kithara* with the legend Β-Α-Σ-Ι-Λ. This coin was described as a "satrapial coinage," because scholars suggested that it could be the portrait of the famous satrap of Lydia Tissaphernes (ca. 445–395).[114] However, in this case, the coin should have the letters ΤΙΣΣΑ-, and not ΒΑΣΙΛ- The latter can only refer to the Great King of Persia (called by the Greeks *Basileus*) Artaxerxes II. Although it is tempting to assume that the Persian king was interested in Greek music, this unique combination of a Persian figure and a typical Greek instrument does not necessarily mean that the King valued Greek music. The coin was probably minted by a Greek city under Persian rule. It is rather a way to affirm the Greek cultural identity, although the political independence was lost. At the very least, we may suggest that Artaxerxes had the visual competence to correctly identify a Greek instrument.

113 British Museum inv. EH, p521.1.Bas.

114 Herbert Adolph Cahn, "Le monnayage des satrapes : iconographie et signification," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 91 (1989): 97–105; Leo Mildenberg, "On the so-called satrapal coinage," *Publications de l'Institut français d'Études Anatoliennes* 12 (2000) = *Mécanismes et innovations monétaires dans l'Anatolie achéménide. Numismatique et Histoire*: 9–20; Jarosław Bodzek, "Achaemenid Asia Minor: Coins of the Satraps and of the Great King," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics*, ed. Kayhan Dörtlük, Oğuz Tekin, Remziye Boyraz Seyhan (Istanbul: Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations, 2014), 59–78.



Fig. 28: Prusias II, bronze mint, 183–149 BCE, 5.82 g. Paris: Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. Fonds général 56) © Public domain, source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

A more convincing example is given by the bronze coinage of the Macedonian and Bythinian kings. Amyntas, who ruled over Macedonia from 393 to 369, minted bronze coins with Apollo and the *kithara* in order to show that Macedonia was highly influenced by the Greek culture.[115] The king of Bithynia Prusias I[116] reigned from 238 to 183 BCE. The obverse of his coins features the laureate head of Apollo and the reverse a *kithara*. The shape of the *kithara* is not canonical, but manifests a clear intention to imitate the Greeks with the god Apollo and the Greek alphabet. Prusias wanted to follow the cultural policy of his father Nicomedes, who wanted his kingdom to be Hellenised. His ancestors were Achaemenid, and Bithynia was part of the Achaemenid Empire. Nicomedes, however, wanted to establish a Greek culture, as shown by his name and the city he founded, Nicomedia. Prusias I wanted to show that Bithynia was actually Greek. Confirmation is given by later coins. A bronze coin probably minted when Prusias ruled with his son (183–149) features Hermes with petasos and a lyre, and a bronze coin minted by Prusias II,[117] featuring Dionysos' head facing right, wreathed with ivy, and the centaur Chiron walking right and playing *kithara*. (fig. 28)[118] Chiron has always been a symbol of culture, although he is a monster. According to the mythology, Chiron was the preceptor of Achilles, Asklepios, or Jason.

115 *SNG Copenhagen* 140–145; *SNG* ANS 926.

116 *BMC Bithynia – Prusias I* 8. See Otto Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamaea (336–188 BC)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 130.

117 ANS inv. 1944.100.41956

118 *BMC Bithynia – Prusias II* 7–16.

To conclude, the string instrument is a way of symbolising the community of Greek people, because it combines the reference to a beloved god of the same religion and to a shared way of life. However, it does not imply that there was no local identity. Teos, for instance, depicted a *barbitos*, whereas Arcadians illustrated the Pan flute. Thus, coins are a testimony of the cultural heritage and the beloved instruments played in those places. Through coinage, we may even recognise political alliances such as leagues, and deduce rivalries between Greek political entities. Musical instruments may allude to diplomatic relationships and historical events, like the Victory holding a trumpet on the coinage issued by the Hellenistic king Demetrios Poliorcetes, or Magas's insurrection against Ptolemy II. Greeks could express through musical instruments on coins their cultural allegiance and announce some detachment due to the recurrent conflicts between city-states. I have shown that the string instrument is not only Apollo's attribute, but could actually refer in certain contexts to musical practices or repertoires, which constituted the Greek cultural heritage.

NEW CELEBRATIONS FOR A NEW STATE: VISUAL AND SOUND ASPECTS OF THE *PUBBLICHE FESTE* IN REPUBLICAN MILAN (1796–1802)

Alessandra Palidda

The present contribution focuses on the visual and sonorous features of a rather peculiar cultural object, that of the republican festivals organised in the city of Milan during its occupation by the French between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. While not constituting an original invention, but rather a transplantation of a cultural object designed ad hoc in post-revolutionary Paris, these festivals can be considered on the one hand as a tool of systematic propaganda and control, impacting on several mechanisms of identity and belonging. On the other, they exerted a very strong impact on the city's cultural environment and landscape (both visual and sonorous) by systematically blurring several sets of boundaries, including those between public and performance venues, between actors and audience members, and between musical performances, spectacle and ritualised moments. The republican festivals significantly impacted also on wider discourses such as the mechanisms of cultural production and the political and cultural frameworks underpinning public spectacle.

Some historical, as well as aesthetical background is necessary to fully understand the features and impact of the festivals, as both the introduction and organisation of these events were indissolubly linked to a rather peculiar political and social conjuncture. Like many other parts of Europe, but arguably much more than most of them, Northern Italy and especially Lombardy were strongly subjected to the outcomes of the Napoleonic wars starting in the second half of the 1790s. For the French, the Po valley (or "the richest valley in Europe" as Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) himself described it trying to motivate the soldiers of his *Armée d'Italie*)[1] constituted, indeed, both a very useful tool of negotiation with the Austrian enemy and a goldmine for economical exploitation.[2] Lombardy was conquered by the French army through a series of unbelievably quick operations, which, as historians have already pointed out, revealed Napoleon's leadership skills for the first time and greatly contributed to the formation of his reputation as a military genius.[3] The operations started in early April 1796 with a demotivated

1 Francesco Cazzamini Mussi, *Il giornalismo a Milano dalle origini alla prima guerra di indipendenza* (Milan: Famiglia meneghina, 1934), 118.

2 Alexander Grab, *Napoleon and the Transformation of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 19 and Nino Del Bianco, *Il coraggio e la sorte. Gli italiani nell'età napoleonica dalle Cisalpine al Regno Italico* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1997), 45–6.

3 Jean Tulard, *Napoleone. Il mito del salvatore* (Milan: Rusconi, 1989), 94 and Donald D. Horward, "The Proud Adversaries: Masséna and the Archduke Charles," in *Austria in the age of the French Re-*

and badly equipped battalion who had to act as a mere diversion on a peripheral corner of the war map.[4] By the end of the month, Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy, King of Sardinia (1726–1796) and the main Austrian ally on the Italian soil, after suffering a series of serious defeats, was forced to sign an armistice with the young Corsican general.[5] Barely two weeks later, on 15 May, Napoleon and his army entered the Lombard capital after having defeated the Austrian arm on a memorable battle on the bridge of Lodi.[6]

The iconographical sources produced around that time (or later, especially in France during Napoleon III's rule) picture the reaction of the Milanese people as joyful and grateful; they typically depict, for instance, huge crowds filling in the Corso di Porta Romana, cheering and waving tricoloured flags (fig. 1).

Similarly, many enthusiastic chronicles of that day have been produced, most notably the one provided by Stendhal at the beginning of his *La Chartreuse de Parme,* describing Napoleon as "the successor of Caesar and Alexander" and the Milanese as "a slumbering people […] overthrowing the statues of the monarchs and finding themselves flooded with new light."[7] While these depictions also seem to fit quite comfortably within the role the city of Milan played in the nineteenth-century independence and nationalistic movements, a deeper look at the historical conjuncture makes, however, this apparently compelling evidence rather unreliable.

Prior to the start of the *Campagne d'Italie*, Lombardy was for almost a century one of the main provinces of the Habsburg Empire. Thanks to what had been recognised already at the time as a very effective government (most of all when compared to the previous Spanish experience), the region, and especially its capital city had experienced a long period of peace, stability, and economic and cultural development.[8] Furthermore, since 1771, Milan had gained further prominence by hosting the court of an Austrian Archduke, Ferdinand Karl of Habsburg (1754–1806),

---

volution 1789–1815, ed. K. Brauer and W.E. Wright (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 29.

4 Carlo Moiraghi, *Napoleone a Milano: 1796–1814. Testimonianze e documenti* (Bologna: Megalini, 2001), 13–14.

5 Alberto Banti, *Il Risorgimento italiano* (Rome: Laterza, 2004), 3.

6 Franco Fava, *Storia di Milano*, vol. 2 (Milan: Meravigli, 1981), 6.

7 "après tant de siècles César et Alexandre avaient un successeur [...] un peuple endormi [...] on renversa leurs statues, et tout à coup l'on se trouva inondé de lumière"; Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle), *La Chartreuse de Parme*, ed. Ernest Abravanel (Geneva: Cercle du Bibliophile, 1969), 9–11 (my translation).

8 See, among many others, Charles De Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740* (Paris: Perrin, 1885), 93–94 ; Pierre-Jean Grosley, *Observations sur l'Italie et les Italiens*, vol. 1 (London : s.n., 1770), 105 ; and Antoine C.P. Valery, *Historical, Literary and Artistical Travels in Italy*, trans. C.E. Clifton (Paris: Baudry, 1839), 57–58. Among more recent contributions, see Raffaele Degrada et alii, eds., *La cultura a Milano tra riformismo illuminato e rivoluzione* (Milan:Vangelista, 1989), 17–20; Richard Schober, "Gli effetti delle riforme di Maria Teresa sulla Lombardia," in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia nell'età di Maria Teresa*, ed. Aldo De Maddalena, Ettore Rotelli and Gennaro Barbarisi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982), 209; and Maria Canella, "Aspetti e figure della cultura milanese nel percorso verso la modernità," in *Il laboratorio della modernità: Milano tra austriaci e francesi* (Milan: Skira, 2003), 79–81.

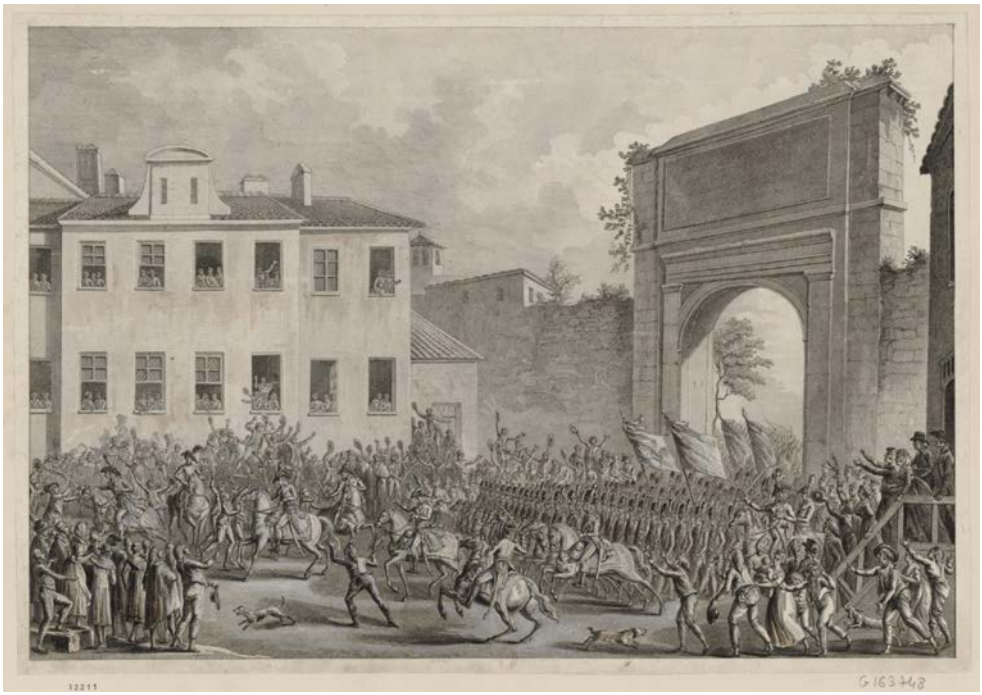


Fig. 1: Anonymous, *Entrée des troupes françaises dans Milan*, etching, 33.0 × 48.5 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (ref. Hennin, 12211).

fourth-born son of Empress Maria Theresia (1717–1780). Thanks to the presence of a court (something which had not happened since the time of the Sforza) and to the numerous improvements carried out in terms of organisation and layout, Milan had gained the socio-cultural environment, as well as the exterior appearance of a vibrant and proud capital city.[9]

Not only skilled governors, but also enthusiastic music patrons, including Archduke Ferdinand Karl and his wife, the Princess Maria Beatrice Ricciarda of House Este (1750–1829), had invested conspicuous amounts of time and funds in supporting the city's musical life, especially its main opera house, the Teatro Ducale.[10] As

9 Giuliana Ricci, "La città rinnovata e gli edifici pubblici," in *La Milano del Giovin Signore*, ed. F. Mazzocca and A. Morandotti (Milano: Skira, 1999), 194; Aurora Scotti Tosini, "Le trasformazioni della città," in *Il laboratorio della modernità: Milano tra austriaci e francesi* (Milan: Skira, 2003), 35–36; and Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Tu felix Austria nube. Hochzeitsfeste der Habsburger im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1994), 213–214.

10 Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: Becket, 1773), 85; Guglielmo Barblan, "Il teatro musicale a Milano nei secoli XVII e XVIII," in *Storia di Milano*, ed. G. Treccani degli Alfieri, vol. 12 (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri, 1956), 983–984; and Laura Nicora, "L'attività di Giuseppe Parini dal Teatro Ducale alla Scala," in *L'amabil rito: società e cultura nella Milano di Parini*, ed. Gennaro Barbarisi et al., vol. 2 (Bologna: Cisalpino), 912–913.

Kathleen Hansell has pointed out, thanks to the governmental support, the last five years of the theatre's life, from the Archduke's arrival (1771) to its destruction by fire (1776) could be easily described as the best on terms of overall quality.[11] Furthermore, after the Ducale burned down, Ferdinand had relentlessly fought with his mother the Empress to build a new, bigger theatre.[12] The result, La Scala opera house, was built thanks to the joint financial contribution from the Vienna court and the Milanese aristocracy, with theatrical life and theatre management forging a strong link between the two.[13] Despite the rumours spread after 1796, the Milanese liked their governor, frequently considering him a guarantor of their rights at the imperial court, the Archduke returning his subjects' favour with a sincere interest and commitment. The notable intellectual Pietro Verri (1728–1797) commented that Ferdinand Karl had already learned more about the Milanese in his first four months than many government officers in over ten years.[14]

Thus, despite the greatly advertised gratitude the Lombard people supposedly felt towards the French "liberators" for having freed them from the Austrian "tyrants," the truth was that almost nobody in the whole region remembered a time in which Lombardy had not been a content subject of Austria. What historians have described as the "psychological mutation" of turning Austrians into foreigners and oppressors, which lasted until the Risorgimento wars, had not yet started.[15] As many other Italian regions, Lombardy had been long governed by foreigners, and, unlike the following century, a national sentiment was still either non-existent or associated to local/regional entities. As a result, almost nobody among those who watched the French army parading in the streets of Milan on that Pentecost Sunday was ready or yearning for a republican state, nor for the social and political revolution that the French preached.[16] Besides, Napoleon's growing legend as a military genius and the news of his benevolence spread by the city's French supporters surely contributed to making the people's general reaction, when not overwhelmingly positive, at least genuinely interested.[17] Simultaneously, the citizens of Milan witnessed the unfolding events of the *Campagne d'Italie*, especially Ferdinand Karl's forced escape after the battle on the bridge of Lodi, with nothing but disbelief and fear.[18]

---

11 Kathleen Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan, 1771–1776: A Musical and Social History* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980), 131–132.

12 Carlo A. Vianello, *Teatri, spettacoli, musiche a Milano nei secoli scorsi* (Milan: Libreria Lombarda, 1941), 119; and Vittorio Ferrari, *Il Teatro della Scala nella vita e nell'arte dalle origini ad oggi* (Milan: Tamburini, 1921), 11.

13 See, e.g., Pompeo Cambiasi, *La Scala 1778–1889: note storiche e statistiche* (Milan: Ricordi, 1889), 345–359; and also Alessandra Palidda, "'Rediviva sub optimo principe hilaritas publica': Music, Consensus and Celebration in Hapsburg Milan," in *Music and Power in the Baroque Era*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 287.

14 Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan*, 101.

15 See e.g. Augusto Vicinelli, *Il Parini e Brera* (Milan: Ceschina, 1963), 227.

16 Banti, *Il Risorgimento italiano*, vi.

17 Moiraghi, *Napoleone a Milano: 1796–1814*, 15.

18 Diego Antonio Minola, *Diario storico-politico di alcuni avvenimenti del secolo XVIII*, 1793–1797, ms at I-Ma, vol. 8, 89; Carlo Cajmi, *Su e giù: scene milanesi dal 1796 al 1814* (Milan: Galli e Omodei,

In this delicate context, it soon became clear to the newly installed republican government that a systematic propaganda intervention was paramount to address many pressing needs. Namely, to maintain social control, widen the consensus, defame the previous governors and, more in general, the traditional authorities, and to try and inoculate an almost completely alien system of values. Entertainment and spectacle also had to be provided to conceal the systematic process of economic and cultural spoliation that took place throughout the region since the very beginning of the French occupation.[19] Estimates find that, within a month, the French had already plundered artworks, crops, goods, and money for an amount equivalent to what the Austrians had extolled in more than two years.[20] It is thus not a coincidence that among the very first actions undertaken by this new government and constantly visible throughout its mandate, there was the nominating of dedicated commissions that were entrusted with implementing newly informed cultural policies, occasions and products, and that soon reached the almost total monopoly over the cultural experiences accessible by the Milanese.[21]

As briefly mentioned, music, especially musical theatre, had long been a very popular and visible cultural experience, but its venues and mechanisms were tightly linked to *Ancient-Régime* society, figures and power structures. La Scala embodied the segregation between the social classes in its very layout, with the structure of both its soirees and seasons tailored around the needs of the aristocracy.[22] Several measures were implemented to try to control existing venues and occasions, mainly in La Scala, although the façade of freedom and non-invasion, together the element of private property connecting the Milanese aristocrats and the opera house, somehow limited the impact these could achieve. Following the nomination of a dedicated *Commissione per la revisione dei teatri*, operatic subject material started, however, to be subjected to a gradually stronger control from the government. [23] As a result, many of the *opere serie* performed from late 1796 onwards, for instance,

---

1875), 7–10; Giovanni De Castro, *Milano e la Repubblica Cisalpina giusta le poesie, le caricature ed altre testimonianze dei tempi* (Milan: F.lli Dumolard, 1879), 58–60.

19 Minola, *Diario storico-politico…*, vol. 10, 30; Del Bianco, *Il coraggio e la sorte*, 65–55; and Moiraghi, *Napoleone a Milano: 1796–1814*, 17. See also the images of convoys transporting artworks and books from Italian cities to the museums and libraries of Paris, e.g. *Départ de Rome du troisième convoi de statues et monumens des arts pour le muséum national de Paris* [...], Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe 'A. Bertarelli', shelf mark A.S. g. 4–36.

20 Del Bianco, *Il coraggio e la sorte*, 67.

21 See e.g.the numerous documents contained in Spettacoli Pubblici Parte Antica (hence forward P.A.), especially folders 1–2, at I-Mas, in the Fondo Somma at I-Mc.

22 Carlo Mozzarelli, "La Villa, la corte e Milano capitale," in *La Villa reale di Monza*, ed. Francesco De Giacomi (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 1999), 17–18; Roberta Carpani, "Il teatro musicale a Milano: aspetti istituzionali nell'ultimo decennio del Ducale," in *L'amabil rito: società e cultura nella Milano di Parini*, ed. Gennaro Barbarisi et al., vol. 2 (Bologna: Cisalpino, 2000), 767–768 and Nadia Torcellan, "I luoghi della sociabilità," in *Il laboratorio della modernità: Milano tra austriaci e francesi* (Milan: Skira, 2003), 92.

23 See e.g. the 1798 [Rapporto] (Report) of the aforementioned commission, at I-Mc, Fondo Somma, box 2.

focused on "appropriate," morally edifying tales of oppressed peoples, vicious tyrants, patriotism, and republican virtues.[24] Most came from the glorious republican era of ancient Greece and Rome, and many of these subjects were known to the theatre and opera audiences for decades, and were more recently reworked in the Parisian post-revolutionary institutions.[25] Music which was not originally intended for the opera house also started to enter its walls. Choral anthems and revolutionary tunes, for instance, were performed at the end of operas or as interludes, while the apparently unstoppable advance of Napoleon's army through the Italian states started to be celebrated through new pieces of music, e.g. funeral symphonies and patriotic anthems, commissioned through appositely created public competition.[26] Through the newly exploited operatic repertoire, the standardised and impromptu performances of republican pieces and the new commissions, sounds and settings belonging to the extra-theatrical and military spheres thus started to feature more and more often in the opera house, also triggering a significant process of permeability and exchange between the theatrical and extra-theatrical spaces.[27]

At the same time, many of these events aimed at triggering more direct and emotional responses from their attendees. In line with what was happening both in other 'theatres of war' of that period and in the public spectacles to be discussed shortly, audience members were expected to feel and show their patriotism and sense of belonging to the community and its shared values.[28] In addition to these attempts, Milan's new rulers also had to look for newly informed occasions for cultural dissemination that would not only function as transmitters of new values, but also trigger new forms of gathering and cultural ritual. As in many

24 Robert C. Ketterer, "Roman Republicanism and Operatic Heroines in Napoleonic Italy: Tarchi's *La congiura pisoniana* and Cimarosa's *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*," in *Operatic Migrations. Transforming Works and Crossing Boundaries*, ed. Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Downing A. Thomas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 99–101.

25 Anthony Arblaster, *Viva la Libertà! Politics in Opera* (London; New York: Verso, 1992), 45–46; and Elizabeth C. Bartlet, "The New Repertory of the Opéra During the Reign of Terror: Revolutionary Rhetoric and Operatic Consequences," in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcom Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 107–109.

26 Claudio Toscani, "Politica culturale e teatro nell'Italia napoleonica: I concorsi governativi," in *L'aere è fosco, il ciel s'imbruna: arti e musica a Venezia dalla fine della Repubblica al Congresso di Vienna* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2000), 71–73. See e.g. the case, discussed in more detail later on, of *L'astuta in amore*, a comic opera by Giuseppe Palomba and Valentino Fioravanti whose finale was altered by adding a patriotic hymn in French with music by Cherubini; Giuseppe Palomba*, L'astuta in amore. Dramma giocoso per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Grande alla Scala l'autunno 1796 sotto la protezione della Repubblica Francese* (Milan: Gio. Batista Bianchi, 1796), 58–59.

27 In a similar fashion, for instance, to the case of Paris: see e.g. Herbert Schneider, "The Sung Constitutions of 1792: An Essay on Propaganda in the Revolutionary Song," in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcom Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 236–237.

28 See e.g. Gillian Russell, *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society 1793–1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 65–66; David Wiles, *Theatre and Citizenship. The History of a Practice* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 156–157; and Sarah Hibberd, "Cherubini and the Revolutionary Sublime," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 24, no. 3 (November 2012): 295–296.

other polities of the time, public spectacles in *Ancient-Régime* Lombardy had in fact always had either a religious or an aristocratic matrix, depending on which authority was organising and "offering" them to the people, and thus contained a significant framework of eulogy and celebration.[29] With the advent of the republic, the necessity of representing a new social order arose. The focus had to shift from the institutions to the people, seen as sovereign and sole creator of its destiny, and constituting at the same time the object and main subject of any public celebration.[30] Republican festivals, devised in the early 1790s in revolutionary Paris, represented the perfect answer to this need for a new spectacle.[31] In fact, the very first Constitution of the Cisalpine Republic, proclaimed in Milan in July 1797 as a supposedly "free and independent" state comprising the majority of the Lombard territory, already introduced them as the main tool to "maintain the brotherly feeling among citizens and to rightly inform their attitude towards Homeland, the Constitution and the Law."[32]

Seen as a valid alternative to morally unhealthy theatre and its corrupted audiences, these republican celebrations proposed a form of social gathering theoretically similar to the festivals held by small, usually rural communities, which saw the participation of the whole people spontaneously celebrating shared values.[33] Bound together in this intimately felt celebration, the citizenry was contemplating and celebrating primarily itself, putting together what Maximilien de Robespierre (1758–1794) had called "the most magnificent of all spectacles,"[34] and also realising that total participation into public life which perfectly applied the theory of the *contrat social* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778).[35] Both invocating a rupture with theatrical practices and harking back to pre-existing forms of public celebration, republican festivals aimed at building occasions in which shared values and concepts could be solemnised, but could also be emotionally engaging for the whole people. Republican feasts could be thus described at the same time as solemn occasions, as spontaneous gatherings, as ritualised events specifically aimed at the communication of specific values/concepts, as entertainment and as spectacles.

29 Alain Pillepich, *Milan capitale napoléonienne: 1800–1814* (Paris: Lettrage, 2001), 392 ; and Sommer-Mathis, *Tu felix Austria nube*, 5–6.

30 Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire: 1789–1799* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), 239–240; Enea Balmas, "Dalla festa di corte alla festa giacobina," in *Lo spettacolo nella Rivoluzione francese*, ed. Paolo Bosisio (Rome: Bulzoni, 1989), 138–140.

31 Noel Parker, *Portrayals of Revolution* (New York; etc.: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), 50.

32 "per mantenere la fraternità tra i Cittadini, e renderli ben affetti alla Patria, alla Costituzione ed alle Leggi [...];" *Costituzione della Repubblica Cisa*lpina (Milan: Pirola, 1797), 77.

33 Sirio Ferrone, "'La danse fut suspendue, ce ne furent qu'embrassements, ris, santés, caresses'," in *Lo spettacolo nella Rivoluzione francese*, ed. Paolo Bosisio (Rome: Bulzoni, 1989), 35–36; and Elizabeth R. Wingrove, *Rousseau's Republican Romance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 176–177.

34 "le plus magnifique des spectacles, c'est celui d'un grand peuple assemblé;" Maximilien Robespierre, "Sur le rapport des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains et sur les fêtes nationales," in *Œuvres de Robespierre*, ed. A. Vermorel (Paris: F. Cournol, 1866), 330.

35 Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire*, 238–240.

This juxtaposition of references and aims produced very complex, multi-layered events, also capable of overthrowing many categories traditionally associated with performance and celebration.[36]

As theatre and spectacle scholars such as Paolo Bosisio and Bruno Bevan have already pointed out, much of the utopic spontaneity advocated in the original republican gatherings, already arguable per se, can be considered lost in the very act of transplanting this model from France to regions, such as Lombardy, with different frameworks and traditions when it came to public celebration and related associations.[37] Like many *Ancient-Régime* cities (and even more thanks to the many decades of monarchical government and to the presence of rich traditions connected to both religious and civic festivities), Milan could in fact boost a long-standing history of public celebrations, which took the form of well codified rituals within dedicated public spaces.[38] A particularly lavish and recent example had been that of the celebrations organised in September and October 1771 to solemnise Ferdinand Karl's wedding with Maria Beatrice Este. That occasion warranted a rich program of newly commissioned works in the Teatro Ducale (specifically, Hasse's *Ruggiero* and Mozart's *Ascanio in Alba*), paired with processions, races, public banquets and lavish decoration of many public spaces (e.g. the public gardens at fig. 2).[39]

Within this context, the original model devised for republican festivals had to be adapted in order to systematically change both the focal point and the audience's role and associations within public celebration. Rather than advertised spontaneity and shared values, this can be seen as translating into a steep increase in the level of planning and control of symbols and rituals.[40]

---

36 Balmas, "Dalla festa di corte alla festa giacobina," 139–140; Fernando Mastropasqua, *Le feste della Rivoluzione francese: 1790–1794* (Milan: Mursia, 1976), 18–19; and James Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution* (Cambridge MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 212.

37 Paolo Bosisio, "Un poeta al servizio di un nuovo modello di spettacolo: le cantate di Vincenzo Monti," in *Vincenzo Monti nella cultura italiana*, ed. Gennaro Barbarisi and William Spaggiari, vol. 3 (Milan: Cisalpino, 2006), 246–247; and Bruno Brevan, *Musica e Rivoluzione francese: la vita musicale a Parigi dal 1774 al 1799* (Milan: Ricordi, 1986), 25–36.

38 Achille Bertarelli and Antonio Monti, eds., *Tre secoli di vita milanese*, (Milan: Hoepli, 1927), 59–82 and 149–163; Giovanna D'Amia, "La città fatta teatro: apparati effimeri ed 'embellissement' urbano nella Milano del Settecento," in *Il teatro a Milano nel Settecento. I contesti*, ed. Annamaria Cascetta and Giovanna Zanlonghi (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2008), 104–106; and Palidda, "'Rediviva sub optimo principe hilaritas publica'," 272–274.

39 See the description given by Parini himself, who had also been involved as librettist of Mozart's *Ascanio*, in Giuseppe Parini, *Descrizione delle feste celebrate in Milano per le nozze delle LL.AA.RR. l'Arciduca Ferdinando d'Austria e l'Arciduchessa Maria Beatrice d'Este fatta per ordine della R. Corte l'anno delle medesime nozze 1771* (Milan: Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1825), and also Sommer-Mathis, *Tu felix Austria nube*, 211–217.

40 Bosisio, "Un poeta al servizio di un nuovo modello di spettacolo," 247–248; and Antonio Carlini, "'Lo strepitoso risonar de' stromenti da fiato & timballierie'. Modalità e modelli della musica pubblica a Venezia e in Italia negli anni della Rivoluzione francese," in *'L'aere è fosco, il ciel s'imbruna'. Arti e musica a Venezia dalla fine della Repubblica al Congresso di Vienna*, ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2000), 473.



Fig. 2: Giulio Cesare Bianchi, *[Veduta del]La Cuccagna, e Tempio illuminato*, 1771, engraving, 26.1 × 38.5 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe 'Achille Bertarelli' (ref. A.S. m. 66–52).

In the specific case of the republican polities instituted in northern Italy, a form of patriotism, first French, then Cisalpine and, finally Italian, was devised and systematically triggered in order to channel popular enthusiasm against the Austrian tyrants and in favour of the French liberators.[41] While government-fuelled propaganda and media depicted the people's response to these events as enthusiastic and joyful, the artificial nature of the patriotic sentiment associated to already discussed issues such as the absence of a national sentiment, the decades of Austrian domination and the alien character of many concepts and values associated to the revolutionary creed made the general reaction rather problematic.[42] As the historian Francesco Cazzamini Mussi commented already in the 1930s, it is precisely in

41 Ettore Rota, "Milano napoleonica," in *Storia di Milano*, ed. Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, vol. 13 (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri, 1956), 75–78; Fava, *Storia di Milano*, 16; and Moiraghi, *Napoleone a Milano: 1796–1814*, 60.

42 See the descriptions contained in *Termometro politico della Lombardia*, ed. by Vittorio Criscuolo, (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea: 1989), for instance vol. 1, pp. 119–121. Conversely, see also those in the *Giornale storico della Repubblica Cisalpina all'epoca della sua libertà e indipendenza*, ms at I-Ma, vol. 1, tome 1, p. 18 and tome 9, p. 33, and in G. De Castro, *Milano e la Repubblica Cisalpina…*, pp. 83–84 and p. 90. Many letters contained in Spettacoli Pubblici, P.A., folders 1, 2 and 7 at I-Mas also stress the need for all citizens to take part in the organized celebrations with a rather suspicious frequency.

this chronic imbalance between republican aspirations and historical reality that the origin of the Cisalpine Republic's many incoherencies can be found.[43]

Still, republican festivals were organised in Milan since the very beginning of the French occupation, mainly thanks to the members of the appositely instituted *Commissione per le pubbliche feste* (Commission for the public feasts) and had a huge impact on Milan's urban landscape and on its public perception, allowing the new republican creed to appropriate the two main features of public life, namely time and space. As for time, starting from the Autumn 1796 the French revolutionary calendar was imposed, setting the beginning of the year on 22 September (the proclamation of the French republic in 1792) and dividing it into months mainly dedicated to natural phenomena/elements.[44] Historians such as Moza Ozouf have already pointed out how the change of the calendar constituted a powerful political act, implementing some of the dogmas of the republican doctrine such as that of rationalising, marking the rupture with the *Ancient Régime* and eliminating all its relics.[45] In Milan, where time had been traditionally squandered based on religious occasions and the socio-cultural rituals of the aristocracy, this was destined to be felt as a particularly strong imposition;[46] besides, the manipulation of the religious calendar already attempted by the Habsburg governors in their strive towards a more effective separation between church and state had generated significant controversy in all the Austrian-ruled Italian states, evidencing a deep link between holidays and socio-cultural identity and life.[47]

With the new calendar, holidays and festivities were in fact programmatically replaced with a new historical narrative and a "revolutionary religion", as some historians have defined it,[48] based on a series of holidays celebrating figures and events linked to republican France, the newborn Cisalpine Republic, Napoleon and the deeds of the *Armée d'Italie*. Recurrences such as the execution of Queen Marie Antoinette of France (1755–1793) on 16 October, the coup of 18 Brumaire on 9 November and the battle of Marengo on 16 June, also greatly advertised in posters and speeches (e.g. fig. 3), rapidly became the only occasions which triggered public and state-supported celebration.[49]

43 Cazzamini Mussi, *Il giornalismo a Milano …,* 128–129.

44 Paul R. Hanson, *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Lanham MD; Toronto; Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2004), 278; documents such as the poster at Fig. 3 (I-Mas, Spettacoli Pubblici P.A., folder 1) witness how the revolutionary and Gregorian calendars coexisted for some time, until the latter was completely replaced.

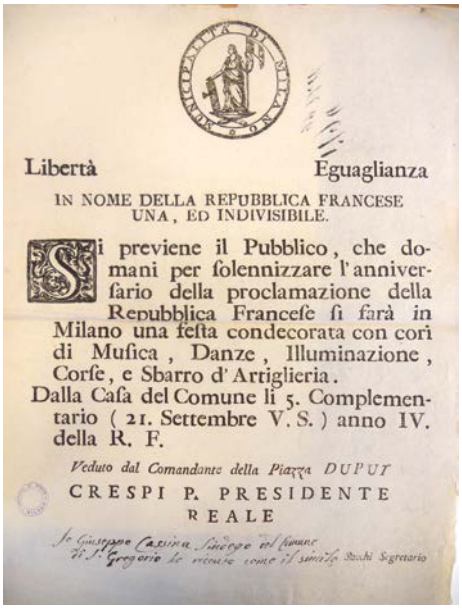
45 Mona Ozouf, "Calendrier," in *Dictonnaire critique de la Révolution française*, vol. 3, *Institutions et créations* (Paris: Flammarion, 2017), 92–95.

46 See e.g. the way operatic seasons were structured around the Ambrosian carnival and the aristocracy's extended holidays in the countryside, as described in C. Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, p. 82 and K. Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan*, p. 194.

47 Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 141–142.

48 See e.g. Mona Ozouf, "Religion révolutionnaire," in *Dictonnaire critique de la Révolution française*, vol. 3, *Institutions et créations* (Paris : Flammarion, 2017), 315.

49 See the numerous posters at I-Mas, Spettacoli Pubblici P.A., folders 1–2, and C. Moiraghi, *Napoleone a Milano*: 1796–1814, p. 20.



Libertà Eguaglianza

IN NOME DELLA REPUBBLICA FRANCESE
UNA, ED INDIVISIBILE.

Si previene il Pubblico, che domani per ſolennizzare l'anniverſario della proclamazione della Repubblica Franceſe ſi farà in Milano una feſta condecorata con cori di Muſica, Danze, Illuminazione, Corſe, e Sbarro d'Artiglieria.
Dalla Caſa del Comune li 5. Complementario (21. Settembre V. S.) anno IV. della R. F.

Veduto dal Comandante della Piazza DUPUY
CRESPI P. PRESIDENTE
REALE

Io Giuseppe Cazzina Sindaco del comune di S. Gregorio ho ricevuto come il simile Stochi Segretario

Fig. 3: Poster, 1796. Milan, Archivio di Stato (Spettacoli Pubblici P.A., folder 1).

In terms of space, most celebrations took place in Milan's streets and squares, many of which, following a model already implemented in Paris, were appositely renamed.[50] This can be considered a form of very powerful intrusion, aiming at changing the associations the Milanese citizens entertained with the public space. These associations have been deemed paramount for the construction of a shared meaning and sense of belonging, according to historians, human geographers, and historiographers.[51] In 1797, for instance, the space of the old *lazzaretto* (leper hospital) was first renamed "Campo di Marte" and then "Campo della Federazione" in the occasion of the feast for the proclamation of the Cisalpine Republic, the catholic chapel providing the funeral services re-consecrated to Liberty.[52] Similarly, in 1801 the battle of Marengo and the subsequent Treaty of Lunéville, one of the greatest French victories over Austria, were celebrated with a huge feast for which the Sforza castle, symbol of the traditional oligarchical government, was partially demolished.[53] The surrounding Piazza Castello (Castle Square) was turned into a vast esplanade called "Foro Bonaparte," a name still extant today.[54]

50 Mastropasqua, *Le feste della Rivoluzione francese*, 15.

51 See e.g. Charles N. Lesh, "The Geographies of History: Space, Time, and Composition," in *College English* 78, no. 5 (May 2016): 449–450; and Courtney J. Campbell, "Space, Place and Scale: Human Geography and Spatial History in Past and Present," in *Past & Present* 239, no. 1 (May 2016): 25–26.

52 *Giornale storico della Repubblica Cisalpina*…, vol. 1, tome 1, pp. 98–99 and *Tre secoli di vita milanese*, p. 466.

53 See the anonymous painting entitled *Demolizione delle fortificazioni del Castello Sforzesco* (*Destruction of the fortifications of the Sforza Castle*), today at I-Mrsb, shelf mark Q1010 0027 00.

54 *Raccolta di tutto ciò che si è stampato in occasione della gran festa del 10 fiorile anno 9 celebrata in Milano per la pace di Lunéville e per la collocazione della prima pietra nel Foro Bonaparte* (Milan: Veladini, 1801), 3–4;

Even smaller-scale spaces such as the streets and old city gates, traditionally named after corporations and geographical elements, were re-consecrated to republican ones. Porta Orientale (East Gate), for instance, was renamed "Porta Riconoscenza" to celebrate the gratitude of the Lombard people towards their French saviours, while Porta Ticinese (pointing south towards the Ticino river) was reshaped in neoclassical style and re-christened "Porta Marengo" to commemorate another of Napoleon's victories.[55] As for the streets, many were renamed after ancient republican heroes such as Themistocles and Brutus, whose names the majority of the Milanese hardly knew.[56]

Going beyond names, the appearance of many spaces was also altered through the construction of temporary structures often of significant size, which required massive funds and labour, and turned the city into a stage for the *mise en scène* of the new historical narrative and creed.[57] In line with the principles of republican celebration, there could be no better space than the urban one for this continuous process of re-enactment and participation.[58] The omnipresent neoclassical shapes, already re-interpreted in light of republican patriotism in the Parisian experiences, were interspersed with contemporary republican references (e.g. with the allegories of concepts such as Liberty and Reason), and with ancient Classical and (after Napoleon's involvement in the 1798–1800 campaign) Egyptian elements. The result has been described as a veritable "orgy of symbols" aimed at operating a deep emotional engagement of the feasts' attendees.[59]

A paramount (and particularly well documented) example is that of the already mentioned feast celebrated in 1801 in the new Foro Bonaparte., According to the bilingual booklet especially printed for the occasion, the esplanade saw the construction of the following structures seen as "objects capable of inspiring the highest sentiments in the People:"[60]

Tre secoli di vita milanese, pp. 470–471; and Patricia Giudicelli Falguières, 'Espace privé et espace public à Milan', in *Villes et territoire pendant la période napoléonienne*, conference proceedings, Rome, May 3–5, 1984 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1987), 262. The image at fig. 4, an anonymous watercolour, is today at I-Mmr; see the complete description at http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/opere-arte/schede/Q1010-00025/.

55 *Tre secoli di vita milanese*, p. 470; see also the programme of the feast organized for the renaming day of the gate, dated June 14, 1801, today in I-Mas, Spettacoli Pubblici P.A., folder 2.

56 Del Bianco, *Il coraggio e la sorte*, p. 59.

57 Pillepich, *Milan capitale napoléonienne: 1800–1814*, p. 407. For some examples, see e.g. *Giornale storico della Repubblica Cisalpina…*, vol. 1, tome 1, pp. 98–99; *Tre secoli di vita milanese*, p. 466–470 and C. Moiraghi, Napoleone a Milano: 1796–1814, p. 60.

58 Mastropasqua, *Le feste della Rivoluzione francese*, 23–28.

59 Bosisio, "Un poeta al servizio di un nuovo modello di spettacolo …," p. 247; and E. Balmas, "Dalla festa di corte alla festa giacobina," 151.

60 "[…] oggetti che risveglino nell'animo del Popolo i più elevati sentimenti;" *Programma della Festa per la celebrazione della Pace e per la collocazione della prima Pietra del Foro Bonaparte da eseguirsi il 10. fiorile anno 9. repubblicano / Programme de la Fête qui doit avoir lieu le 10. floréal an 9 pour célebrer la Paix et pour poser la première Pierre du Forum Bonaparte* (Milan: s.n., 1801), I.

> […] in the centre of the Forum, which will be surrounded by barricades, a blunt column covered with bas-relief sculptures depicting the French army's descent from the Great St. Bernard and the first military events leading to the memorable day of Marengo. On the top of this column, one will see a grand statue of Peace. On the side to this monument, there will be a great amphitheatre and, opposite that, a tribune with a circular altar […] On the right-hand side of the Forum a triangular funeral monument will be erected, consecrated to the memory of the fallen generals Joubert, Championnet and Desaix […]. On the left-hand side, a circular temple will be built, dedicated to Immortality, and on its top one will see the statue of Bonaparte and that of Victory crowning the hero; in between the temple's columns, busts of several French generals will be positioned.[61]

The Foro and all the structures built there (see Fig. 4) were also lavishly lit in the evening, surely making quite an effect on the feast's attendees.

The link between large-scale structures and spectacular visual effects to both emotionally engage the audience and catalyse their attention around carefully arranged symbolical content became a constant tool of the republican celebrations.[62] On the one hand, this surely re-introduced elements coming from both earlier celebratory models, and from the experiments already carried out in the Parisian festivals on the other hand it surely brought public spectacle and symbolic display to a level not previously experienced by the Milanese.[63] The words of Francesco Saverio Salfi (1759–1832, the main editor of the government-supported newspaper *Termometro politico*) on a feast organised in February 1797 to celebrate the successes of the *Armée d'Italie* together with the first Lombard cohorts can help getting an even more detailed picture of one of these lavish visual spectacles:

---

61 "[…] all'ingresso del Foro che sarà distinto con barricate […] verso il centro ove si vedrà innalzato un tronco di colonna con sculture a basso rilievo esprimenti la discesa delle Falangi Francesi dal Gran S. Bernardo, ed i primi fatti d'armi che prepararono la memoranda giornata di Marengo. Su questo tronco si vedrà grandeggiare la Statua della Pace. Sarà fiancheggiato il monumento da un maestoso anfoteatro, ed avrà a fronte un palco su cui sorgerà un'ara circolare: […] al lato destro del Foro ove sarà innalzato un triangolare monumento sacro alla memoria degli estinti Generali Joubert, Championnet e Desaix […] al lato sinistro del Foro, ove sorgerà un Tempio circolare dedicato all'Immortalità. Sulla sommità di esso si vedrà troneggiare la Statua di Bonaparte, e quella della Vittoria in atto di coronar l'eroe, e negli intercolonnii saranno situati i busti di varj Generali Francesi;" ibid., pp. II–IV.

62 Charlotte Stokes, "Taming the Eagles: The Habsburg Monarchy's Use of the "Revolutionary" Neoclassical Style" in *Austria in the Age of the French Revolution*, ed. by Kinley Brauer and William E. Wright (Minneapolis: Centre for Austrian Studies, 1990), 73–74.

63 Bosisio, "Un poeta al servizio di un nuovo modello di spettacolo…," 247–248; E. Balmas, "Dalla festa di corte alla festa giacobina," 151–152; and A. Pillepich, *Milan capitale napoléonienne: 1800–1814*, 398–399. For some earlier examples of celebratory spectacles, see also *Tre secoli di vita milanese*, pp. 62–65; *La scena della gloria: drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età spagnola*, ed. by Annamaria Cascetta and Roberta Carpani (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995), 302–305; and A. Palidda, "'Rediviva sub optimo principe hilaritas publica'," 273–274.



Fig. 4: Paolo Bargigli (1763–1815) and Alessandro Sanquirico (1777–1849), *Disegno dimostrativo i Monumenti eretti nella Piazza del Castello, ora Foro Bonaparte in occasione della Pace celebrata,e della prima pietra collocata di detto Foro[…]*, 1801, engraving, 41.4 × 55.8 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe 'A. Bertarelli' (ref. A.S. g. 5–13).

> The feast […] has ended in the night with a firework display prepared at the end of Corso di Porta Orientale. It [the gate] was presented as a majestic arch erected to celebrate the triumph of the French army. At the top there was the statue of Liberty, in between two great obelisks in memory of the Lombard cohort, also worthy of praise […]. At the bottom of the arch, a group of clouds has unfolded exactly in the moment where the whole structure was suddenly and beautifully lit; from its centre, the goddess of Freedom has appeared in the act of crashing with her spear and under her feet the vices of despotism. Meanwhile, a bolt of lightning has erupted from the eye of [the statue of] Reason and has struck an urn containing the remains of the aristocracy; from its ashes, a moulting eagle has risen, but, as soon as it flew high, it dissolved into smoke. At the end of this performance, the People have set on fire a puppet resembling the coward Archduke.[64]

64 "La festa […] è finita la sera con un fuoco di artifizio dato nel fondo del corso di porta orientale. Esso rappresentava un arco maestoso innalzato pel trionfo dell'armata francese. In cima v'era la statua della vittoria, da' lati due grandi obelischi in memoria della legion lombarda, anch'essa benemerita della patria […]. Nel fondo dell'arco un gruppo di nuvole si è aperto nel momento della più bella ed improvvisa illuminazione di tutta la macchina, e dal suo seno è comparsa la dea della

These newly framed, theatricalised spaces came to constitute performance venues in which complex, multi-layered events took place regularly. The posters and pamphlets which survived the Austrian restoration (possibly just a limited percentage of the original) show that republican festivals programmatically mixed elements coming from different traditions, with the ultimate purposes of defaming the previous world order and exalting the new one, and of widening the consensus across all social strata.[65] In addition to the alteration of the public space and the spectacular elements described above, public celebrations thus included what could be described as sportive competitions such as foot and horse races, staged displays of military power such as manoeuvres and weapon exhibitions, eloquence, public demonstrations of goodwill such as banquets and food distributions, musical entertainment, and highly ritualised moments of either defamation or exaltation, especially the swearing of solemn oaths.[66] While arguably producing many idiosyncratic and mediocre cultural objects, these events also facilitated contacts between previously very distant cultural and entertainment spheres, producing interesting encounters.

Because of its effectiveness in terms of both entertainment and solemnisation, its power in expressing concepts such as unity and power, and its emotional impact, music played a particularly important role within the festivals, both on its own and mixed with elements coming from other cultural media. Unfortunately, due to its highly political value (and possibly also because of its mediocre quality) almost all of the actual musical sources have been lost. Archival and iconographical sources can, however, provide invaluable information in reconstructing some of the main features of the music and its use within the republican festivals. A collation of invoices and correspondence, for instance, shows which music was chosen for a series of events organised in May 1797 throughout the city to celebrate Napoleon's most recent victories, as well as revealing some detail on where and how this music was performed:[67]

---

libertà in atto di schiacciare con l'asta e col piede i vizj del despotismo. Dall'occhio della ragione è tosto caduto un fulmine sopra un'urna che serbava gli avanzi dell'aristocrazia, dalle cui ceneri è risorta un'aquila spennacchiata; ma appena questa si è levata in alto si è dispersa in fumo. Alla fine di questo spettacolo il popolo ha messo a fuoco un bamboccio che rappresentava il fuggito arciduca […]"; *Termometro politico della Lombardia*, vol. 2, 122–123.

65 Posters and other relevant documents (e.g. correspondence and notices) are today at I-Mas, Spettacoli Pubblici P.A., folders 1, 2 and 7; see also, again, the poster at fig. 3, describing how the feast organized on September 22, 1796, to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the proclamation of the French Republic offered "choral music, dances, lighting, races and gunfire."

66 See e.g. *Giornale storico della Repubblica Cisalpina*…, vol. 1, tome 1, p. 103; Ettore Rota, "Milano napoleonica," 63; F. Fava, *Storia di Milano*, 16; C. Moiraghi, *Napoleone a Milano: 1796–1814*, 32 and 58–59; and A. Pillepich, *Milan capitale napoléonienne: 1800–1814*, 398–399, as well as the reports contained in *Termometro politico della Lombardia*, vol. 2, 121–130.

67 See the [Letter Commissione per le pubbliche feste to Ambrogio Minoja], 27 April 1797, the [Letter Ambrogio Minoja to the Commissione per le pubbliche feste] and the [Invoice], both dating to May 1797, all at I-Mas, Spettacoli Pubblici P.A., folder 2.

Piece(s)	Composer	Venue(s) and Date(s)	Performers
Coro concertato (concertato chorus)	Ambrogio Minoja (1752–1825)	1. La Scala theatre, 4 May 1797	25 choristers 12 players
		2. outdoors (Palazzo Serbelloni)	the above + military band
Chorus from *Il re Teodoro in Venezia* (re-orchestrated)	Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816), arr. Alessandro Rolla (1757–1841)	outdoors (unspecified)	Choir and orchestra (La Scala)
Inno patriottico (patriotic hymn)	Ambrogio Minoja	outdoors (Porta Romana), 14 May 1797	25 choristers 36 players
Sinfonie, marce (symhponies, marches)	Luigi de Baillou (1736–1804)	outdoors (unspecified)	military bands + extra players

Over a timespan of about ten days, there were at least five large-scale musical performances requiring different choral and instrumental ensembles, with contributions from several artists (composers, librettists, instrumentalists, singers and band players) who were mainly, but not exclusively employed at La Scala. The music performed in this as well as in other similar events can be described as a rather varied mixture of pre-existing material, mainly operatic pieces often re-arranged or re-orchestrated, and newly commissioned pieces of clear French influence.[68] The main model for this new "republican music" was arguably that of the revolutionary pieces and, even more, of the republican tunes produced in Paris, already described as the most successful musical medium of the Revolution.[69] Those selections were imported into Lombardy mainly thanks to the mobility occasioned by the military operations, and proposed (or maybe it would be better to say imposed) through various occasions.[70] In addition to being performed during festivals and other public celebrations, republican tunes were used, for instance, for both prescribed and "spontaneous" performances in between the acts or at the end of operas, regardless of the original setting or language.[71] A well-documented example is that of the

68 An overview of the French models, can be found, e.g., in *Recueil d'hymnes, stances, odes et chansons républicaines, à l'usage des fêtes nationales* (Paris: s.n., 1796) and in the later, but more comprehensive Constant Pierre, *Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Révolution française* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899).

69 Schneider, "The Sung Constitutions of 1792," 236–237.

70 Moiraghi, *Napoleone a Milano: 1796–1814*, 15; E. C. Bartlet, "The New Repertory of the Opéra During the Reign of Terror," 132; and Stefano Pivato, *Bella ciao. Canto e politica nella storia d'Italia* (Rome; Bari: Laterza, 2005), 10.

71 See the [Rapporto della Commissione sui Teatri], June 1, 1798, at I-Mc, Fondo Somma, box 2, p. 2 (Article 8), prescribing the performance of republican tunes in the opera house; and also Egidio Bellorini, "Disordini in teatro a Milano al tempo delle Repubbliche Cisalpina e Italiana (1796–1805)," in *Archivio storico lombardo* 34, no. 8 (1907):126–127; and Davide Daolmi, "Salfi alla Scala," in *Salfi librettista*, ed. by Francesco Paolo Russo (Vibo Valentia: Monteleone, 2001), 147.

Chant républicain du 10 août, a choral anthem by Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842) and Ponce-Denis Écouchard Lebrun (1729–1807), which was literally 'attached' at the end of *L'astuta in amore*, a comic opera by Valentino Fioravanti (1764–1837) and Giuseppe Palomba (1765–1825) performed in La Scala in the Autumn of 1796.[72] The pieces Ambrogio Minoja described as "inno patriottico" and "coro concertato" among his compositions for the celebrations earlier that year, for instance, were arguably modelled on French revolutionary works such as this.

If we try to describe the main features of these pieces, we can also observe how the balance between individual performers and ensembles started to shift quite directly in favour of the latter, triggering a progressively stronger focus on groups rather than on soloists, and mirroring the ongoing shift from individuals to the whole people. In this light, we can understand the systematic use of the choir's sound power and emotional impact as effective visual and sound representation of strength and unity, also mirrored in the contemporary prominence of large-scale choral scenes on the operatic stage.[73] The prominence the choral presence and sound gained both on and off the theatrical stage, also very often expressing sentiments linked to oppression, heroism and patriotism, can also be arguably seen as informing the important role the choir would play in the following decades.

From the letter Ambrogio Minoja (who was specifically enlisted thanks to his "patriotic zeal")[74] sent to the members of the *Commissione per le feste* after the celebrations were over, it also transpires that his work had not been remunerated as initially agreed, and that he had been tasked to produce a great deal more music than what was actually performed. This arguably reveals that musicians were expected to actively contribute to the republican cause if they wanted to survive in their profession, without expecting much in return and having to adhere to specific models. At the same time, with Napoleon himself commenting quite directly on the potential music presented as a tool of propaganda and engagement, Milan's republican celebrations also triggered a high number of new commissions, allowing celebratory music to become a constant need, and composers such as Minoja not only to survive, but also to thrive.[75]

This phenomenon was also common in the Parisian theatres throughout the 1790s; see Constant Pierre, *Les Hymnes et les Chansons de la Révolution* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1904), 9–17 and E. C. Bartlet, "The New Repertory of the Opéra During the Reign of Terror," 132.

72 See, again, Palomba, *L'astuta in amore*…, 58–59; and C. Pierre, *Les Hymnes et les Chansons de la Révolution*, 380.

73 See e.g. Paolo Rossini, "L'opera classicista nella Milano napoleonica (1796–1815)," in *Aspetti dell'opera italiana fra Sette e Ottocento: Mayr e Zingarelli*, ed. by Guido Salvetti (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993), 127–128 and Mélanie Traversier, "'Transformer la plèbe en peuple'. Théâtre et musique à Naples en 1799 de la proclamation de la République napolitaine à la Première Restauration," in *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 335 (2004), 45–46.

74 Letter Commissione per le pubbliche feste to Ambrogio Minoja, 27 April 1797, at I-Mas, Spettacoli Pubblici P.A., folder 2.

75 Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme and Frederick H. Martens, "Napoleon, Music and Musicians," in *The Musical Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (October 1921): 583–584; Claudio Toscani, "Politica culturale e

A last, closer look to the already mentioned 1801 feast allows further observations on the use of music within republican celebratory events, as well as on their use of spectacle and audience's engagement. The celebratory pamphlet printed for the day in fact details the following musical and, more in general, sonorous accompaniment for several highly ritualised moments, revealing how the landscape and soundscape of these events, and the audience's perception within, were carefully planned (see also fig. 5).[76]

Visual	**Music/sounds**
The civil and military officers climb the stairs leading to the amphitheatre. Boys present them with olive branches.	Hymns and symphonies
[Government and military] Officers move towards the funeral monument	Funeral march
Officers reach the funeral monument. Boys drape it with wraths of flowers.	Military sounds (gunfire, drums, etc.)
Officers move towards the Temple of Immortality	Joyful march
Officers reach the temple. Boys hang wraths of laurel to the temple's columns	Explosions from the castle's ruins
Officers go back to the amphitheatre. Solemn commemoration of the fallen soldiers	Patriotic speech

In addition to describing the common custom of juxtaposing not only different repertoires, but also music with extra-musical elements in order to create revolutionary spectacles, this document also allows us to recognise another musical performer which, in addition to the choir, gained prominence and importance, i.e. the military band, an instrumental ensemble affiliated to a precise military corps, and constituted of wind and percussion instruments.[77] Together with the patriotic tunes, the battalions of the *Armée d'Italie* and their bands surely brought to Northern Italy innovative tools and occasions for the use of music and instrumental combinations, which were exploited both on and off the theatrical stage. The military bands' visual appeal, sound power, and association to the military sphere worked very well within many ritualised celebrations exalting, for instance, Napoleon's military genius and the consequences his victories had on the destiny of the Ital-

teatro nell'Italia napoleonica," 74–75; and Alessandra Palidda, "Milan and the Music of Political Transitions in the Napoleonic Period: The Case of Ambrogio Minoja (1752–1825)," in *Music and War in Europe from the French Revolution to WWI,* ed. by Etienne Jardin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 108–109.

76 *Programma della Festa per la celebrazione della Pace …*, pp. III–IV.

77 Pierre, *Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Révolution française*, LXXVIII– LXXIX; A. Carlini, "Lo strepitoso risonar de' stromenti da fiato & timballierie," 496–497 and C. Moiraghi, *Napoleone a Milano: 1796–1814*, 58.



Fig. 5: Anonymous, *Musique Républicaine*, 1793, etching, 15.0 × 9.0 cm. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France (ref. Hennin, 11817).

ian lands, bravery, and heroism.[78] Associated with the soundscape of revolutionary propaganda from its very conception (e.g., the engraving at fig. 5, showing brass and percussion instruments as the protagonists of "republican music"), military bands and their sound became some of the most effective tools and expressions of its creed. Simultaneously, military bands also realised an emotional engagement with the audience that was among the main purposes of the republican celebrations.

With their colourful uniforms, shiny brass, piercing woodwind, and loud percussion instruments, bands rapidly became a constant presence in the public celebrations, catering for both their visual and sonorous requirements. The *ordres de marche* and chronicles, for instance, often described or prescribed down to the tiniest detail which ensembles had to take part, carrying which instruments and parading in which order, while coeval engravings show how military ensembles and sounds were often occupying quite a prominent position in the celebrations.[79] In the already mentioned celebrations in 1797, for instance, band players were especially recruited for sonorous and engaging outdoor performances of newly composed pieces of clear French and military inspiration. Similarly, during the 1801 feast, many moments were destined to be accompanied by what was described as "musica guerriera" or "musica militare," made by both band instruments and sounds associated with war, for instance explosions and gunfire.[80] Images like that at fig. 4 also depict groups of soldiers carrying military instruments and posing next to others ready to operate weapons, almost realising a visual and sonorous representation of the military sphere.

Military instruments and ensembles also penetrated the theatrical and entertainment spheres, first through the already mentioned performances of patriotic pieces. The orchestral scoring of the *chant républicain* performed in La Scala in the Autumn of 1797, for instance, included an exceptionally large wind sections with instruments (such as the buccin and the tuba curva) especially created during the revolutionary period for military bands.[81] Although it is problematic to find dedicated information, it can be speculated how orchestra players were, at least initially, not able to play such instruments, and not to play them in the style required. Military band players were probably called to intervene, as they were in the Parisian theatres such as the Opéra.[82] The mobility of performers across venues,

78 See e.g. the events described in *Giornale storico della Repubblica Cisalpina*, vol. 1, tome II, pp. 118–121; *Termometro politico della Lombardia*, vol. 2, 122; and E. Rota, "Milano napoleonica", 31.

79 See e.g. *Giornale storico della Repubblica Cisalpina*, vol. 1, tome I, p. 101 (July 9, 1797), the [Flyer Bonaparte Général en Chef de l'Armée d'Italie], n.d. (January 1799) and the [poster] detailing the programme of the 1801 feast, the latter two at I-Mas, Spettacoli Pubblici P.A., folder 2.

80 See, again, the *Programma della Festa per la celebrazione della Pace …*, pp. III–IV, and the archival material mentioned at footnote n. 68.

81 Pierre, *Les Hymnes et les Chansons de la Révolution*, 378. The buccin was a bass trombone with the bell shaped like a dragon's head, while the tuba curva was a large brass instrument specifically created to imitate the tubae of the ancient Roman legions.

82 Bartlet, "The new Repertory of the Opéra during the Reign of Terror", 133.

repertoires and spheres, previously almost impossible, and the subsequent expansion of musical tools, skills and occasions, can, indeed, be considered a prominent feature of these years.

A powerful picture of the resulting variety and mixture is that contained in a report published by Salfi on the *Termometro politico*, related to a feast celebrated in July 1796, a report which can be also useful in recapping many of the elements described above:[83]

> The feast […] has been happily celebrated from 7 pm until the break of dawn […]. The whole area of the public gardens was completely covered with torches and circular tricolored lamps. Towards the deep end, once could find two big pavilions, both for decoration and for the People's entertainment […]. Further down, two great orchestras competed in playing various vocal and instrumental pieces adapted to the current circumstance. On one side, French bands made republican marches resound around; on the other, a choir of male and female voices […] repeatedly sang the very celebrated song written by a Neapolitan patriot about human rights, but set to new, energetic music […]. Within a more secluded area, a free theatre offered the more tranquil patrons the calm entertainment of the scene, while, at the ground floor of an elaborately decorated lodge, two instrumental ensembles invited the brightest youth to dance.

In conclusion, the cultural and musical experiences of republican Milan, especially the republican festivals organised in its public spaces, but also the performances in La Scala, and the rich network of encounters and exchanges established between the two spheres, made a new and systematically planned use of visual and sonorous elements. From the modification in the perception of performance spaces to the construction of rich rituals involving the interaction between visual and sonorous elements, republican festivals contributed to entrust music with a new role and new expressive capabilities, many of which were also able to penetrate the previously impenetrable theatrical sphere. Aimed at instituting new associations with public space and celebration, republican festivals also contributed to the process of building a sense of belonging to a new, constructed community, while, at the same time, advocating the violent detachment from the recent past.

83 "La festa di già annunziata è stata felicemente eseguita dalle sette ore pomeridiane sino alla punta del giorno […]. La estensione de' giardini pubblici era tutta sparsa di fanali e di globi tricolorati a lume. Verso il fondo s'incontravano due padiglioni o per ornato o per comodo del Popolo che volesse intrattenervisi […]. Più in là due grandi orchestre gareggiavano nell'eseguire de' concerti strumentali, e vocali adattati alla nuova circostanza. Dall'una le bande francesi facevano rimbombare le marce repubblicane. Nell'altra un coro di uomini e donne […] cantò replicatamente, espressa con musica nuova ed energica, la troppo nota canzone di non so quale patrioto napoletano sopra i diritti dell'uomo […]. In una piazza alquanto rimota un teatro libero offriva il placido intrattenimento della scena alle persone più tranquille; ed un pian-terreno di un casino elegantemente ornato, ed animato da due orchestre di musica istrumentale, invitava alla danza la gioventù più brillante."; *Termometro politico della Lombardia*, vol. 1, 121.

Finally, these experiences also occasioned the systematic involvement of artists and musicians, many of which rapidly became unavoidable needs and tools of a very productive propaganda system. Long forgotten or dismissed as sterile propaganda experiments, republican festivals and performances were arguably able to impress a new mobility into a previously hyper-structured and immovable theatrical and spectacular world, introducing or expanding features that would also be very successful in the following decades.

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN THE WORLD OF WILLIAM NOTMAN[1]

Brian Christopher Thompson and Sophie M. Thompson

The transition from colony to nation state is often a gradual process. Political independence may take effect at a definite time, but cultural change is likely to take place more slowly, as was the case in the largely peaceful shift to statehood in Britain's settler colonies.[2] The good of the Empire was to be the common purpose for many citizens in these new dominions. But what was the place of artists and musicians in this era of change? Biographical studies offer insights into cultural life in these societies in transition. In this essay, we explore identity and belonging through photographic evidence of musical life in Canada of the 1860s and 1870s.

When it came into existence on 1 July 1867 Canada had four provinces (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Quebec), about three and a half million people, and a new parliament building in its capital city, Ottawa.[3] Britain continued to hold much of the territory north of the United States, and in the new dominion it maintained control over foreign policy. The British monarch remained the head of state (represented by the governor general) and "God Save the Queen" remained the national anthem. On the other hand, this new state differed from other dominions in having a large European population that was French-speaking. Montreal, the country's largest city and its business centre, was bilingual, bi-cultural, and increasingly diverse.[4] It was also the home of the Scottish-born photographer William Notman (1826–1891).

Notman's life and work have been well documented.[5] His was very much an immigrant success story, albeit that of a British immigrant to a British colony. He

---

1 An early version of this essay titled "William Notman and the (Post-)Colonial Soirée" was presented at the 16th Conference of Association RIdIM, "The Musical Salon in Visual Culture," at the Rimsky-Korsakov Museum in St. Petersburg, in 2016. We wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Hélène Samson of the Notman Collection at the McCord Museum, and Loren Lerner, of Concordia University.

2 Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa were all settler colonies that became dominions, semi-autonomous states, between 1867 and 1910.

3 The movement towards Confederation began in the early 1860s. After the US Civil War began, in 1861, hostilities between the Union side and Great Britain led some to believe that US would invade Canada. Acknowledging that they could not defend their North American possessions, Britain decided to grant them a degree of autonomy.

4 At the time of the 1871 Canadian census, the three largest cities were Montreal (107,225), Quebec City (59,699), and Toronto (56,092). *Census of Canada, 1880–81*, volume I (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1882.)

5 Stanley Triggs, a former curator at the McCord Museum, produced numerous publications, on his own and in collaboration with other scholars.

was born into a middle-class family near Glasgow; his father was a designer and manufacturer of Paisley shawls. Young Notman studied painting and photography but was persuaded to enter the family business. When the Scottish economy slipped into recession, in the mid 1850s, Notman set out for Canada.[6] He settled in Montreal, which was home to a growing Scottish business community.[7] He worked briefly for a local dry goods firm and then opened a photographic studio in his home, specialising in portraits.

Notman proved to be equally adept at photography and business. His wife and daughter joined him late in 1856, and by 1859 he was doing well enough to bring his parents and siblings over. He had received an enormous boost in 1858 when the Grand Trunk Railway commissioned him to photograph the construction of the Victoria Bridge. When it opened, it was the world's longest bridge and in 1860 the nineteen-year-old Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) visited for the inauguration (on August 25th). Prince Edward would be the first of many British royals to be photographed by Notman and his team of photographers.[8] As a gift to Queen Victoria, the Canadian government produced an album of Notman's photographs that apparently so pleased the monarch that she allowed Notman to use the title "Photographer to the Queen," an endorsement that secured his future in Montreal and helped him to expand his business[9] (fig. 1). Through the early 1860s, the colony's leading politicians, military and business figures visited Notman's studio to sit for portraits. In 1868, he opened branches in Ottawa and Toronto, and in 1869 he was hired by Vassar College to produce a set of photographs of that institution, increasing his presence in the United States. By the early 1880s, he had twenty studios with more than half of them in the Unites States. After Notman died, in 1891, his sons ran the company until 1935, when it was purchased by Associated Screen News, a company that produced newsreels.[10]

Photography was an expensive and increasingly competitive business in the 1860s. In the 1861–62 city directory there are seven entries under "Dauguerrotyp-

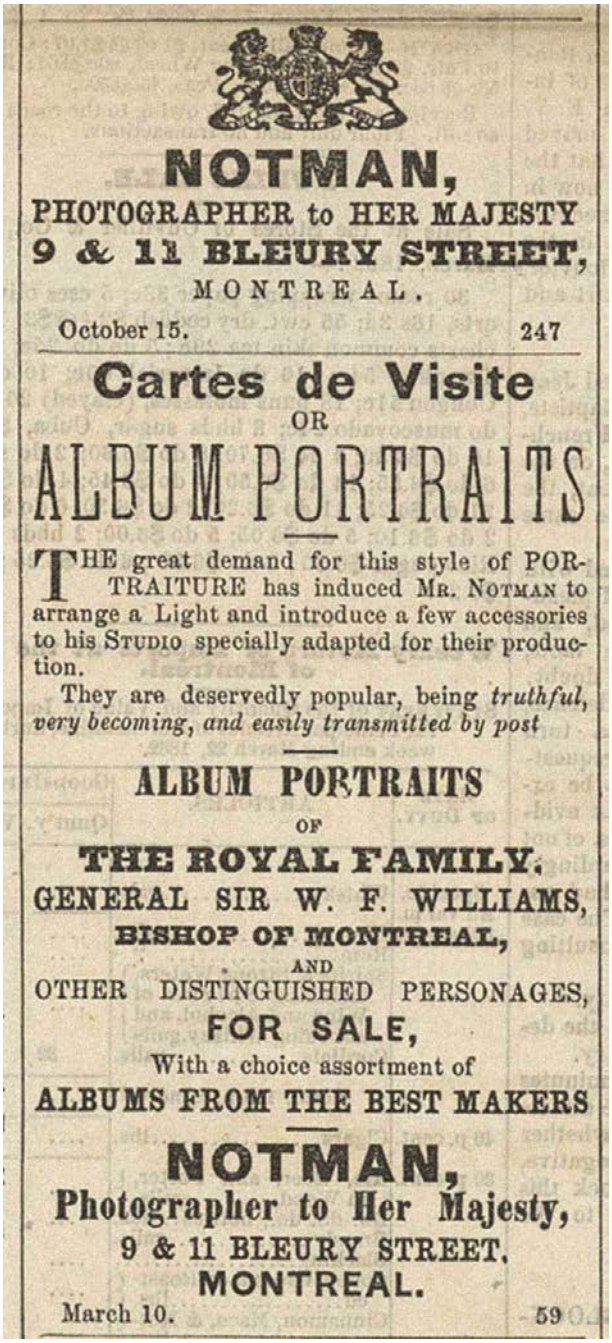
6 Stanley Triggs has written that Notman may have departed from Scotland to avoid arrest for fraud, as he had "fabricated client orders in order to pay down mounting debts." "William Notman," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/william-notman/.

7 Sources on Scottish immigration to Montreal include, Nancy Marrelli and Simon Dardick, *The Scots of Montreal: A Pictorial Album* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2005), and Lucille H. Campey, *Les Écossais: The Pioneer Scots of Lower Canada, 1763–1855* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2006).

8 Notman produced a stereoview of the Prince of Wales standing with four other men outside "Rosemount," the home of Sir John Rose, the Minister of Public Works, where he resided during his visit. See Gloria Lesser, "A Royal Visit: The Prince of Wales in Montreal in 1860," *Vie des arts* 26, no. 105 (Winter 1981–1982): 93–4. The house was later the home of W.W. Ogilvie.

9 Notman used the honorary title in an advertisement in the Montreal *Pilot* of 14 December 1860. Soon after he had it placed above the entrance of his studio.

10 At the time of William Notman's death, his son William McFarland Notman was running the company and in 1894 and his other son, Charles Frederick Notman, also joined the firm. It continued to operate as a family business until 1935. The McCord Museum later acquired the Notman Collection through a direct purchase from Associated Screen News.



NOTMAN,
PHOTOGRAPHER to HER MAJESTY
9 & 11 BLEURY STREET,
MONTREAL.

October 15. 247

Cartes de Visite
OR
ALBUM PORTRAITS

THE great demand for this style of PORTRAITURE has induced Mr. Notman to arrange a Light and introduce a few accessories to his Studio specially adapted for their production.

They are deservedly popular, being *truthful, very becoming, and easily transmitted by post*

ALBUM PORTRAITS
OF
THE ROYAL FAMILY,
GENERAL SIR W. F. WILLIAMS,
BISHOP OF MONTREAL,
AND
OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES,
FOR SALE,
With a choice assortment of
ALBUMS FROM THE BEST MAKERS

NOTMAN,
Photographer to Her Majesty,
9 & 11 BLEURY STREET,
MONTREAL.

March 10. 59

Fig. 1: Advertisement for William Notman's Montreal photographic studio (*Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, March 27, 1862). In this advertisement Notman features the title "Photographer to Her Majesty." He would soon after change to the simpler wording, "Photographer to the Queen," placing it in his advertisements, on the back of his *cartes de visites*, and on the portico above the entrance to his Bleury Street studio.

ists and Photographers," including Notman. In the 1864–65 edition of the directory, there are fifteen entries, now simply under "Photographers." Many of these studios placed advertisements in the same volume, but Notman did not. With his claim of royal patronage, Notman's niche was high-end photography. He began publishing his work: *Photographic Selections* (1863), *North American Scenery* (1865), and *Portraits of British Americans, With Biographical Sketches* (1866). In 1866, he published a little booklet, listing not only the prices of his products, but advice on how to pose for a portrait.[11]

Notman's early images were daguerreotypes. As each was unique, these photographs are of course quite rare. With the advent of the glass negative, in the early 1860s, multiple images could be developed, and Notman became a meticulous record keeper, producing books of all the photographs he had taken so that he could make copies for customers. He was adept at both portraiture and landscape photography. One of his specialties was the composite photograph, in which individual photographs would be assembled into large images of public events, from which he could also sell individual portraits. Although potentially lucrative, the composite work came about of necessity. Due to the long exposure time then required in photography, it was impossible to keep in focus an image with many individuals or with any movement. As a result, engravings continued to be the primary method by which large-scale public events were recorded and disseminated by way of the illustrated newspaper. The photographic composite offered an alternative and Notman seized the opportunity. One of his best-known examples was his "Skating Carnival, Victoria Rink" (1870). Queen Victoria's third son, Prince Arthur, was to be guest of honour, so Notman invited those planning to attend the event to visit his studio in costume for a sitting, either before or soon after, and from these photographs he subsequently assembled the composite.[12]

In addition to his canny business sense, Notman benefited from a general expansion of the Canadian economy and from his ability to easily adapt to life in Montreal. From the 1850s, the city expanded northward, as Anglophone businessmen began to move out of the old city, building large homes between Dorchester Street (now boulevard René-Lévesques) and the southern flank of Mount Royal. The area was referred to simply as Uptown until the 20th century, when it became known as the Golden Square Mile for its concentration of wealth. As people moved, so too did their commercial and cultural institutions. The McCord Museum's photographic collection provides considerable documentation of this growth, including Notman's photographs of a number of important institutions, among them, the Crystal Palace, which had been built in time to host the 1860 Canadian Industrial Exhibition attended by Prince Edward, and the Victoria Skating Rink, which opened in 1862 and became the centre of middle-class Anglophone social life in both winter, for skating, and summer, when it became a venue for

11 William Notman, *Photography: Things You Ought to Know* (Montreal: [Louis Perrault Printers], 1866).

12 See Anthony W. Lee, *The Global Flows of Early Scottish Photography* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019): 3–5.

exhibitions and concerts. A little later, other performance spaces opened on or near Sainte-Catherine Street, including the Queen's Hall (1872) and the Academy of Music (1875).

In the pages that follow, we explore the place of music and musicians in William Notman's photographs of the 1860s and 1870s, the first decade of Confederation. This essay draws on photographs contained in the McCord Museum's Notman Photographic Archives, a collection of roughly 400,000 photographs. Rather than the composite works, we focus the depiction of musical life in images of musical instruments, and especially the portraits of musicians. Our goal was to see what the Notman Collection could tell us about musical life in this decade. Notman was a meticulous record-keeper, as clients could return to have copies made. That said, although the collection is searchable by keywords, terms such as "piano" or "pianist," for example, are only included if there is piano in the photograph. As we discovered many musicians did not pose with their instruments. Equally challenging was locating individuals who were involved in the business of music. Discovering "music" in the Notman Collection, then, necessitated the perusal of city directories, census data, and period newspapers, as well as secondary sources.

Our objective was two-fold: to locate the presence of musicians and other individuals who were important participants in the city's musical life, and to explore their activities during these years. Ultimately, our findings, presented chronologically, enabled us to reflect on the individual and collective contributions of musicians and music to life in the city and opportunities that the city offered them.

Musicians and the Business of Music

Although our focus is on the period from 1867 to 1876, the impact of Notman's success in 1860 quickly made his studio the destination for consumers looking to share in that distinction, and there are photographs of several significant musicians dating from the early 1860s, many of them immigrants from the United States. The organ builder Samuel Warren visited Notman's studio in 1861, some twenty-five years after arriving from Rhode Island.[13] Warren had become one of North America's leading builders of church organs and his business would continue to thrive for many more years. Not long after Warren sat for his portrait, the U.S.-born piano dealers Freedom Hill and Joseph Gould also visited Notman's studio. In addition to selling pianos and other instruments, they imported sheet music and were also active in music publishing. In 1862, Hill was employed by A. & S. Nordheimer (discussed below), but by 1864 had formed a partnership with Gould, and the Gould & Hill music shop was located on the ground floor of the Nordheimer

13 See, Karl J. Raudsepp, "Samuel Russell Warren," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, article published June 21, 2007;last edited December 16, 2013. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/samuel-russell-warren-emc. Notman also photographed a number of recently completed church organs in the 1860s and in some cases the exteriors of the churches as well.

building. The same year, Gould founded the Mendelssohn Choir, and he is now best remembered as a choral conductor.[14] Both men visited the Notman studio in 1862.[15] Dating from about the same time, is a photograph that was copied in the Notman studio in 1863. Titled "James Arless and Clarinet," it shows Richard James Arless (1839–1912), a young man in military uniform holding a clarinet in a formal posture, looking directly into the camera.[16] The strong lighting throws a highlight off the shiny surface of the clarinet and draws attention to Arless's white military uniform. The as-yet-unidentified uniform itself adds to the ambiguity of the image. Arless was then employed in shipping and would have a successful career, but he chose to present himself as a band musician.[17] This might not be surprising, as membership in militia regiments was fast becoming an important social activity for young men in Montreal.[18]

The majority of portraits in the Notman Collection are of individuals. There are also numerous photographs of pairs or small groups of people, and fewer photographs of larger groups. Oddly, the three photographs of musical ensembles dating from this period – a military band, a school band, and an unnamed small orchestra – were all taken in 1867. The military had patronised the Notman studio in large numbers after 1860. The 3rd regiment Victoria Rifles of Canada was a volunteer regiment formed in 1861, at a time of heightened tensions between Britain and the United States.[19] It soon became active in repelling a threatened invasion of Fenians from the United States, and later served in the Boar War, and both the First and Second World Wars. Notman photographed the regiment's commander, William Osborne Smith, in 1862, and went on to produce numerous images of riflemen and officers, sometimes in small groups, but usually individually.[20]

---

14 See, Nadia Turbide, "Joseph Gould," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, article published May 14, 2007; last edited December 16, 2013. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/joseph-gould-emc.

15 Notman also photographed Hill's wife in 1862, recording her name only as "Mrs. Freedom Hill." Gould returned to Notman's studio in 1865 with his wife and children.

16 James Arless was the brother of George Charles Arless, who worked for Notman in the 1860s and then again in the 1880s. He was presumably the staff member who copied his brother's photograph.

17 In the early 1860s, James Arless was employed as a carpenter, and in 1863 he patented "A New and useful Steam Gang-way, for loading and unloading Vessels." *List of Canadian Patents from the Beginning of the Patent Office, June, 1824, to the 31st of August, 1872* (Ottawa: Printed by Maclean, Rogers & Co., 1882): 70. The *Montreal City Directory for 1862–63* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1862, p. 40) lists James Arless as a carpenter and joiner, residing at 80 George Street. By the 1870s, he was the head of James Arless & Co., ship joiners and preparers of ships for cattle. *Montreal City Directory for 1878–79* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1878), 225.

18 See Carman Miller, "The Montreal Militia as A Social Institution Before World War I," *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 19, no. 1/2 (June 1990 / October 1990): 57–64.

19 See, C. P. Stacey, "Smith, William Osborne," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed June 11, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/smith_william_osborne_11E.html.

20 The photograph of Osborne is titled "Mr. John Osborne Smith, Montreal, QC, 1862." http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-2862.1

Notman's 1867 photograph of the Band of the 3rd Victoria Rifles (fig. 2) seems to be his only image of the regiment's musicians.[21] For this standard military band, comprising brass instruments and bass drum, Notman adopted a pyramid-format pose to allow all eleven members to fit into the portrait-orientation image. Values are carefully balanced, creating a strong contrast between their faces and shining instruments, standing out against their dark uniforms. The ensemble photo highlights a multiplicity of ages and characters of musicians in the band. While some look directly into the camera, hands folded formally, others seem to be trying to stare thoughtfully into the distance. The seated man in the lower right has adopted an elevated formal posture, with his trumpet resting on his right knee in a way that displays it clearly, and his left arm resting on the bass drum, again looking formally into the camera (or loftily past it). The man seated centrally next to him simply holds onto the end of his horn while his attention seems caught by something off-camera. Some are in uniform hats, some not, while all are posed with the instruments they presumably play. Notman seems not to have given them strict direction.

As the Victoria Rifles was a British-Canadian regiment, it was not unusual for its members to patronise Notman's studio. The same year, however, Notman also produced two photographs of the band of the Collège de Montréal. This French-language institution, founded in the mid-eighteenth century, offered a classical education that naturally included music. These two portraits (nos. I-26803.1 and I-26804.1) were taken "on location," in front of the main entrance to the College on Sherbrooke Street, possibly because the group was too large to photograph in Notman's studio. As a result, the images are not so sharply lit as those taken in the controlled environment of the studio. The sunlight has washed out some of the deeper tones, reducing the contrast between values. These portraits also have a comic element that might seem at odds with the austere reputation of the College. In the first of these, as in the photograph of the 3rd Regiment band, few sitters are doing the same thing. Many seem to have been caught off guard, with two sitters blurred from moving during exposure. Each seems to be looking in a different direction, some are slumped informally, and several seem to be in the middle of conversations. Despite this, attention has been paid to the composition, with the focal point of the bass drum crossed with flags, creating a strongly centralised, symmetrical composition. The second photograph depicts the company standing formally on the steps of the College, holding their instruments in front of them. Nevertheless, there is still an element of comedy in the photograph, with most but not all looking at the photographer.

21 In 1865, the New York firm of Firth & Pond published the *Victoria Rifle Quadrilles*, an anonymous piano arrangement based on military motifs, dedicated to the Victoria Volunteer Rifles. The cover engraving, showing a group of soldiers, one holding a bugle, was based on a photograph by an unknown photographer but that was copied by Notman in 1863. http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-6100.0.1



Fig. 2: William Notman, *Band, 3rd Victoria Rifles, Montreal, QC, 1867*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 8.5 × 5.6 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-29643.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum.

A third ensemble photographed by Notman in 1867 is not identified by name and there is much else that remains unexplained. It may have been a theatre orchestra. Fourteen musicians populate the photograph, formally dressed, each holding or seated at his instrument (brass, woodwinds, strings, and a keyboard instrument). Unlike the others, though, this one is a composite.[22] One individual seems to appear twice, both on the far left and again fourth from the left, holding an oboe or English horn in the first and a violin in the second. As in the Victoria Rifles photo, here we have a triangle formation. A number of the musicians appear to be engaged in conversations.

Also dating from 1867 is a portrait titled "Mrs. J.W. Fowler and harp." The photograph depicts a smiling, middle-aged woman in a dark day-dress plucking a concert harp. Little evidence is available on Mrs. Fowler's identity, and it is unknown if she ever taught or performed professionally.

Of Notman photographs of professional musicians dating from 1867 and 1868, most are identified only by name. These include six images of George Carter, organist at Christ Church Cathedral, located on the increasingly fashionable Sainte-Catherine Street. The church had been built in the Gothic Revival style, then favoured in England. Anglicans chose to hire an English musician with serious credentials as music director. Carter was a student of Sir John Goss and held positions in several London churches. In addition to serving as organist and choir director at Christ Church Cathedral, he contributed to Montreal's musical life by teaching, giving recitals, and playing chamber music. He would remain for about a decade in Montreal, before returning to London, in 1870, where he became organist at the Albert Hall. In this photograph (fig. 3), Carter strikes a casual pose that contrasts with the more formal head and shoulders shots also taken by Notman in 1867. He previously posed for Notman in 1863, when his younger brother, Henry Carter, who was then organist at the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Quebec City, visited Montreal. The younger Carter left for the United States in the mid 1860s. Two other brothers, possibly no less talented musicians, John and William Carter, also resided in Canada. They appear not to have visited William Notman's studio.

Discovering the presence of women musicians in the Notman Collection often requires knowledge of their male partners. In 1867, the twenty-year-old pianist Rose-de-Lima Derome (1847–?) posed with her fiancé, L-G-G Béliveau, both members of the French-Canadian petite bourgeoisie (fig. 4). Derome had been an aspiring performer from an early age. Although in her early teens and still studying at the time, she was recorded as a musician in the 1861 census. She appeared frequently in concerts throughout the 1860s and continued to perform and teach after her marriage.

22 Four versions of this composite are found in the Notman Collection (nos. I-26088.1 to I-26091.1).



Fig. 3: William Notman, *George Carter, Montreal, QC, 1867*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 17.8 × 12.7 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-28142.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum.



Fig. 4: William Notman, *L. G. G. Beliveau and Miss Derome, Montreal, QC, 1867*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 8.5 × 5.6 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-29234.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum.

Two 1868 images of another local musician, Dominique Ducharme (1840–1899), date from soon after his return from five years in Paris and show the pianist and organist looking older than his twenty-eight years (fig. 5). He sits posed in formal profile, not at a piano or organ but at the elegant table in an upholstered chair seen in so many of Notman's portraits, simulating the kind of opulent parlour that reflected the taste of his bourgeois clientele.[23] If this environment seems at odds with the musician's ascetic appearance, it was no doubt intended to appeal to the kind of clientele Ducharme also sought. The music manuscripts clutched in his left hand offer the only explicit reference to his profession. In the years that followed, he became an influential teacher but performed only rarely outside of the church.

The De Angelis family arrived in Montreal in 1860 and took part in performances organised around the visit of the Prince of Wales. The cornet player and bandleader Gaetano De Angelis (1813–1873) conducted the band at the public ball for the prince on August 27th, and took part in a number of other events with some of his daughters, who were vocalists and pianists. These events were not exceptional for the forty-seven-year-old De Angelis. He had been leading British military bands for much of the two previous decades and had performed for Queen Victoria during one of her visits to Scotland. He remained in Montreal, performing and teaching until his death in 1873.

The Notman Collection contains photographs of at least two of Gaetano De Angelis's daughters. Eugenia De Angelis married the French-Canadian businessman Adolphe Masson in 1867. Notman photographed the couple in 1868, titling the photograph only as "A. Masson and lady" (fig. 6). In both, Masson is seated in an ornate, upholstered chair next to an equally ornate table. He is dressed in a dark overcoat, sack-coat, and waistcoat, with his tie secured at his neck with a stickpin. In his right hand he holds a small book. His wife, presumably Eugenia De Angelis, stands behind him in a dark day dress, trimmed with lace at the cuffs and ruffled ribbon at the bodice. The skirt is voluminous, with a fashionable late-1860s train, forgoing the crinolines of the earlier 1860s, representative of contemporary trends.[24] She holds a small purse in her right hand and her elbow rests on the back of her husband's chair. They are set against a pale painted backdrop image of Tuscan columns, perhaps alluding to De Angelis's origins.

Three years later, Notman used a similar title for photographs of Victoria De Angelis and her Irish-Canadian businessman husband James Austin (fig. 7). Austin sits on the right in what appears to be a summer jacket, and striped trousers.

23 See Jana Bara, "Through the Frosty Lens: William Notman and his Studio Props, 1861–1876," *History of Photography*, 12, no. 1 (1988): 23–30, https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.1988.10442092.

24 The large bell-shaped skirt, supported by crinolines and hoops, was in vogue in the early years of the 1860s. By the end of the decade, women's silhouettes had begun to morph into the narrower skirt characterised by the fullness being gathered in the back, often with a train. See "New York Fashions," *Harper's Bazaar* 1, no. 11 (1 January 1868):163, http://hearth.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=hearth;cc=hearth;idno=4732809_1442_012;node=4732809_1442_012:2.7;size=l;frm=frameset;seq=3.



Fig. 5: William Notman, *D. Ducharme, Montreal, QC, 1868*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 12.7 × 17.8 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-30936.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum.



Fig. 6: William Notman, *A. Masson and lady, Montreal, QC, 1868*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 8.5 × 5.6 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-30911.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum.

Victoria sits leaning towards him as though to speak, with a sheaf of papers in her hand. Victoria especially is dressed to reflect the bourgeois class to which she and her sister Eugenia now belong. Her dress is heavily trimmed with white lace at the cuffs and collar, with her hair arranged fashionably in ringlets around her neck. The De Angelis family had struggled financially and so it is not surprising that the only photographs of family members included in the Notman collection are of the two daughters who married into the bourgeoisie.[25]

In 1868, Notman photographed a musician whose name was recorded as "Mr. Vogt, musician" (fig. 8). The musician sits at a Mason and Hamlin cabinet organ as though tinkering with a composition, his right hand on the lower manual and left hand moving to turn a page of the score that sits on the instrument. He has a large grey beard that gives him the look of the elderly Johannes Brahms, with his hair long and pushed back in a style favored by Brahms as a young man. His expression seems to be one of slight surprise or careful listening, an impression accentuated by the strong side-on lighting that creates a chiaroscuro effect and leaves half of his face cast in shadow. It is unclear if this photograph was taken in Notman's studio. While the instrument could have been transported there, it would have been very cumbersome.[26] A cello rests against a chair beside him.

Evidence suggests that this is George Vogt, then about fifty-five years old, and part of a family of musicians who emigrated from Germany in the 1830s.[27] The family settled first in Philadelphia. Their reasons for leaving Germany are unknown. They arrived in North America with diverse skills but were primarily piano makers. In 1853, George Vogt presented a piano in the New York Exhibition. By 1855, he was established on Arch Street, where his activities included publishing piano music. About six years later, the family, five brothers and their father, Christopher (b. ca. 1787), had resettled in Montreal, where they established a company involved in both importing and manufacturing pianos. In 1866, that company went out of business, but the family continued to make and sell instruments, teach, and perform. That this appears to be the only member of the Vogt family to have been photographed by Notman may suggest that the family had little money to spare on luxuries.

---

25 Elena De Angelis (1843-?) married a local businessman, David Waters, in 1865, and the Notman collection includes three photographs of Waters, alone, dating from 1862, but none of Elena De Angelis.

26 The instrument probably weighed about 300 lbs (136kg). See *Mason & Hamlin's Organs and Melodeons* ([Boston: Mason & Hamlin], 1863), https://memory.loc.gov/service/gdc/scd0001/2012/20121121011ma/20121121011ma.pdf.

27 The visual artist Adolphe Vogt (1842 or 1843–1871) arrived in Montreal in the mid-1860s and worked briefly for the Notmans. There is no evidence that he was related to the musicians. Another prominent Vogt of the time was the church musician A.S. Vogt, who was born in Ontario and made his career in Toronto, where he founded and led the Mendelssohn Choir. The 1868 Montreal city directory lists only George Vogt, "professor of music," who was residing at 149 St. Dominique Street. *Montreal Directory for 1868–69* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868), 344.



Fig. 7: William Notman, *James Austin and lady, Montreal, QC, 1870*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 13.7 × 10 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-48888.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum.

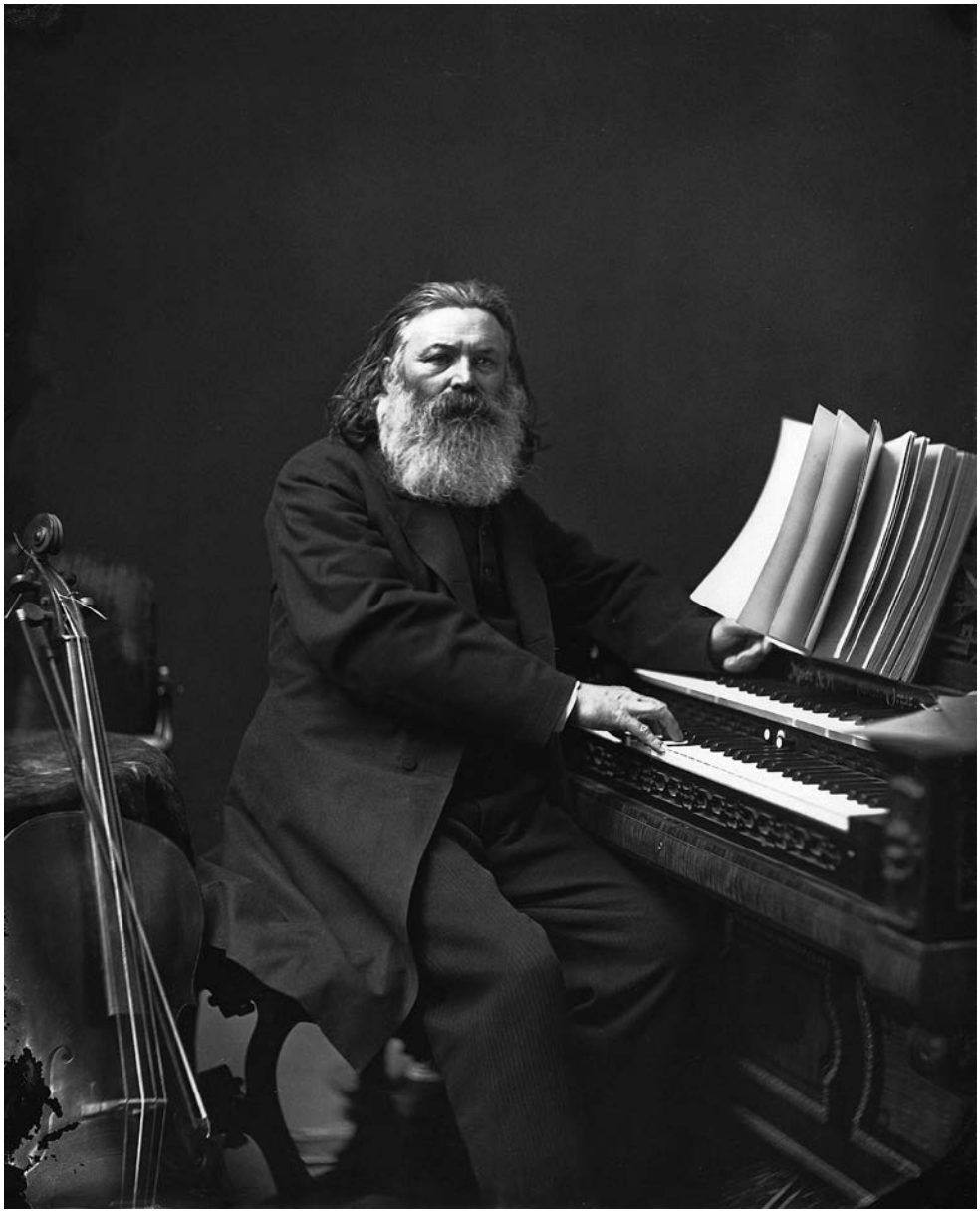


Fig. 8: William Notman, *Mr. Vogt, Musician, Montreal, QC, 1868*, silver salts on glass – wet collodion process, 25 × 20 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-30308). Used by permission of the McCord Museum.

Samuel and Abraham Nordheimer were born in the Bavarian town of Memmelsdorf and landed in New York in 1839, where their older brother Isaac was a scholar of Hebrew. In about 1842, Abraham moved to Canada where he established a music business in Kingston, the town that was then serving as the colonial capital.[28] Samuel arrived in Canada soon after, and about two years later they relocated to Toronto, opening A. & S. Nordheimer on King Street East, where they sold instruments and sheet music, and soon after, began publishing music. By 1848, they also had an outlet on Montreal's Notre-Dame Street, then the city's main commercial artery. They later took over the Odd Fellows Hall on Great St. James Street (now Saint-Jacques). In addition to storefront rentals, the building included space for Nordheimer's office and showrooms, and housed Nordheimer's Hall, quite possibly the best concert facility in the country. The venue opened on June 29, 1859 with the first of three concerts given by a group of artists from New York's Academy of Music led by Maurice Strakosch.

After Abraham's death, in 1862, Samuel Nordheimer continued to expand his business interests. At the time of his visit to William Notman's Montreal studio, in the winter of 1870, he was planning his marriage to Edith Sarah Louisa Boulton, a young woman that the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* describes as a "philanthropist and imperialist."[29] He was 42, she was 24, and both were very rich. It was a match made in Toronto's wealthy suburbs. He converted to Anglicanism and came to dominate the piano trade in Canada, she gave birth to eleven babies and devoted herself to charity work. Boulton's efforts on behalf of the British Empire were rewarded on at least one occasion with her being presented to Queen Victoria. All the while, Nordheimer expanded into the manufacture of pianos, building a factory in Toronto and later another in Montreal. Like Notman, he soon had sales outlets in many cities. Fires disrupted operations several times at the Montreal factory, always to be restarted and each time in the same location. In 1888, Nordheimer opened what would be his final St. James Street building. Designed by John James Browne with a pink granite façade, the building contained manufacturing facilities, a showroom, and 1,000-seat concert hall, all of which is now known as the Intercontinental Hotel's Nordheimer Conference Centre. Back in Toronto, Boulton led the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, while Nordheimer became the Imperial German Consul. Although the couple had many children (three boys and eight girls), when Samuel Nordheimer died, in 1912, Albert Nordheimer, Abraham's son, ran the company until 1928, when it was purchased by Heintzman & Co.[30]

28 Helmut Kallmann wrote that Abraham moved to Kingston on an invitation from the colony's governor, Sir Charles Bagot, to be his children's music teacher. Helmut Kallmann, "NORDHEIMER, ABRAHAM," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed June 2, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/nordheimer_abraham_9E.html.

29 Tori Smith, "Boulton, Edith Sarah Louisa," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed May 31, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/boulton_edith_sarah_louisa_14E.html.

30 Kallmann, Helmut, "A. & S. Nordheimer Co," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, article published February 07, 2006; last edited December 16, 2013, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/a-s-nordheimer-co-emc.



Fig. 9: William Notman, *Mr. Nordheimer, Montreal, QC, 1870*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 13.7 × 10 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-43706.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum.

Notman produced four photographs of Nordheimer in 1870. In one (fig. 9), the piano merchant cuts a confident figure in a thick, fur-trimmed double-breasted jacket. Although the photograph represents a tasteful interior, Nordheimer looks dressed for a genteel winter expedition. His expression communicates the confidence of a successful businessman, perhaps looking forward to finally enjoying married life in his forties. About the same time, Notman's Toronto franchise, Notman and Fraser, photographed Edith Boulton in her wedding gown.[31]

In addition to Germans, Italians, and Americans, a number of important Francophone musicians settled in Canada in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.[32] The French cellist Gustave Jacquard sat for three Notman portraits not long after his arrival in 1870 (fig. 10). In each, he sits in black tie, his bow in one hand and cello in the other as though ready to play. Notman's lavish studio, decorated in fur rugs, ornate furniture, and wall-moldings, again speaks to a bourgeois taste. By choosing Notman's studio and placing himself, performance-ready, in such a setting, Jacquard, evokes the image of the successful artist he appears to have been, appealing to the affluent clientele he hoped to reach.

The Belgian violinist Frantz Jehin-Prume (1839–1899) previously visited Canada in 1865, as part of a North America tour, primarily to perform in New York. As the nephew and former student of the celebrated violinist and composer François Prume, Jehin-Prume was treated as a visiting celebrity while visiting Quebec. During this sojourn he met the mezzo-soprano Rosita del Vecchio, whom he married the following year. Del Vecchio hailed from an affluent and well-connected Montreal family. Her paternal grandparents were Italian immigrants who arrived in Canada in the eighteenth century. After their wedding, Jehin-Prume and del Vecchio travelled in both North America and Europe, as he gave concerts with some of the leading artists of the day.

While back in Montreal in 1871, they sat for portraits at Notman's studio. Jehin-Prume posed for three photos. The first is a headshot, taken while still wearing a scarf and fur-trimmed overcoat. In the next two portraits, Notman placed the scarf and coat on a chair, and Jehin-Prume is dressed in a dinner-jacket and black tie, standing at a double-sided music stand that was one of Notman's props. Given his renown, however, Jehin-Prume was not compelled to pose with his violin. His professional success is reflected in the quiet confidence of the pose and quality of the garments worn by both he and his wife. Del Vecchio poses standing, her head turned contemplatively towards the camera (fig. 11). She wears a dark velvet dress, lace-trimmed at collar and cuffs. She is posed to draw attention to the very long, full train in the back of her dress, keeping with the fashions of the early 1870s. It is an expensive mass of fabric that reflects her husband's success, and her bourgeois

31 See Smith, "Boulton, Edith Sarah Louise."

32 The Francophone musicians to settle in Canada in the 1840s and 1850s included the pianist and cellist Paul Letondal, the pianist and organist Gustave Smith, and the composer-pianist Charles Sabatier, from whom a cantata was commissioned for performance during Prince Edward's 1860 visit.



Fig. 10: William Notman, *Mr. Jacquard and cello, Montreal, QC, 1870*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 17.8 × 12.7 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-48272.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum. http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-48272.1

background. Perhaps as a signal to her profession as a singer, a presumably stuffed bird rests on her hand. Later that year, Jehin-Prume returned to Notman's studio to sit for three more portraits (fig. 12). His lighter overcoat suggests the arrival of spring. In the first image he stands, in the other two he sits, but in all three he holds in his hand a small piece of paper of unknown significance.

Throughout his career, William Notman and his family patronised the visual arts in Canada. By comparison, their participation in musical life is little known. By coincidence, two musical events were recorded in January 1876 at "Rosebank," Notman's holiday home in the town of Longueuil, south of the St. Lawrence River. The family spent the Christmas at the sprawling property, and in January William Notman created a composite image of carolers singing outside a residence (possibly "Rosebank") on what seems to have been a very cold night.[33] Then, on 12 January 1876, Notman hosted a soirée at which Jehin-Prume and del Vecchio performed, along with the pianist Calixa Lavallée.

Lavallée is now remembered as the composer of the Canadian national anthem, "O Canada." In 1875, on returning to Montreal after two years in Paris, he was establishing himself as a pianist and conductor. He taught in the Golden Square Mile, first at a joint studio with Jehin-Prume and Del Vecchio, and then at his home on Cathcart Street. Shortly after the soirée at "Rosebank," Lavallée sat for a portrait at Notman's studio (fig.13). The two images are both head and shoulder portraits. As with the photographs of Jacquard and Jehin-Prume, Lavallée is formally dressed, in concert attire, although his bow tie is left askew. He looks into the distance, although with a slightly impish expression. We may also note that all three men sport mustaches rather than full beards or 'lambchop' sideburns favoured by many British men of the time.

As the only French Canadian among the three men, Lavallée's position may have signaled a pragmatism peculiar to his origins. He had at earlier times devoted much of his energy to developing audiences for serious music in Montreal. It was a complicated patriotism that he had to balance with supporting his family. Whatever his view of the British Empire, the Golden Square Mile of the 1870s offered potential riches at a time when government offered little support for the arts.[34] Through the second half of the 1870s, he collaborated with many of the city's musicians, both in subscription and charity concerts. On 2 December 1876, for example, Lavallée, Jehin-Prume, and Del Vecchio, joined Joseph Gould's Mendelssohn Choir in a benefit concert for the Montreal General Hospital, an Anglophone institution. They also sought to use music to bridge the two main linguistic communities. Performances of their 1877 production of Charles Gounod's *Jeanne d'Arc* were held in both the Theatre Royal, accessible to largely French-Canadian neighborhoods,

33 The photograph (N-1978.109.4) is titled "Longueuil carol group, Longueuil, QC, composite, 1876." The date refers not to the event but to the date of creation of the composite.

34 For a discussion of Lavallée's activism in the 1860s, see Brian C. Thompson, "Music and the Fight against Confederation in 1860s Montreal," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 13, no. 2 (Oct 2013): 218–35.



Fig. 11: William Notman, *Mrs. Prume, Montreal, QC, 1871*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 13.7 × 10 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-62675.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum. http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-62675.1



Fig. 12: William Notman, *Mr. Prume, Montreal, QC, 1871*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 13.7 × 10 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (I-62962.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum. http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/I-62962.1



Fig. 13: William Notman, *C. Lavallee, Montreal, QC, 1876*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper – albumen process, 17.8 × 12.7 cm. Montreal: McCord Museum, Notman Photographic Collection (II-40111.1). Used by permission of the McCord Museum. http://collections.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/II-40111.1

and at the Academy of Music. Lavallée's 1878 production of Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* again featured French-Canadian performers and capitalised on the work's Scottish setting and origins in the novels of Sir Walter Scott.

Conclusions

The diverse origins of the musicians whose images are contained in the Notman Collection belie the uniformity one might have expected to find there. Conversely, their reasons for their choosing Notman's studio probably varied less. With the support of Royal patronage, Notman offered name recognition as well as a reputation for quality. A *carte de visite* with his logo offered added value to a musician seeking to establish himself or herself, including those in financial need, such as Vogt or Durcharme. For many immigrants, whether from the United States or Europe, and for those securely in the middle class, either British or French-Canadian, the Notman logo was sign of membership in an elite community.

Preliminary evidence suggests that musicians continued to frequent the Notman studios into the 1880s and beyond. The presence of the Golden Square Mile in the Notman Collection appears to grow in prominence in the early twentieth century, as residents increasing called on Notman's artists to photograph their homes, and especially their well-appointed and heavily draped salons, invariably fitted out with grand pianos acquired from Nordheimer, Gould, or one of their competitors.

MAURICE DENIS'S *THE HISTORY OF MUSIC*: ALLEGORISING CULTURAL TRADITION IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY FRANCE

Rachel Coombes

As a leading member of the Nabis, the French post-Impressionist painter Maurice Denis was an important figure in the French avant-garde in the 1890s and the early twentieth century. He was also a life-long *mélomane* (music lover), who felt a strong spiritual affinity with composers, chief among them Vincent d'Indy, who considered themselves to be disciples of César Franck (so-called *franckistes*). Denis understood their aspirations as equivalent to his own search for a conservative, yet modern, artistic form.[1] This understanding motivated, grounded, and fostered a communality of friendship and aesthetic purpose, in which music and the visual arts were brought together. Both practical and intellectual, this communality was of great significance for the culture of France at this period. Painter and composers shared an ambition to revive elusive qualities of "Frenchness," rooted in the country's Christian values and its putatively Greco-Latin heritage. In this essay I consider how Denis manifested this ambition in one of his most important works, his decorative series *The History of Music*, completed in 1912 for the cupola of the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées in Paris, and inaugurated the following year (fig. 1).

This highly ambitious work, which has fallen into relative obscurity despite its still being *in situ*, is rich both in its allegorical complexity, and in its significance as the most prominent decoration in one of Paris's foremost theatrical venues. Questions prompting the thoughts elaborated in this essay include: how do the decorative and "classical" qualities make it a suitable vehicle for communicating the meaning of the allegories? How might we understand its iconographical programme in relation to the space for which it was commissioned? And finally, what does Denis's championing of Wagner's operatic oeuvre as the apparent culmination of music history within the scheme tell us about the German composer's legacy in early twentieth-century France?

The close study of the context and content of *The History of Music* will clarify the extent to which ideals shared by Denis and his musical friends strengthened their individual sense of artistic purpose. As Delphine Grivel and Gerard Vaughan have discussed in their respective studies of Denis and music, the painter's *mélomanie* was fostered within the domestic milieu of the 1890s, at the salons of the

1 Michael Marlais uses the term "conservative modernism" to describe Denis's "modification" of modernism's goals based on a reverence for artistic tradition. See Michael Marlais, *Conservative Echoes in fin-de-siècle Parisian Art Criticism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 184–220.



Fig. 1: Maurice Denis, *The History of Music,* 1912. © Théâtre des Champs-Elysées. Photo: Hartl Meyer. [Additional labels by the author.]

composer Ernest Chausson and the painter Henry Lerolle.[2] In these settings he attended private recitals of works by Claude Debussy, d'Indy, and Isaac Albéniz, among others. In 1893 Denis was the only painter present during an evening which featured the first performance of scene 1 from Debussy's *Pélléas et Melisande*.[3] Many years later, he wrote about his joy at witnessing an "awakening of French music" at these domestic events.[4] His close involvement with contemporary musicians is

2 See Delphine Grivel, *Maurice Denis et la musique* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2011) and Gerard Vaughan, "Maurice Denis and the Sense of Music", *Oxford Art Journal* 7, no. 1, 'Correspondences' (1984): 38–48. Grivel's investigation of music's importance to Denis is particularly informative in its depth and breadth, but she has paid little attention to the artist's broader ideological motivations for fraternising with d'Indy and others.

3 See Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond in "Maurice Denis and Music", exh. cat. *Maurice Denis: Earthly Paradise 1870–1943* (Paris, Musée D'Orsay, October 31, 2006 – January 21, 2007), 53.

4 "… un réveil de la musique française." Maurice Denis, *Henry Lerolle et ses amis, suivi de quelques*

most clearly attested by his frontispiece illustrations for numerous scores – the most familiar being Debussy's *La Démoiselle Elue* (1893).

Moving beyond the direct influence of Paul Gauguin and the exchange of ideas among the Nabis in the 1890s, Denis became preoccupied with large-scale decorative commissions realised in a "classicising" pictorial idiom. But he retained his earlier interest in depicting scenes of music making, in which musicians often signify a celestial presence. These figures frequently enact the painter's idiosyncratic Christian humanist themes, which synthesise classical myth and Christian sacrament. His ten-part decorative series *Eternal Spring*, commissioned in 1908 for the breakfast room of the financier Gabriel Thomas, is one such example. The theme of "profane" spring rituals celebrating the month of May, with their presumptively pagan origins, is joined with that of a "sacred" spring (embodied in such images as that of a young woman's first communion). The panel *The Musicians* (fig. 2) depicts an attentive female audience listening to a violinist in the foreground. In the middle distance a line of dancing women seem, though spatially removed from this intimate scene of music-making, to act as a generalised expression of embodied unity brought about through the intersubjective appreciation of music.

After the turn of the century, Maurice Denis increasingly focused on large scale public decorative projects (for example, he completed commissions for Paris's Petit Palais, the Église du Saint-Esprit, and the headquarters of the League of Nations in Geneva). This concentration was in part a result of his mission to promote social cohesion and a "moral and aesthetic sense of order,"[5] through the "legible" depiction of religious or mythical allegories decorating the spaces of daily life. Such commissions also came about thanks to his rising reputation as a decorator whose allegories befitted the grandeur required for the expression of the national spirit. The classical character of the murals by France's most prominent nineteenth-century decorator Puvis de Chavannes was one of Denis's most immediate sources of inspiration. His stylised landscapes and frieze-like figural designs reveal his judgement of Puvis's classicised decorative language as ideal for adapting to his own particular vision of cultural legacy.[6]

Denis's mission should be understood in the context of a widespread insecurity in French national identity in the wake of both the Dreyfus Affair at the end of the previous century, and the separation of Church and State in 1905. Aesthetic questions increasingly arose in a cultural context permeated by political ideology. New journals devoted to the promotion of "neo-traditional" cultural forms, such as *L'Ermitage* (founded in 1890) and *L'Occident* (founded in 1901), appeared in the decades around the turn of the century. Co-founded by Denis's friend the political

lettres d'amis (Paris: Duranton, 1932), 9.

5 The quotation is from a discussion of decorative murals in Brian Petrie, *Puvis de Chavannes*, edited and with a preface by Simon Lee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 10.

6 Jennifer Shaw's study of Puvis's murals provides a close analysis of their critical reception and cultural significance. See Jennifer Shaw, *Dream States: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France* (London: Yale University Press, 2002).



Fig. 2: Maurice Denis, "The Musicians" from *Eternal Spring,* 1908. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départmental Maurice Denis. © D. Balloud.

essayist and poet Adrien Mithouard, *L'Occident* in particular was responsible for circulating an intellectualised nostalgia based on a synthesis of France's Catholic roots with visions of its Greco-Latin heritage. Denis, a frequent contributor to *L'Occident,* was prominent in his attempts to re-establish the cultural centrality, as he understood it, of *latinité*, manifested in the (assumed) quintessentially French virtues of simplicity, clarity, and underlying harmonious construction. In an article published for the magazine in 1902, *The Pupils of Ingres,* he discusses the "dream" of an "intimate union between Greek form and the Christian spirit" – a fusion which we shall see in the iconography of *The History of Music*.[7] The "Latin" virtues described above were also identified by music critics in the compositions of Vincent d'Indy and the other followers of César Franck.[8] The continuation of classical ideals, Denis believed, could induce social harmony and self-discipline, if they were translated into ordered, universalised standards of art, mediated by the Christian and Latin tradition. An urge to reawaken a nationalist "classicism" characterised by Mithouard in terms of "building, inventing an order, agreeing on a harmony," thus permeated cultural discourse during the early decades of the twentieth century.[9]

Of course, as a setting for the communal appreciation of the arts, the theatre provided Denis with an environment in which cultural traditions might be effectively (and therefore beneficially) promoted. Opening in 1913 on the Avenue de Montaigne, the Theatre des Champs-Elysées itself could be seen as a symbol for the reassertion of France's cultural centrality within Europe, while being a locus for the "communion" of minds in the presence of great art. Described by a contemporary as "a building destined for the public, open to social life,"[10] the idea of a new theatre was originally conceived of by the journalist and impresario Gabriel Astruc as a new "temple of the arts."[11] The new theatre could function as an arena for displaying the merits of ultramodern architecture, decoration and, of course, for the production of full-scale operas and concerts which were too lavish and extravagant for the relatively small stages within Paris's existing venues.[12] The

7 "…ce rêve d'une union intime entre la forme grecque et l'esprit chrétien …" Maurice Denis, *Théories, 1890–1910: du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique*, (Paris: Rouart et Watelin, 1913), 109.

8 Indeed, in a lecture entitled "The Classical of Tomorrow" delivered at the Salon de l'Esthétique Libre in Brussels on 14 March 1914, Mithouard himself discusses the new "classical" mode of these composers – defined as a reduction in emotionality, and an austerity of style. See the relevant passage quoted in Manuela Schwartz, *Vincent d'Indy et son temps* (Brussels: Editions Mardaga, 2006), 156.

9 " … construire, inventer un ordre, se mettre d'accord sur une harmonie." See Adrien Mithouard, "Le Classique Occidental", *L'Occident* (March 1902): 179–183. Quotation on p. 180.

10 Quoted in Gloria Groom, *Edouard Vuillard: Painter-Decorator: Patrons and Projects, 1892–1912* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 201.

11 " … un nouveau 'temple des arts'". Quoted in Natalia Smirnova, *La compagnie des ballets russes* (Paris: CNRS, 2009), 101.

12 Made of reinforced concrete, it could be described as an early example of the architectural Art Deco style.

main auditorium itself was spacious, with each seat designed for maximum comfort and placed to assure the clearest vantage point possible. There were 1,920 seats fitted within a space that could have accommodated 3,000, a design suggesting the expectations of a serious-minded, culturally-educated audience. This main auditorium was dedicated both to avant-garde works of music (most famously the scandalous premiere of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* in May 1913) and, more frequently, to traditional canonic repertoire. Almost as proof of the theatre's loyalty to a classical tradition, the inauguration of the fully decorated Theatre on March 31, 1913 took place with a performance of Hector Berlioz's *Benvenuto Cellini*, an opera inspired by the memoirs of the sixteenth-century Florentine sculptor. Gabriel Astruc organised the second concert to promote the pre-eminence of contemporary French music, devoting the programme entirely to the work of living French composers, including Emmanuel Chabrier, Gabriel Fauré, Vincent d'Indy, Claude Debussy and Paul Dukas. Each composer was present to conduct his own work, adding to the commemorative value of the occasion.

Astruc appointed Gabriel Thomas, the recipient of Denis's *Eternal Spring* panel series, to manage the project financially, and to commission appropriate decorative schemes for the theatre's exterior and interior. Denis was, unsurprisingly, Thomas's first choice, while Édouard Vuillard was assigned the foyer area of the Théatre de Comédie, one of two small theatres adjacent to the main auditorium. Ker-Xavier Roussel was invited to design the curtain for the main stage, choosing the mythological theme of the procession of Bacchus. As we shall see, this theme, an allegory for the Greek origins of drama, was programmatically linked with Denis's decorative scheme. The building's concrete, quasi neo-classical façade (designed by Auguste Perret, often seen as the "father of modern French architecture")[13] is punctuated with pilasters above which is set a frieze by Antoine Bourdelle, *The Meditation of Apollo and the Muses* (fig. 3).

Set above the entry doors within the wings of the building are five bas-reliefs by Bourdelle dedicated to *Sculpture and Architecture*, *Comedy*, *Tragedy*, *Dance* and *Music*. Perret and Astruc's vision of an arena for the union of art forms in the manner of a Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* was thus inscribed legibly on the building's exterior façade. Furthermore, the embeddedness of Bourdelle's bas-reliefs within the fabric of the theatre itself was symbolised by the unification of disciplines depicted in his *Sculpture and Architecture* (fig. 4).

The sculptor's inspiration for these figures, which he wished to be so well integrated into the concrete as to give the sense that the wall itself was virtually dancing, was Isadora Duncan, whose Greek-inspired dances had captured many an artist's imagination since her arrival in Paris in 1900.[14] Duncan's innovative rep-

13 See David A. Hanser, *Architecture of France* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 259.

14 "… le mur lui-même qui, par endroits désignés en bon ordre, semble vouloir s'émouvoir en figures humaines." See "Bas reliefs du théâtre des champs Elysées", *Musées Occitanie, Musée Ingres Bourdelle*, accessed August 6, 2020, https://musees-occitanie.fr/musees/musee-ingres-bourdelle/



Fig. 3: Façade of the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées, featuring Bourdelle's Apollo frieze. © Photo: Jean-Pierre Dalbéra.

ertoire of gestures and movements, prompted by her desire to revive the imagined communal sensuality of Antiquity, were appreciated by her audience as a means of liberating the dancer's body and the spectator's eye from the constraints of classical ballet. The vitality and rawness of the Ballets Russes's own choreographic innovations had also captured the public imagination at the same time. Indeed, Bourdelle's bas relief for *Music* (fig. 5), depicting a violinist confronted by a faun, was most likely a reference to Debussy's *Afternoon of a Faun,* premiered by the Ballets Russes at the Théâtre du Châtelet in May 1912.

As a gesture to further the integration of art and architecture, Denis produced two bronze bas-reliefs, *Song* and *Dance,* to frame the organ situated below *Greek Dance* in the main auditorium (fig. 6). Reminiscent of Bourdelle's stylised stone choreography on the theatre's exterior, Denis's bas-reliefs are equally influenced

collections/la-sculpture-du-xixe-siecle/emile-antoine-bourdelle/bas-reliefs-du-theatre-des-champs-elysees/.



Fig. 4: Antoine Bourdelle, *Sculpture and Architecture,* 1912. © Montauban, musée Ingres Bourdelle. Photo: Marc Jeanneteau.



Fig. 5: Antoine Bourdelle, *Music,* 1912. © Montauban, musée Ingres Bourdelle. Photo: Marc Jeanneteau.

by knowledge drawn from recent rediscoveries of Ancient Greek dance forms.[15] An ensemble of figure sketches made in 1912 entitled *Musical Movements* is an explicit demonstration of the close association between stylised gesture and musical expression (fig. 7). Denis's search for "plastic equivalents" of musical gestures is made explicit in these modest sketches of dancing women – each of which is labelled with an expressive topic, such as *Scherzando, Grazioso, Allegro, Cantabile,* and *Tempo di Marcia*. Some of these postures can be traced within *The History of Music* itself, as I shall later show. It is as if these musical "graces" are allegories – or personifications – of musical gestures. The same corporeal attitudes appear in the rhythmical actions of many of Denis's female figures, those incarnations of grace which appear throughout his decorative oeuvre. Grivel suggests that much of Denis's choreographic inspiration for the theatre designs may have been directly inspired by his studies of the graceful movements and attitudes of Duncan herself.[16]

The nature of large-scale decoration in the vein of Bourdelle's and Denis's contributions to the Théâtre, means that it shares with its architectural setting an assumed permanence which calls for a style and subject matter of enduring value. In particular, we might consider Denis's identification of a "neoclassical" sensibility as relevant to such a conception of large-scale decorative painting: simplified forms, expansive designs, and carefully constructed figures were integral components of this style. Denis's circular *The History of Music* frieze, 372 metres in circumference, was thus designed to harmonise both iconographically and stylistically with the décor of the theatre's interior. His two bas-reliefs act as "mediators" between painted surface and architectural environment. As the critic Paul Jamot explained in his article for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1913) celebrating the recently inaugurated work, Denis achieves "a carefully premeditated harmony between the architecture and the painting."[17] In fact, the entire decorative project for the theatre seemed to emphasise the fundamentality of physical gesture and rhythm as a unifying principle of the different art forms, manifested in the plastic contours of Bourdelle's frieze, the dancing figures of Denis's bas-relief and the procession of Roussel's figures in the stage curtain.

The undulating frieze-like figures in Denis's *The History of Music* combined with its nuanced palette of high-toned colours are characteristic of his decorative oeuvre and drew comparisons with the neoclassical formalism of Puvis de Chavannes's much-lauded murals. An obvious point of comparison might be Puvis's hemicycle mural for the amphitheatre of the Sorbonne, *The Sacred Grove* (1889), a complex allegorical depiction of the educational foundations of the *patrimoine* (fig. 8).

15 It is also worth mentioning the influential treatise, *La Danse grecque antique d'après les monuments figures* (1896), written by the composer and musicologist Maurice Emmanuel. Its impact on both Denis and d'Indy at the turn of the century is clear.

16 See Grivel, *Maurice Denis,* 134.

17 "…une harmonie attentivement préméditée … realisée entre l'architecture et la peinture." See Paul Jamot, "Le Théâtre des Champs-Elysées," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* no. 671 (May 1913): 291–322. Quotation on p. 292.

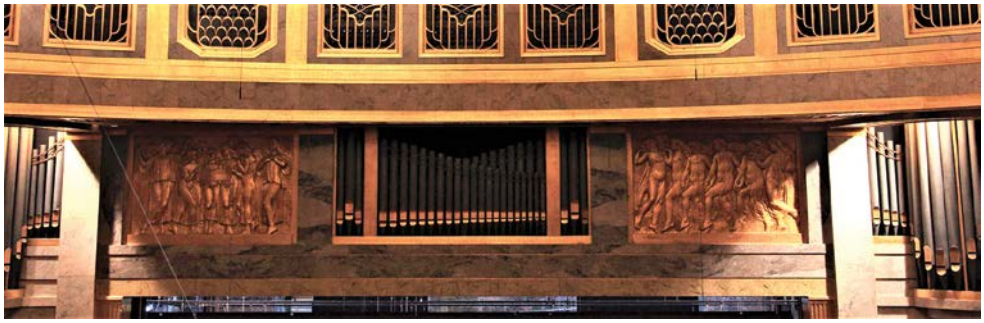


Fig. 6: Maurice Denis, *Song* and *Dance,* 1912. Bas-reliefs for the Théâtre's interior (detail). Catalogue raisonné Maurice Denis, photo by Olivier Goulet.



Fig. 7: Maurice Denis, *Musical Movements,* sketch, 1911–12. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départmental Maurice Denis. © Droits réservés.



Fig. 8 : Puvis de Chavannes, *Le Bois Sacré,* mural for the Grand Amphithéâtre of the Sorbonne, 1889. Palais Académique - Grand Amphithéâtre de la Sorbonne. © Chancellerie des Universités de Paris.

Upon seeing *The History of Music* decorations in situ for the first time, André Michel, the curator of modern sculpture at the Louvre, exclaimed, "Another Puvis de Chavannes is born to us, with perhaps more ... true and innocent lyricism."[18]

18 Quoted in Charles Chassé, *The Nabis and Their Period*, translated (from the French) by Michael Bullock (London: Lund Humphries, 1969), 60.

The 'lyricism' to which the critic refers is probably that of the 'abstracted' surface gestures and rhythms running through the panels, undoubtedly a principal feature in the experience of the audiences. In a journal entry made in 1910 the painter alludes, not for the first time, to the profound influence that *The Sacred Grove* had on his own conception of the decorative impulse: "(T)he hemicycle by Chavannes at the Sorbonne, which necessitates a written explanation for the vulgar, is it literary? Surely not ... It's composed of beautiful shapes, isn't it, aesthetes? And the depth of our emotion comes from the sufficiency of these lines and colours to explain themselves, as simply beautiful and divine."[19] The idea that art could have the capacity to directly touch the viewer through the suggestive force of colour and decorative form, in a manner equivalent to music in its non-representational capacity, was particularly popular among the Nabis in the 1890s, and continued to be absolutely central to Denis's classical language in the early 20th century, as recognised by his contemporaries.[20] In his detailed examination of the symbolic content of *The History of Music*, Henri Cochin wrote "I shall criticize any audience member in the theatre if, before asking about the subject matter, he is not initially satisfied by the 'sufficiency of colours and lines.'"[21]

The History of Music consists of four large rectangular panels (see fig. 1): *Greek Dance,* depicting the origins of music, (this panel is the most visible, situated directly above the stage), with *Opera* and *Symphony* on either side. *Lyric Drama* is placed at the rear of the auditorium, opposite *Greek Dance*. Separating these large panels are four smaller "cameos", entitled *Choir, Orchestra, Sonata,* and *Organ* (see fig. 1). This scheme depended largely on Vincent D'Indy's and Denis's shared understanding of the trajectory of musical history. Denis writes in a diary entry from 1910, "my one-hour conversation with d'Indy, at the Weber café, has clarified my project to myself, and adds logic, clarity, and all the development that is needed."[22] At this time, d'Indy was working on the first volume of his theoretical treatise *Cours de Composition Musicale,* published in 1912. In this text the composer lays out his model for the evolution of music's primary forms, insisting that "the dramatic genre existed, quite complete, as an expression of one's inner life in plainchant and

19 " … l'Hémicycle de Chavannes à la Sorbonne, qui nécessite pour le vulgaire une explication écrite, est-il littéraire? Certes non ... C'est une belle forme, esthètes! N'est-ce pas! Et la profondeur de notre émotion vient de la suffisance de ces lignes et de ces couleurs à s'expliquer elles-memes." From his "Définition du néo-traditionisme." Appears in Denis, *Théories,* 9.

20 Of course, the idea of aesthetic correspondences between the visual arts and music was by no means a new artistic phenomenon in the 1890s, but a culmination of the growing interest in the profound affinities between the two art forms throughout the nineteenth century, as evidenced in the writings of Delacroix and Baudelaire, for example.

21 "Je blâmerai de même le spectateur du théâtre des Champs-Elysées, si, avant de demander le sujet, il ne se rassasie tout d'abord de la 'suffisance des lignes et de couleurs.'" Henri Cochin, "Les symboles de Maurice Denis, " *La Revue Hebdomidaire* (March 1913): 36.

22 "… ma conversation d'une heure avec d'Indy, au café Weber, me précise à moi-même mon projet, et y ajoute de la logique, de la clarté, et tous les développements qu'il faut, " Maurice Denis, *Journal 1884–1943, Tome 2, 1905–1920* (Paris: La Colombe, 1957), 135.



Fig. 9: *Choir*: sketch for *The History of Music* frieze, 1911–2. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départmental Maurice Denis. © Droits réservés.

among the masters of the Renaissance."[23] This idea is suggested by Denis's inclusion of the small cameos *Choir* (as a symbolic representation of Gregorian chant and Renaissance polyphony) and *Organ* (illustrative of religious music, so central to these periods), placed within music's development towards *Lyric Drama* (figs 9 and 10).

Although the main allegories of the four rectangular panels are secular in nature, it was important to both composer and painter, given their insistence on upholding their culture's rootedness in Christian values, that references to the centrality of Catholic music were included. After all, d'Indy's music school in Paris, the Schola Cantorum, was founded in 1896 with the explicit purpose of spreading knowledge of religious musical masterpieces across France. His conviction that Christian devotion was the animating force behind artistic development, and his consequent support of religious choral music, is suggested in the introduction of

23 "Le genre dramatique existait, tout à fait complèt, comme expression de la vie intérieure, dans le plain-chant et chez les maitres de la Renaissance." Quoted in E. Borell, "L'Opéra ancien en Italie et en France," *La Revue critique des idées et des livres* (25 December 1913): 674.



Fig. 10: *Organ*: preparatory study for *The History of Music* frieze, 1911–2. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départmental Maurice Denis. © Droits réservés.

Cours de Composition Musicale with phrases such as "monotonic chanting gives way to hymnal melody, a musical elevation of the soul towards God."[24] Paul Jamot's description of the *Choir* cameo (whose motif Denis reprised for the design of a concert programme during the second Exhibition of Modern Christian Art in 1921) reads, "It is the choir of the church, the pure voice without accompaniment, as in Gregorian chant (unison), or in Palestrinian chant (vocal polyphony)." Here he is alluding to two specific vocal styles that were championed at d'Indy's Schola Cantorum.[25]

The composer's explicit emphasis on the importance of 'rhythm' as a unifying aspect of all art forms, as described in the introduction to *Cours de Composition Musicale,* accorded with Denis's conception of the decorative nature of painting. D'Indy writes, "Order and Proportion in Space and Time; this is the definition of Rhythm. Rhythm is therefore a primary element common to all kinds of art; it is the one that generates the right order of lines, forms, colours, and sounds."[26] It seems quite possible that d'Indy was encouraged to reach such conclusions by his conversations with Denis, whose "synthetic" conception of painting, inspired by the experiments of his Nabi period with Paul Gauguin, placed particular emphasis on the simplification of rhythmic gestures. In an essay on Cézanne, published in *L'Occident* in 1907, Denis wrote, "To synthesize … is, all told, to hierarchize: to submit each canvas to a single rhythm …"[27]

With the help of the composer therefore, Denis constructed an elaborate symbolic project merging musical works, composers, and his own musical acquaintances and family members. The combining of historical figures and the painter's contemporaries suggests Denis's intention of promoting a dialogue between present-day French culture and an idealised national tradition borne out of the country's religious and classical roots. In each panel we find inclusion of specific references to their mutual musical friends: the *franckistes* and pupils of d'Indy's at his music school, the Schola Cantorum; and, in the cameo *Sonata*, the pianist is Professor Blanche Selva from the Schola, herself a pupil of Cesar Franck. She was one of the few actively influential female musicians of this circle, and someone whom Denis greatly admired. It has been speculated that the musical work being played in the scene is Franck's "Sonata for Violin and Piano in A major" (1886), apparently beloved of Selva and her group.[28] The four modest representations of

24 Vincent d'Indy, *Cours de Composition Musicale* (Paris: A. Durand et Fils, 1912), 13.

25 "C'est le choeur d'église, la voix pure sans accompagnement, comme dans le chant grégorien (unisson), ou dans le chant palestrinien (polyphonie vocale)." Jamot, "Le Théâtre des Champs-Elysées," 312.

26 "L'Ordre et la Proportion dans l'Espace et dans le Temps; telle est la definition du Rythme. Le Rythme est donc un element premier common à toutes les sortes d'art; c'est lui qui engender la bonne ordonnance des lignes, des forms, des couleurs et des sons." D'Indy*, Cours,* 18.

27 "Cézanne", in Denis, *Théories*, 251.

28 According to Jamot, "Le Théâtre des Champs-Elysées," 317. Selva recorded the sonata with the violinist Joan Massía in 1929–30. See Charles Timbrell, "Selva, Blanche", *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed January 6, 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000025379.

daily music-making in these "cameos" – either domestic or religious – to which Denis himself would have been privy, are "contextualised" as part of a broader musical tradition defined by the allegories of the four large panels.

Denis acknowledged the challenge he faced in marrying specific, historical figures and musical characters with thematically unified landscape settings for each scene. A journal entry from 1910 reads, "Difficult to transition between the diverse landscapes and the particular sentiments in each scene."[29] Of course, their placement high in the theatre's cupola necessarily limited their comprehensibility for most of the audience, who could have deciphered only the dominant idea of each scene, and the principal oppositions between scenes. For example, the neoclassical pillars of the Versailles architecture in *Opera* provide a convincing visual echo of the vertical impulse of the tree trunks in *Symphony*. This visual harmonisation was perhaps intended to emphasise the two equally important but divergent paths of music's evolution from Antiquity – on the one hand the humanistic culture associated with the operatic form, and on the other its undeniable rootedness, through the mysterious forces of dance and rhythm, in the most basic impulses of human nature. The highly rhythmical dance gestures of *Greek Dance* provide a visual counterpoint to the more hieratic, formal posturing found in *Lyric Drama,* suggesting a sense of evolution from the imagined Dionysian rites of Antiquity to the development of a more sober Christian aesthetic. Once again, there is something of the 'nature' versus 'culture' dichotomy here, with the lithe naked bodies of the ancient world acting as a counterpoint to the elaborately costumed characters of the contemporary lyric drama. Thus, Denis finds a way of accomplishing "a logic to the subject within the staging, whatever it may be, in order to minimize the spectator's cerebral work."[30]

It seems that the example of Puvis de Chavannes was always at the back of the painter's mind during the gestation period of the work. In the same 1910 diary entry quoted above, he writes, "I believe that, having admitted my division, in the sense of hall and stage, of earth and sky, it would be necessary … to come closer to the unity of place, as Chavannes (Sorbonne) understood it."[31] The integrated, organised planes within the dream-like atmospheric world of *The Sacred Grove* was, as one critic commented, a result of the dominating "use of verticals and horizontals, the choice of a grey and dull tonality."[32] Denis also orders his canvases so as to curtail the sense of depth, and to focus attention instead on broad gestural impulses. Rather than a Puvis-esque muted palette, he uses pastel tones that medi-

29 "Difficulté de transition entre les divers paysages et le sentiment particulier à chaque scène." Denis, *Journal, Tome 2*, 136.

30 "…une logique de sujet dans la mise en scène, quelle qu'elle soit, afin de réduire au minimum le travail cérebrale du spectateur." Ibid, 140.

31 "Je crois que, étant admis ma division, dans le sens salle et scène, de la terre et du ciel, il faudrait cependant se rapprocher de l'unité de lieu, comme l'entendait Chavannes (Sorbonne)." Ibid, 136.

32 Quoted in Jennifer Shaw, *Dream States: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 46.

ate between the strongly luminous effect generated by the Art Nouveau designer René Lalique's central glass dome and the warm red upholstery of the auditorium furniture.

Denis aids our comprehension of the four large allegorical panels with inscriptions running below each. *"Out of the Dionysian rhythms uniting the word of Orpheus, Apollo orders the games of the Graces and Muses,"* reads the caption below *Greek Dance* (fig. 11). In this scene we see Apollo at the centre of a Mediterranean landscape directing the Graces, who dance freely around him. In the background one can discern a Doric temple elevated on a hilltop, perhaps intended to prompt comparisons among the audience with the very theatre in which they were seated? To the left of the scene, Dionysus leads his dancers while Orpheus on the right, accompanied by Euridice, tames savage beasts with his song. The lithe dancing bodies in the left-hand section of the panel specifically recall the bodily postures of *Andante* and *Allegro* found in Denis's ensemble of figure sketches entitled *Musical Movements* (see fig. 7). As d'Indy stated in *Cours de Composition Musicale*, "the rhythmic arts held … a considerable place in ancient Greek civilization."[33] In a 1911 diary entry, Denis described his wish to imbue *Greek Dance* with "1. The idea of dancing in a sunny country and 2. The idea that this Dance is associated with religious sentiment."[34] As discussed earlier, Christian symbols are often reconciled with allusions to Antiquity in the painter's work. For him, the Arcadian vision of the Mediterranean *'l'âge d'or'* was entirely compatible with religious feeling. We might think of his decorative panels *Eternal Spring,* commissioned for Gabriel Thomas, where the obvious religious connotations in *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 12) (in which one can trace the likenesses of Thomas's family) are placed next to the rhythmic impulses of the dancers in the adjacent panel (as the series was originally laid out in Thomas's home), *The Musicians* (fig. 2).

Separated from *Greek Dance* by the small *Choir* cameo, which places the "word of Orpheus" within a recognisable context, the next large allegorical scene in *The History of Music* is *Opera,* whose inscription reads, *"The architecture of classical opera ennobles passions and tragic destinies"* (fig. 13). With these words Denis suggests an explicit association between the ornateness of this Versailles setting and the elaborate, highly wrought style of French Baroque opera. The use of the phrase "tragic destinies" again reinforces the suggestion of opera's evolution from Greek cultural entertainments. Most notably, the expressive speech of Greek tragedy fascinated the humanists of the Florentine Camerata, who, as we know, are credited with opera's earliest developments.[35] Denis provides a strong visual link with *Greek Dance* and "the word of Orpheus" fused with song, by depicting Orpheus and Eu-

33 "… les arts rythmiques tenaient … une place considerable dans l'antique civilisation grecque." D'Indy, *Cours*, 18.

34 Denis, *Journal, Tome 2*, 141.

35 For an interesting discussion of these developments see Sarah Brown Ferrario, "Greek Tragedy and Opera": An Interdisciplinary Undergraduate Seminar, *The Classical World* 99, no. 1 (Autumn, 2005): 51–66.

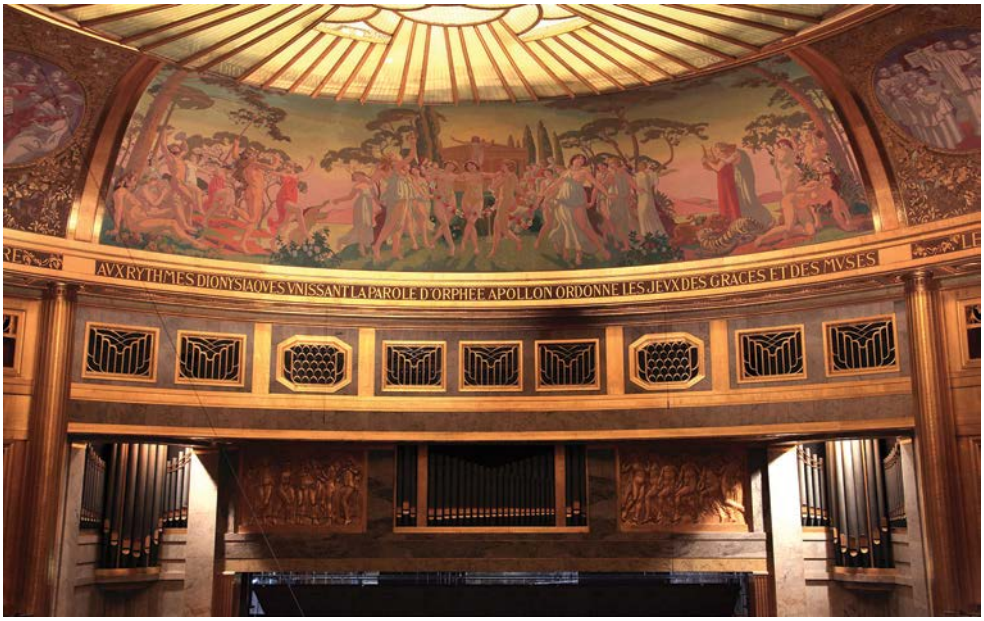


Fig. 11: Maurice Denis, *Greek Dance,* panel of *The History of Music* frieze, 1912. Catalogue raisonné Maurice Denis, photo Olivier Goulet.

ridice again in the centre of the scene. Here they represent Gluck's opera on the mythological subject, which Denis heard d'Indy conduct at the Schola Cantorum in 1910. Harlequin characters in the background evoke the Commedia dell'Arte, while Mozart's Don Juan in his long black cape commands attention on the right-hand side.[36] On first presenting his sketch of the entire decorative ensemble to the Theatre's committee in 1911, Denis was accused of including too many Germans at the expense of French composers.[37] In response to this criticism, Denis added the figures of Faust and Marguerite on the extreme right in the foreground to represent the composer Charles Gounod, and figures from Carl Offenbach's comic operettas in the balcony in the distance. This intervention on the part of the committee reminds us that such public decorative commissions had a responsibility to support cultural patriotism. While not being an illustration of a purely French musical tradition, the assertion of French musical superiority was a *sine qua non* of this particular musical history.

36 Thérèse Barruel's identification of the figures in each of the panels has been particularly illuminating and helpful for my research. See her discussion in Jean-Michel Nectoux, Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, Thérèse Barruel and Claire Frèches-Thory, eds., *1913: Théâtre des Champs-Elysées* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion de Musées Nationaux, 1987).

37 "Principales objections, du clan hostile: … trop de musiciens allemands" he writes in his first diary entry of 1912. See Denis, *Journal, Tome 2*, 142.

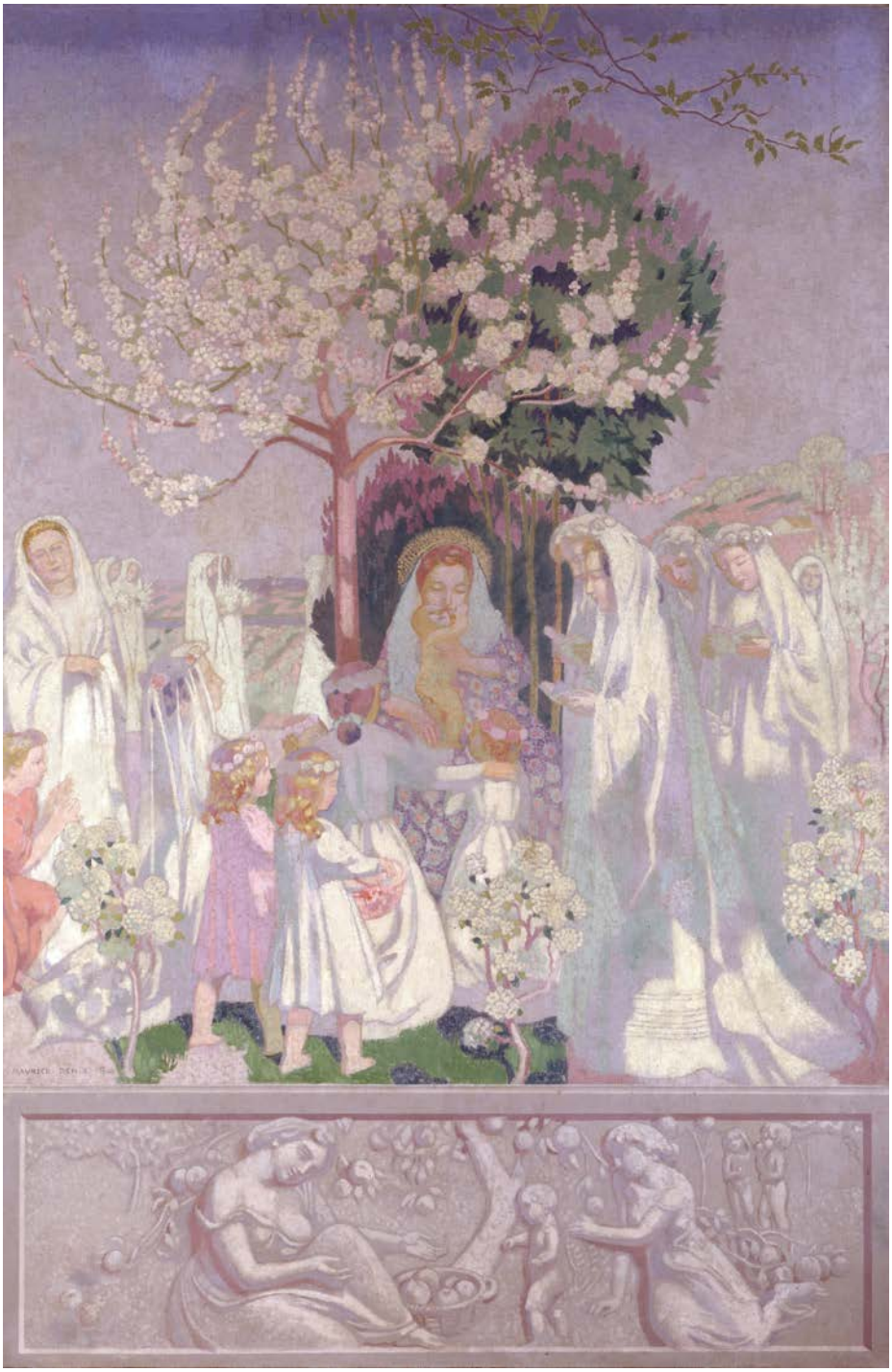


Fig. 12: Maurice Denis, "The Coronation of the Virgin" from *Eternal Spring,* 1908. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départmental Maurice Denis. © D. Balloud.



Fig. 13: Maurice Denis, *Opera,* panel of *The History of Music* frieze, 1912. Catalogue raisonné Maurice Denis, photo Olivier Goulet.

The setting for *Symphony*, which is separated from *Greek Dance* by the *Orchestra* panel, is a densely populated forest, through which the Bacchanalian procession from *Greek Dance* proceeds (fig. 14). It is worth noting that the forest as pictorial metaphor was a common theme in the painter's 1890s Symbolist works, such as the *Beech Trees in Kerduel* (1893). It has a dual symbolism here: first, trees have traditionally signified spiritual wisdom, featured frequently as symbols in Christian scripture; secondly the image of the forest evokes the experience of immersion in life's unfathomable mysteries. In an 1890 essay, Denis wrote, "The great art that we call decorative … what is it if not the distortion of vulgar sensations … into sacred, hermetic, and imposing icons?"[38] Amongst the "imposing icons" of the trunks, the procession wends its way, propelled by the rhythms of the orchestra that found their first expression in the dances of Antiquity. Below the painting we find the words, *"From the Heart of Man, from all the voices of nature, springs forth the divine symphony."* His use of the adjective "divine" here strengthens the spiritual implications of the allegory's forest setting. In *Cours de Composition Musicale,* D'Indy noted that the art of the symphony is made up exclusively of "instrumental pieces consisting solely of the aesthetic grouping of sounds, without any intention of application

38 "Le grand art, qu'on appelle décoratif … qu'est-ce? Sinon le travestissement des sensations vulgaires – des objets naturels – en icônes sacrées, hermétiques, imposantes." See Denis, 'Définition du néo-traditionnisme", *Théories*, 12.



Fig. 14: Maurice Denis, *Symphony,* panel of *The History of Music* frieze, 1912. Catalogue raisonné Maurice Denis, photo Olivier Goulet.

to lyrics."[39] It could be argued that Denis's construction of *Symphony* was in some sense an attempt to transcribe the sonic architecture – the "aesthetic grouping of sounds" – of orchestral works. This is the only panel in which airborne figures have a structural significance within the scene, balancing the verticality of the tree trunks with a strong horizontal impulse. These angelic beings perhaps signify "melody" floating above the earth-bound homorhythms of the lower orchestral textures. Amongst the figures in the forest we can identify Johann Sebastian Bach in a chariot on the right, while Beethoven, on the left is surrounded by Muses representing each of his nine Symphonies.

A solitary tunicked female figure on the left stands, according to Thérèse Barruel, for Schumann's lieder *oeuvre* – a curious addition, perhaps, given the instrumental focus of the subject.[40] I venture to suggest that this figure is a deliberate self-referential icon: in 1895 Denis produced a decorative commission based on Schumann's lieder cycle *Woman's Love and Life*. This lone female character could thus be a reference not only to the composer, but to the significance of that composer to Denis himself. Additional references to vocal music include figures from Carl Maria von Weber's Romantic opera *Oberon* on the far left, while the prominent women to the right of "Beethoven's symphonies" have been identified as symbolising Handel's semi-opera *Alceste*. Curiously then, what unites the principal

39 " … des pieces instrumentales consistant uniquement dans le groupement esthétique des sons, sans aucune intention d'application à des paroles." Quoted in in E. Borell, "L'Opéra ancien en Italie et en France," 674.

40 Nectoux, Barruel et al, *1913: Théâtre des Champs-Elysées*, 80.



Fig. 15: Maurice Denis, *Lyric Drama,* panel of *The History of Music* frieze, 1912. Catalogue raisonné Maurice Denis, photo Olivier Goulet.

characters in *Symphony* are their German identities. The dichotomy between "pure music" (the symphony) and "music applied to words" (opera) seems to be eclipsed in favour of an emphasis on national identity. This might be explained by d'Indy's own acknowledged debt to the German musical tradition. Wagner was undoubtedly the most discussed German composer in France at the turn of the century, and, as we shall see, was acknowledged paradoxically by d'Indy as the source for a renewal of French music. Perhaps *Symphony* is also therefore a symbolic prefiguring of Richard Wagner's transformation of the symphonic and operatic traditions through their unification – as represented in the final panel, *Lyric Drama*. Flanked by *Sonata* and *Organ* cameos (the latter suggesting a continuation of the polyphony of the symphonic orchestra), *Lyric Drama* is the richest in musical allusions (fig. 15).

Front and centre of the scene are characters from Wagner's operas: Parsifal holds aloft the Grail; to the left Tristan and Isolde embrace, while Brunnhilde charges towards Parsifal on her horse, Grane. On the far right-hand side we find references to the contemporary Ballets Russes, whose first Paris season in 1910 Denis attended. Denis also included allusions to the disciples of César Franck, the *franckistes*, to whom Denis credited a musical renaissance. D'Indy, who insisted on Franck's Gallic identity despite his Belgian origin, perceived in Franck's music a conflation of Wagnerian magnificence and French clarity: "His work, like that of our poets in stone, the architects of French cathedrals, is all splendid harmony and mystic purity."[41]

41 Vincent d'Indy, *César Franck* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1906). This reference is taken from Rosa Newmarch's translation (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1910), 78–9.

D'Indy believed that Franck's symphonic compositions offered the starting point for a 'French' reinvention of Wagner's aims. In particular, as Brian Hart points out, it was Franck's "cyclic" symphonies (based upon a clearly defined tonal plan) that d'Indy appreciated as a "new and exclusively French" medium – presumably displaying the virtues of clarity, and the harmonious proportions at the centre of the "French" aesthetic.[42] The visual proximity of the *franckistes* and Wagnerian opera here is perhaps a demonstration of this affinity. Denis's inclusion of a direct quotation from his own 1908 decorative panel series *The Story of Psyche* (commissioned to decorate the concert hall of the art collector Ivan Morozov's Moscow mansion) is perhaps significant in the context of Franck's influence (fig. 16). The motif (which appears in the sky on the right hand of Parsifal) represents Psyche, the daughter of Venus, being borne up by Zephyr, the West Wind, to meet her lover Cupid. Franck himself wrote a choral symphonic poem on the myth in 1888, which Denis would have heard on several occasions.[43] Within his *Psyche* composition Franck treats the chorus much as it would have functioned in Greek tragedy: to provide commentary and relate events not seen on stage, or in this case, depicted in the music. This very particular musical structure, in combination with the mythical subject matter, would have been compelling for Denis, given his reverence for Ancient Greek culture and his nostalgia for a Hellenising Golden Age. Perhaps we can presume, therefore, that, much like the Schumann "icon" in *Symphony* (the solitary female figure), this motif was both an allusion to the composer, and a gesture of homage to the influence that Franck had on the painter.

D'Indy's belief, as published in *Cours de Composition Musicale* that "dramatic music is subordinate to speech, rhythm, melody, harmony and orchestra; its forms are derived from scenic expression," informs the overall schema of Denis's design and its culmination at the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (the union of art forms) of Wagnerian drama.[44] The caption beneath *Lyric Drama* reads: *"On the summits, in anguish and dreams, lyrical drama or poem, music strives towards a pure ideal."* This notion of "striving towards a musical ideal," with its implication of active continuation rather than a state of finality finds symbolic realisation in the image of the proffered Grail vessel. We could read the placing of Parsifal at the end point of Denis's narrative not as a culmination of music history but rather as a challenge to Denis's French musical contemporaries. Denis's musical ideal accorded with d'Indy's, who found in Wagner the possibility of a renewal of French music, and specifically advised Denis to halt his series at this moment of fusion between symphonic and operatic music.[45]

---

42 See Brian Hart, "Vincent d'Indy and the Development of the French Symphony", *Music & Letters* 87, no. 2 (2006): 237–6.

43 See Grivel, *Maurice Denis,* 155.

44 "… la musique dramatique subordonne à la parole, le rhythme, la mélodie, l'harmonie et l'orchestration; ses formes proviennent de l'expression scénique." This is a paraphrase of d'Indy's argument, found in E. Borell, "L'Opéra ancien en Italie et en France," 674.

45 Denis, *Journal, Tome 2*, 136.



Fig. 16: Maurice Denis, 'Zephyr Transporting Psyche to the Island of Delight' from the series *The Story of Psyche,* 1908. The State Hermitage Museum.

In this period, characterised by anxieties over the frailty of the French cultural tradition, there was considerable concern in *fin de siècle* musical circles with the legacy of the cult of Wagnerism, which was manifested in the popularity of Baudelaire's Wagnerian-derived ideas of synesthetic correspondences, and Wagner's own ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Thomas Mann, who, like the young Friedrich Nietzsche, obsessively venerated Wagner, recognised that, even in 1918, 35 years after the composer's death, "Wagner is still a burningly topical issue, a problem, a problem of modernism itself."[46] In other words, where could music go after Wagner, especially in France, which had not produced a musical genius of comparable stature?

D'Indy alone felt up to the task of producing explicitly Gallic Wagnerian music. Lamenting the demise of French lyric drama during what he termed the "*Italo-cosmopolite-judaique*" era of the nineteenth century, he sought a Wagnerian symphonic conception of endless melody united through leitmotivic development.[47] His most substantial lyric drama, *Fervaal* (1897), is known as the "French Parsifal," and, according to James Ross, it was the most profoundly Wagnerian opera ever composed by a Frenchman, drawing explicitly on the narrative arc of Parsifal but relocated to southern France, and situating the birth of Christian charity within France's Catholic tradition.[48] D'Indy's choice of setting – in his own region of the Cevennes – was a deliberate compensatory gesture towards consolidation of the nationalist sentiments of the opera's theme. The opera's libretto has been interpreted as "an allegory about the founding of France out of the Celtic spirit."[49] Small wonder, then, that d'Indy strongly encouraged Denis to put its principal musical inspiration, Parsifal, at the very heart of his iconographical programme. D'Indy is inserting his own musical importance into Denis's account of music.

D'Indy made no attempt to hide Wagner's influence: he was frank on the subject in his *Cours de composition musicale,* in which he labelled and explained the motifs and tonal structure of *Fervaal*. However, as Jane Fulcher discusses, he was careful to imply in this text that his most recent stage work, *L'Etranger* (1903), was "*less* [my italics] Wagnerian in conception and style."[50] This suggests his self-consciousness over appropriating too Germanic an idiom for a "French" model of opera. Reviews of *Fervaal* tended to be divided on the issue of whether Wagner's influence as found in the opera was in general a constructive or negative stimulus for the future of French opera. Paradoxically, several critics recognised the "Frenchness" of its

46 Quoted in Joseph Kerman, *Music at the Turn of Century: A 19th-century Music Reader* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 168.

47 See Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics & Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 70.

48 See James Ross, "D'Indy's 'Fervaal': Reconstructing French Identity at the 'Fin de siècle'", *Music & Letters* 84, no. 2 (May, 2003): 209–240.

49 Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin De Siecle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 324–26.

50 Jane Fulcher, "Vincent d'Indy's 'Drame Anti-Juif' and Its Meaning in Paris, 1920", *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2, no. 3 (Nov, 1990): 295–319. Quotation on p. 306.

melody, which the composer Ernest Chausson ascribed to d'Indy's "very Latin compositional gift."[51]

Interestingly, the discussion of the opera was not separated on political lines – we find equally effusive praise for the opera among conservative and left-wing critics. Writing for *La Revue Socialiste*, the critic Alphonse Richard upheld the work as the model "social drama." "This new drama responds to a social need. It is the product of the moral circumstances in which we live."[52] He was not alone among theatre critics at the time. Their particularly strong belief was that putting music and drama to the service of the portrayal of legends and myths could attract a new audience to cultural enjoyment. After all, the theatre and music hall served as places where people could negotiate social and political differences.

The notion of music drama as a vehicle for both the expression and cultivation of a utopian social ideal was central to Wagner's own theorising. In his essay *The Artwork of the Future* (1849), in which he justifies the necessity of a new, revolutionary form of theatre based on "the great unitarian Artwork of Greece", he remarks on the sterility of contemporary art: "Today no isolated art can invent anything new anymore; and not only plastic art, but no less the arts of dance, instrumental music, and poetry."[53] The desire to dissolve one's individuality in the shared subjectivity of a collective spiritual experience, made possible by the unification of art forms, was one of the impulses behind the technical innovations of Wagner's Bayreuth Festival, inaugurated in 1876. Hugo von Hofmannsthal discussed the Wagnerian "Bayreuth experience" in terms of a revival of the "ancient instinct" for festival. "Of all secular institutions, the theatre is the only remaining one of any power and universal validity that links our love of festival, our joy at spectacle and laughter, to the ancient instinct of festival implanted in the human race from time immemorial."[54] One can imagine just how profoundly the designers of the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées would have concurred with this sentiment. The fact that Greek melodrama, in its unification of artistic forms, could achieve a transcendence that confirmed the essential commonality of universal human experience was a powerful one that stimulated d'Indy and the *franckistes*, and by extension, Denis. It is this "ancient instinct of festival," to borrow Hofmannsthal's

51 And yet, as James Ross indicates, such attempts at patriotic justification may have been symptomatic of a certain insecurity over the extent to which D'Indy had "been fatally pulled into [Wagner's] orbit." The music critic Camille Bellaigue was more sceptical than Chausson, stating that the composer was betraying vital attributes of French identity – "not only [what is] national, but classical and Latin in our genius, our taste, our art, our ideal." Quoted in Ross, "D'Indy's 'Fervaal'," 222.

52 "Ce drame nouveau répond à un besoin social. II est le produit des circonstances morales dans lesquelles nous vivons'. Alphonse Richard, "Un drame social", *La Revue socialiste* (November 1896): 554–74. Quotation on pp. 554–5.

53 Quoted in Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Tragedy's Endurance: Performances of Greek Tragedies and Cultural Identity in Germany since 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 72.

54 Quoted in David Roberts, *The Total Work of Art in European Modernism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 102.

phrase, which Denis conjures in *Greek Dance,* and it is the same instinct that is symbolised by Parsifal holding the Grail. Thus we might surmise that the whole cycle is really a commentary on the eternal renewal of culture, and a celebration of music as part of that all-embracing process.

For both Denis and Wagner, the rejuvenation of the arts meant a return not only to the ideal of the Greek *Gesamtkunstwerk* but also to its sacred origins, as made explicit in the Christianised allegory of Parsifal. The French philosopher Gilbert Durand has described *Parsifal* as paradigmatic of "modern art religion" in that it represents a form of theatre that flourished from antiquity to the Baroque period – namely, that of a communal theatre of "elevated religious presence"[55] – before the professionalising of theatre and opera in the eighteenth century (as represented in Denis's *Opera* panel). The elevation of the theatrical experience to an almost spiritual plane was closely linked in the minds of Denis and the French Symbolists with the spiritual ambition that Wagner expressed in *Religion and Art* (1880) as "the duty of art to rescue religion."[56] He argued that with the modern secularisation of society, all the arts fall into decline. The arts alone had the capacity to be conduits of religious sentiment, a view which accorded wholly with Denis' sense of artistic purpose, as made explicit in such essays as *Notes on Religious Art* (1896). Denis's "dream," as recorded in his essay *The Pupils of Ingres,* to create an "intimate union between Greek form and the Christian spirit" is expressed in the symbolism of the "lyric drama" and, indeed, in the entire narrative of *The History of Music*. We might add that the circularity of the allegories' arrangement (albeit circumstantial, given the layout of the auditorium) lends a strong sense of continuity to the movement between the ancient and the modern.

In *The History of Music,* Denis has "staged" a version of musical history that accords with his conception of a continuity of a classical tradition in France. The scheme's complex iconography also reflects the painter's – and d'Indy's – quest for a coherent narrative loyal to the Gallic spirit, which he understood as being based on a unification of Greco-Latin heritage and the country's Catholic identity. The fact that Wagner's musical achievements are placed at the "end point" of the narrative does not undermine loyalty to a purportedly French aesthetic. Rather, it seems to have acted as a reminder to the theatre's audience of the direction in which (thanks largely to d'Indy) French music had to advance, as well as an indication that the home of the French *Gesamtkunstwerk* was now here, in the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées.

55 Ibid., 103

56 Quoted in Jennifer Birkett, *The Sins of the Fathers: Decadence in France, 1870–1914* (London: Quartet, 1986), 50.

THE SNAKE AND THE DEER: INDIGENIST ELEMENTS IN ART MUSIC AND VISUAL ARTS THROUGH THE *REPÚBLICA LIBERAL* PERIOD (1930–1946) IN COLOMBIA

Camilo Vaughan

This essay presents, from a historic perspective, a case study on the mutual belonging and detachment of two supposedly opposed Indigenist movements in Colombian visual arts and art music in the first half of the twentieth century. Bachué and Bochica, two deities of the Muisca mythology,[1] were adopted as symbols for the construction of discourses on national identity built upon the pre-Hispanic Indigenous traditions. They were placed into a dialogue, represented by their respective Indigenous animal-representation avatars, the snake and the deer. Each animal became a symbol that implicitly recalls both the Muisca and the Christian mythologies. Through these symbols, each Indigenous movement presented implicit value judgments and evoked matters of race and gender on the conception of the nationalism for the young Colombian nation.

An Outline for the Issue: Indianism and Indigenism

Musical Indianism as presented by Gerard Behague, refers to a specific kind of nationalism that highlighted specific Latin American composers in an effort to articulate the local pre-Hispanic elements within western art music traditions, similar to the nationalist European movement in the nineteenth century.[2] Both Indianism and Indigenism in Latin American countries appeared initially in music and muralism. Through the twentieth century, both movements dialogued constantly with the archeology, anthropology, politics and some mediatic problems. This complex scenario, that has nuances specific to each country, seems to contradict the conclusions that Béhague presents in the following terms:

1 The Muisca is a disappeared Indigenous culture that was, over the nineteenth and the twentieth century, the main pre-Hispanic reference for Colombian nationalism, as it habited on some of the central Andean territories of the Colombian territory, where the political decisions and the models of nation have been proposed. Carl Henrik Langebaek, *Los Muiscas: una historia milenaria del pueblo chibcha* (Bogotá: Editorial Nomos, 2019).

2 In the document Behague does not distinguish the terms Indianism and Indigenism - this issue will be discussed below. The term "indigenist" differs from "Indigenous" as the former is an attitude towards elements of the latter. Gerard Béhague, "Indianism in Latin American Art-Music Composition of the 1920s to 1940s: Case Studies from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 27, no. 1 (Spring - Summer, 2006): 28–37.

> From several points of view, one could argue that Indian music and culture were highly exploited, manipulated, and misrepresented in the name of artistic creation by the nationalist composers of the Aztec Renaissance, Peruvian *indigenismo* and Brazilian *modernismo*. The misrepresentation essentially took the form of "garbing Indigenous melodies in symphonic robes,"[3] of de-contextualizing native ritual or mythical stories and legends, and in the end of trivializing the true meaning of native cultural expression.[4]

Nonetheless, further studies found a difference between this definition and a second one, proposed by Alejandro Madrid named *indigenismo*. It is a different process through which the adoption of the local nonwestern elements is approached from a different perspective. The concept of Indianism is rather problematic, as it might imply various applications to represent the Indigenous race and culture. Behind this first global approach to the concept, there are two specific sub-categories that require further examination. In his work on the *modernismo* music in Mexico, Madrid proposes a differentiation between musical Indigenism and Indianism,[5] presenting the former as the construction of Indigenous topics, "from legends to mythic characters wrapped in a musical language of purely European extraction in which, on the few occasions that were used, Indigenous or local musical elements remained as merely superficial touches of color."[6] In contrast, Madrid defines Indianism as a more profound process that implies the structural use of Indian elements on the music creation.

Both Indigenism and Indianism have been used as political tools all over the American continent. Both serve as a highly effective strategy for the construction of plural identity and can be easily modified as needed by the person or the party that adopts it. An example may be what Carol Hess named dialectical Indigenism, a dialogue over the shared frontier between the United States of America and Mexico. Dialectical Indigenism was used in both directions even with contradictory messages and ideals by the North American government on the right, and by the Mexican artists Diego Rivera and Carlos Chavez on the left.[7] A relevant component in dialectical Indigenism is the confluence of some aspects of the machine culture, represented by the "north colossus" (i.e. the United States), and the "primitive" style found in some Latin American countries. This compo-

3 Quoting a work from Robert Stevenson in 1968, which does not appear in the "works cited" section at the end of the publication.

4 Béhague, "Indianism in Latin American Music," 37.

5 *Indigenismo* and *indianismo* in Spanish.

6 "desde leyendas tradicionales hasta personajes ficticios arropados en un lenguaje musical de extracción netamente europea en el cual, en las pocas ocasiones que se utilizaba, los elementos musicales indígenas o locales permanecían como toques de color meramente superficiales." Alejandro Madrid, *Los Sonidos de la nación moderna* (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 2005), 145. Author's translation.

7 Carol Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 50–63.

nent of dialectical Indigenism was also built upon the inescapable influence of Igor Stravinsky's early ballets, that served as reference on the reconstruction of the fading musical traditions of the pre-Hispanic cultures, including Colombia. This implicit otherness discourse fueled the construction of national identities and political positions on both sides of the Mexican/United States border as well as in some other Latin American countries.

Until the twentieth century, Indigenous representations were of secondary importance in the construction of national identity in what is now the Colombian territory. The Indian was traditionally represented as weak and irrational in visual arts and literature. This stereotype remained intact from the historical period of the Conquer (1492–1550), moving through Spanish Colonisation (1550–1810), the Colombian War of Independence (1810–19), and the rest of the nineteenth century. It only ended as a result of the combined consequences of the Mexican revolution and the decline of the acceptance of foreign influence. The latter was in large part the result of a killing in 1928 by the Colombian government under the United Fruit Company's pressure to suppress a worker's strike. That last historic event, now known as the banana plantation slaughter,[8] fueled the social rejection of outside influence on the country and became an issue that encouraged citizens to look for the remote origins of the culture on the territory.

The very first contact between Spanish settlers and Indigenous habitants of the continent were polite and mutually respectful. There are not written descriptions from the Indigenous people, but the writings of the Spanish chroniclers state that the Indigenous people were "very well made, of beautiful bodies, and Good faces … [that] they don't carry weapons and don't know them … [that they were] "good servants", "smart people … "obedient"… [and that] "they would quickly become Christians."[9] Nonetheless, the Indians soon became an "enemy" of the Christian Spanish that came to America. In 1503, the same year of the creation of *La Casa de Contratación de Sevilla,* the institution that will control the Spanish crown's monopoly on American trade, the Spanish chroniclers argued that they were "surrounded by a crowd of cruel savages, our enemies, so distanced from the saint sacraments and the holy church".[10]

The Spanish crown along with some chroniclers and settlers, such as Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, made incipient efforts that pretended to build a more respectful and peaceful relation with those of the New World. The reality of the American territory was, no doubt, very unequal. This inequity inspired the representations

8 *La masacre de las bananeras*.

9 "Muy bien hechos, de muy fermosos cuerpos y muy buenas caras […] Ellos no traen armas no las conocen […] Ellos deben ser buenos servidores y de buen ingenio […] y creo que ligeramente se harían cristianos". Author's translate. Cristobal Colon, diary of his first journey, 14 October 1492 quoted by Bartolomé de las Casas (1484 or 1485–1566), in *Cronistas de Indías: Antología* (Bogotá: Panamericana Editorial, 2016), 14.

10 "cercado en un cuento de salvajes y llenos de crueldad y enemigos nuestros, y tan apartados de los santos sacramentos y de la santa iglesia," Colón, *Cronistas de Indias,* 22. Author's translation.



Fig. 1: Anon., altarpiece detail from Antioquia region (Colombia), XVIII century, wood carved and paint. Medellin: Museo de Antioquia (inv. no. 1537).



Fig. 2: Eduard Ender (1822–1883), *Alexander von Humboldt und Aimé Bonpland in der Urwaldhütte,* ca.1850, oil on canvas, 80 × 150 cm. Berlin: Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

of the Indigenous people in the iconography of the sixteenth to eighteenth century. We can find examples of these representations in the works of the Conquistadors and Spanish Colonisation periods throughout the Colombian territory (fig. 1).

The situation remained largely unchanged until the first half of the nineteenth century. When the Indians appear in iconographic documents, they are paradoxically, in the background, distanced from the main scene. Some excellent examples are found in the representations of Alexander von Humbolt and Amé Bonplant in the Orinoco[11] region expedition. These representations focused on New World flora and fauna, studied by the Old-World scientist. The Indigenous people are clearly secondary, placed in the background of an exotic tropical landscape. They rest on hammocks and work in their primitive tasks, away from the main scene (fig. 2).

Thanks to a government effort following Independence, the *Comisión Corográfica* was created between 1850 and 1858. It was a project comprised of ten expeditions, realised by the new independent government of the *República de la Nueva Granada*, currently known as the territories of Colombia and Panama. The project intended to recover the information pillaged by the Spanish Crown through the *Expedición Botánica*.[12] Both expeditions implied a general recognition of the territory and the production of iconographic documentation of the landscapes and peoples. On this second project – the *Comisión corográfica* – the campaign presented more neutral iconographic representations of the Indigenous people, although they are often relegated to servants for the creoles. Due to this campaign in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Indigenous people began to appear in a more realistic and syncretic rendering that depicted their actual situation as peasants and country people. In some of the watercolour paintings from commissioners, such as Manuel María Paz, we see the Indigenous communities alone, not serving any white or creole. They are seen playing a bandola, a Spanish instrument, instead of native flutes or rattles, and singing for the viewer, as shown in figure 3. Previously nude, the Indigenous people in Paz's paintings are dressed.

But most important, the *Comisión Corográfica* began to elevate Indigenous art as a target of the iconographic documentations of the campaign (fig. 4). It began to recognise the visual representations made by the Indigenous pre-Hispanic people as interesting and valuable. It is prudent to say at this point that most of the Indigenous survivors of the Conquest and Spanish Colonisation periods in Colombia suffered a remarkable acculturation process, however the traditions of the pre-Hispanic cultures remain mostly on these objects through the centuries. These traditions became re-signified by the twentieth century by Colombian artists.

11 The Orinoco is an Amazon rainforest region between the border of Colombia and Venezuela.

12 The *Expedición Botánica* was a similar project of the colonial government during the eighteenth century.

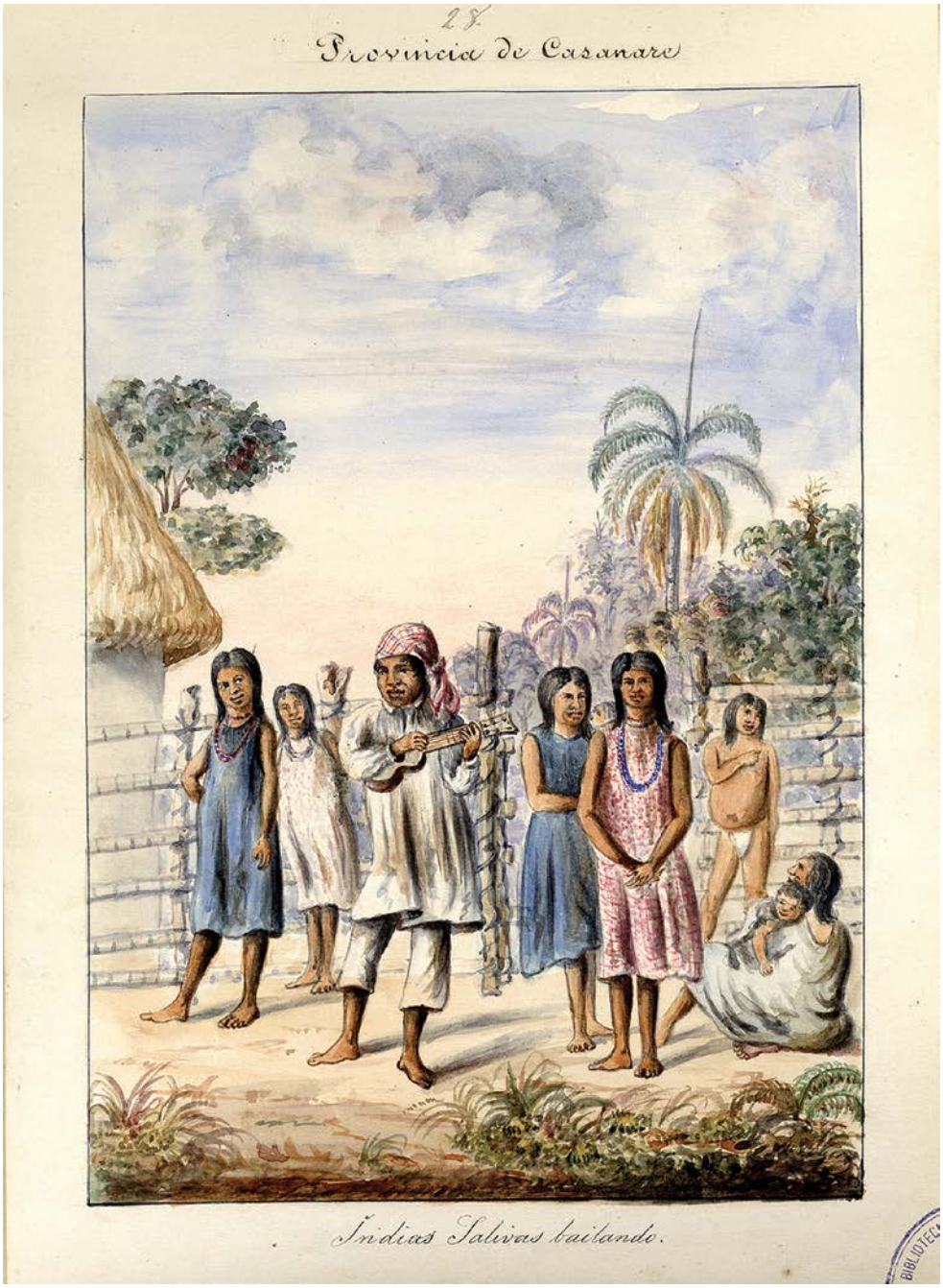


Fig. 3: Manuel María Paz (1820–1902), *Indios Salivas Bailando,* ca.1850–1860, watercolour on paper, 17 × 22 cm. Bogotá: Biblioteca Nacional, colección Comisión Corográfica.



Fig. 4: Henry Price (1819–1863), *Ídolos indígenas,* 1852, watercolour on paper, 22 × 17 cm. Bogotá: Biblioteca Nacional, colección *Comisión Corográfica*.

In Colombia, the road to achieve a true incorporation of the Indigenous culture in the project of establishing a national identity was still long, even after the *Comisión Corográfica*. It was not until the third decade of the twentieth century that Muisca symbols reappeared. The reemergence was a result of the joint participation of archeology, anthropology, ethnologic studies, state politics, and finally, art production.

The Indigenous Issue in the Colombian Twentieth Century

The presence of Indigenous elements in the Colombian culture, and possibly in all Latin American countries, is complex and sometimes contradictory in the arts, politics, and other scenarios. The social movements built upon Indigenous representations frequently contradict each other despite the apparent sameness. The representations have been used in different ways, representing diverse, and even opposite positions on political and artistic stages. Furthermore, the issue suffered a transformation over time, that allowed various movements to appropriate or reject the Indigenous identity by artistic, archeologic, sociologic, political, and media interventions. Therefore, Indigenism and Indianism bear various faces through time. In this section of the essay, we are going to focus the discussion on the *Republica Liberal* period in Colombia (1930–1946) which played a role in the continental

situations of the Pan-American Indigenism movement. That movement peaked in the Patzcuaro Indigenist Congress in 1940 and dialogued with global issues such as World War II and the Cold War.

In Colombia, the socio-political internal conflict that existed from the very foundation of the country remained, built upon opposing attitudes. During the first half of the twentieth century, this conflict occurred between two opposing factions: the Liberal and the Conservative Parties. The former rejected foreign influence and tended to embrace local pre-Hispanic culture, or, in its fewer extreme facets, protected the local syncretic cultural constructions. On the other hand, the Conservative Party proposed the adoption of the western (i.e. Spanish) culture and followed Christian dogma as the main influence on the construction of national identity and social indoctrination. This opposition in Colombia was particularly violent in certain periods[13] and presented, with different leaders and slightly different ideologies, a cycle of civil wars in political scenarios throughout the twentieth century.

A glance at the general history of the country presents few moments of political control by the Liberal Party. It is precisely during one of those periods, the *República Liberal* period, that the Indigenous issue was driven by the effort of academic research and media production, so it became central, not just for the liberal artists, but also for the conservative wing. This brought new exiting information on the Indigenous pre-Hispanic cultures from the Andean region of the country and, consequently, artists assumed an active position on this bipartisan conflict wielding these discoveries. Some artists openly ascribed their work to one political faction or the other.

It is interesting that Indigenism was adopted by both factions during this period of liberal thought proposing detached points of view: both sides recognised the Muisca culture as the remote ancestor of the Colombian culture. In art music, the conservative composer Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880–1971) proposed the first instance of symphonic Indigenism, followed by the liberal composer Antonio Maria Valencia (1902–1952). In visual arts, the movement was led by liberal thought and impelled by the leaders of the Liberal party. The result was a paradigm of Indigenism built upon the works of Romulo Rozo (1899–1964), a Colombian sculptor who adopted a Mexican art Indigenism model and transformed it for the Muisca (Colombian) version.

The Indigenist and Indianism movements are a consequence of the necessity to recover something that conveys the impression of being or becoming lost. These concepts appear in places where acculturation happened over Indigenous traditions, as an effort to protect or recover those traditions. Therefore, the movement is nec-

13 For further reading, we recommend the books *Guerrilleros del Tolima* written by Gonzalo Paris Lozano, about the thousand-day war (*La guerra de los mil días*) during the first years of the twentieth century; and *La Violencia en Colombia* by German Guzman Campos, Orlando Fals Borda and Eduardo Umaña, on the violence in the 40's and 50's, two of the most representative moments of the Liberal-Conservative internal conflict.

essarily, and perhaps unconsciously, affected by the established culture. It was the establishment that first motived the urgency to protect or rebuild the Indigenous culture. That was the situation in the Colombian *Republica Liberal* Period, when two of the main deities of the Muisca culture were transformed and re-signified by two opposing movements that came to be an Indigenist meta-movement. One of them was Los Bachues, an Indigenist movement proposed by the visual arts. The other one is an Indianist and Indigenist movement without a manifesto or even a name, but which explicitly alluded to *Bochica* by its foundational work, proposed by some of the leading Colombian composers of the time. This polarity, and their point of confluence will be explained below.

During this period in Colombia, the presence of the Muisca cultures also served as an identifying element in the construction of otherness, making the opposed either the culture of Spain or the United States. A baffling aesthetic panoramic path was drawn in the first decades of the twentieth century. The leading composer of this scenario, Uribe Holguín, was the founder and director of the *Conservatorio Nacional* and the *Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional* (National Conservatory and National Symphonic Orchestra) for more than twenty years. His 1923 lecture expressed his opinion on the possibility of using Indigenous elements in the following terms:

> It is known that all the peoples of the most remote antiquity had music. Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, all sang and all played instruments, as revealed by History and the bas-reliefs on monuments. It is natural that the Chibchas[14], like the other tribes that populated the American continent, possessed some kind of musical manifestation, however, rudimentary. But if nothing can be said about those refined peoples of antiquity, because there is no document on which even a definitive concept can be founden, what can we say about the music of our aborigines? Where is even a single chibcha music text? *It is childish to even argue the point. Chibcha music, which was probably more like noise than music, was lost forever* […] the Chibchas did not leave another manifestation of art but the rudimentary statuettes that still usually be found in the places that these ancient inhabitants of the country occupied[15]

14 The Colombian term Chibcha has been a long-held but erroneous synonym of Muisca. The Muisca culture belongs to the Indigenous linguistical family of the Chibcha cultures. Other cultures that belong to this linguistic family can be found in Panama, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela, Honduras, and Costa Rica. In his conference, Uribe Holguín is obviously referring to the Muisca culture because there still exist some Indigenous Chibcha cultures in Colombia, including the Kogi or the Aruhac. This contradicts his argument as some of these communities still exist and as he referred to Colombian territory, and the Chibcha linguistic family is not exclusive Colombian. Carl Henrik Langebaek, *Los Muiscas: La historia milenaria de un pueblo Chibcha* (Bogotá: Editorial Debate, 2019).

15 "Sabido es que todos los pueblos de la más remota antigüedad tuvieron música. Egipcios, griegos, romanos, todos cantaron y todos tocaron instrumentos, como lo revela la Historia y los bajorrelieves de los monumentos. Natural es que los chibchas, como las demás tribus que poblaron el continente americano, poseyeran alguna forma de manifestación musical, por rudimentaria que fuera. Pero si nada puede afirmarse de aquellos pueblos refinados de la antigüedad, porque no existe ningún documento sobre el cual se pueda fundar siquiera un concepto definitivo, qué decir de la música de nuestros ab-



Fig. 5: Anon., *Pre-Hispanic statuettes*, gold sculptures, alleged representations of Bochica and Bachue. Bogotá: Museo del Oro collection.

Interestingly, after making this claiming, Uribe Holguín decided to work on the Indigenist production of symphonic-dramatic music from 1939 until his final years. That period included his most ambitious work, the opera *Furatena*. This change of view was not casual neither arbitrary. It was based upon new information given by anthropologic and archeologic research that came to be published on the *IV Boletín Latinoamericano de Música* edited by Francisco Curt Lange and on the *Archeologic Exposition* in Bogota, both published in 1938. These gave Uribe Holguín a real reference to this pre-Hispanic music, upon which he based the Indigenist symphonic language that he later explored.[16]

orígenes. ¿Dónde hay un solo texto musical chibcha? *Es infantil siquiera discutir el punto. La música Chibcha, que probablemente fue más bien ruido que música, se perdió para siempre* […] los chibchas no dejaron otra manifestación de arte sino los tunjos rudimentales que todavía se suelen encontrar en los lugares que habitaron esos antiguos moradores del país." Guillermo Uribe Holguín, *Vida de un músico colombiano* (Bogotá: Editorial Voluntad, 1941), 133–34. Author's translation and italics.

16 For a further reading on the construction of the indigenist language of Guillermo Uribe Holguín and the relation with the anthropologic research read Camilo Vaughan, *Los Poemas Sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguin* (Berlín: Editorial Académica Española), 35–59.

Bochica and *Bachué* (fig. 5) were a very important part of the beliefs of the Muisca people. Bachué is the mother of humanity, a woman that came out of a lake with a child by her hand, who later became her lover and the person with whom she populated the entire land. In the Latin American Indian mythologies, the association between deities and animal species is frequent. Bachué is usually linked with the snake, as the snake is, for many Indigenous cultures, the representation of the river that brings life. Bochica, on the other hand, is a white bearded male that saved the Indigenous people from the punishment of the gods for neglecting good manners. In their mythology, these gods flooded Muisca territory and Bochica saved them by breaking a great rock that held the water. They were freed from martyrdom and reminded of the god's teachings. Bochica is usually represented as an old white man with a sceptre and is associated with the deer, as an Indigenous pre-Hispanic symbol of the tree of life.

During the *República Liberal* Period, these two deities were linked again with the snake and the deer, but this time from a different approach. In Christian symbolism, these icons were re-signified and attained implicit racial and moral meanings. They are utilised as symbols in musical and visual artistic movements. In music, the avatar of Bochica came with the first Indigenist symphonic poem by Uribe Holguín. It also had a previous history in Indianism, with the same character used as the title for Bambucos for piano, as well as in subsequent works. In the visual arts Rozo, the Colombian artist who executed the *Bachué* sculpture, an important artwork for the Sevilla pavilion on the Universal Exposition of 1929, represented the deity in a neo-primitive style. A decade later, Uribe Holguin would do the same in art music.

Origins of the Colombian Indigenism in Visual Arts

Due to an exposition of pre-Hispanic art crafts curated by the ethnologist Paul Rivet in Paris in 1928,[17] Rómulo Rozo, a Colombian expatriate living in Paris at the time, had the opportunity to watch some of the real Muisca representations of their deities. The experience modified the topics of his production and gave him the inspiration and knowledge to take the first step on the conformation of an Indigenist movement in the visual arts in Colombia. Previously focused on classic antique and Christian issues, after 1928 he began to explore Indigenous beliefs with an evident critical perspective. As shown in figure 6, the representations of the Colombian sculptor had a notable change after the 1928 exposition of pre-Hispanic art crafts in Paris. In a similar way, the *IV Boletin Latinoamericano de Musica* transformed the work of Uribe Holguín.

17 We refer to the Museé d'etnographie from 1928 to 1937, that later became the Musee de l'homme and finally the International Council de Museums in Paris. Georges Henry Rivier, "My Experience at the Musee D'Ethnologie," *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1968), 17.



Fig. 6: Romulo Rozo (1899–1964), *Dios Pan,* 1924; *El símbolo,* 1926; *La crucifixión de la raza,* 1931 and *El vengador,* 1931.[18]


EL ESPECTADOR — SUPLEMENTO LITERARIO ILUSTRADO

DIETARIO DEL SUPLEMENTO

POR JOSE UMAÑA BERNAL

Rómulo Rozo y su obra

ROMULO ROZO

Fig. 7: Rozo and his sculpture *Bachué* in *El Espectador* (newspaper), February 11, 1926, p. 6.

18 Image reproductions taken from Gutierrez Viñuales, *Romulo Rozo: Tallando Patria*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, CEDODAL-FAVOH-Editorial La Silueta, 2015), 6, 9, 40, 41.

The work of Rozo became the inspiration for a group of liberal artists and intellectuals in Colombia that adopted the name *Los Bachues*, after the name of a sculpture that Rozo made right after the archeological exposition of Rivet. This sculpture was previously announced in Colombian newspapers in the 1920s (fig. 7), but it achieved its higher recognition as the central sculpture on the Colombian pavilion at the *Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla* in 1929. This work directly inspired a newborn movement that recruited members from different disciplines, such as literature, politics and, of course, the arts. The foundational document of the movement was a manifesto entitled *Monografia del Bachue* that appeared in the local newspaper *El Tiempo* on June 15, 1930. In this manifesto, the group rejects foreign influence and states that the basis of Colombian culture should not be created upon the Spanish heritage, but rather upon the Indigenous race and culture. Those ideas were in opposition to the proposal of some musicians who were adopting and adapting a Parisian model that included musical education and practice, conservatories, and orchestras through the country.

The *Bachué* of Rozo and the first steps of the Los Bachues movement are directly linked. Beyond the obvious etymologic relation, Rozo's sculpture is iconographically related to *Ofrenda a Bachué,* a wooden sculpture by Ramon Barba (1892–1964). In addition to the stylistic similarities, additional parallels are found in narrative. A muscled, Indigenous raced character is on his knees, with his head bowed. In his right hand, he holds a totem above his head, evoking Rozo's *Bachué* (fig. 8).

The *Bachues* adopted a deity linked with the snake, a diabolic symbol in the Christian culture. The implication is a renegade gesture, that implicitly proposes to build an identity that is in opposition to traditional Spanish values. On the other hand, the *Bochica,* linked with the deer, is a racial symbol of whiteness. Bochica is a symbol evocative of the Christian god, after the characters of Saint Hubert and Saint Eustace, the patron saints of hunting. Both were adopted as a symbol of the musical Indigenist movement. The iconography of the snake and the deer are not explicitly present in the pre-Hispanic gold crafts that we saw some pages before. Nonetheless, it appears on the *Bachué* of Rozo, and in the Ramon Barba's *ofrenda a Bachué* (see figs 7 and 8).

The image of the snake and the deer appears less obviously in some of the Indigenist twentieth century representations, such as the two examples presented in figure 9. The snake is implicitly present in the braids of *Bachué*, and the deer, a representation of the tree of life, is present in the branches and leaves of *Bochica's* scepter.

One of the members of the *Bachues* group was Gregorio Hernández de Alba (1904–1973) who, with state patronage, brought Paul Rivet to Colombia and created the *Instituto Etnologíco Nacional de Colombia*. This institute became the place where Hernández, thanks to the research on archeologic sources on Colombian territory, wrote two articles on pre-Hispanic Indigenous music that appeared in the *IV Boletín Latinoamericano de Música*. These two articles gave the general guidelines to Uribe Holguín's *Bochica*, his first Indigenist work, which appeared in 1939, just



MONOGRAFIA DEL BACHUE

Iniciada, dirig'da y ornamentada por Hena Rodríguez Parra, Darío Achury Valenzuela, Rafael Azula Barrera, Darío Samper, Tulio González y Juan P. Varela

ADVOCACION LIRICA A NUESTRA SEÑORA LA DIOSA BACHUE

PORQVE TV SOBRE LA TIERRA DE NVESTROS ABVELOS SIMBOLIZAS LAS TRES FVERZAS QVE FECVNDAN LA EMOCION DE LA RAZA: EL AGVA QVE HACE REVENTAR LAS YEMAS EN EL TALLO TIERNO DE LA CAÑA; LA ENERGIA VITAL QVE PROLONGA HASTA NOSOTROS SV DILATADA ARTERIA, Y EL FVEGO SAGRADO QVE CREPITA VIGILANTE ENTRE LAS PIEDRAS DE LOS FOGONES RVRALES;

PORQVE TV VERTISTE EN LA SANGRE DE LOS TVYOS PRECEPTOS SALVDABLES QVE PLASMAN EN ARCILLA DE AMOR LOS SECRETOS VIGORES QVE EMPVJAN A REALIZAR LAS GRANDES EMPRESAS Y LOS HECHOS HEROICOS;

PORQVE DE TV PECADO HICISTE LA REDENCION QVE LIMPIO A LA TIERRA DE CVLPAS,

Y PORQVE EN TI SE RESVELVE Y COMPENDIA LA TRINIDAD DE BELLEZA, FVERZA Y RITMO ETERNOS COMO TV MEMORIA ARREBATADA A LOS TIEMPOS:

ENSEÑANOS LAS RVTAS MILAGROSAS QVE NOS HAN DE LLEVAR AL CORAZON DE LA TIERRA, Y ACOGENOS PROPICIA BAJO LA CRVZ DE TVS BRAZOS SIEMPRE ABIERTOS PARA ROMPER LOS VIENTOS QVE TRAEN LAS NVBES ADVERSAS SOBRE LA ROJA DESNVDEZ DE LOS CAMPOS.

los bachues

Fig. 8: Los Bachues group, "Monografía del Bachué", *El Tiempo* (newspaper), June 15, 1930.

a few months after the publication of the *IV Boletín Latinoamericano*. A third article by Francisco de Igualada (n.d.–1962) examined the actual music of the Uitotos, an Indigenous community that inhabit the Amazon rainforest. This symphonic poem reflects an implicit association of this deity – Bochica – with the Spanish Christian culture. As discussed, Uribe Holguín made his incursion into Indigenism driven by this new information.[19] He also understood how this topic became truly relevant to the country and beyond. As a result, the composer took the character of Bochica, as a white male deity linked with the Christian deer, thereby building the construction of a conservative national identity upon a pre-Hispanic Indigenous symbol. The choice avoided any conflict with traditional Christian symbols and the Spanish cultural heritage, the cornerstones of his conservative thought.

19 For further reading on this issue, consult the study on the relation between the music of this first symphonic poem and the research published on the *IV Boletín Latinoamericano* in Camilo Vaughan, *Los Poemas Sinfónicos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín*, 35–59.



Fig. 9: Luis Alberto Acuña (1904–1993), *Bachue* and *Bochica,* 1933, oil on canvas, 191 × 97cm. Bogotá: Centro Cultural de Bogotá, Museo de Arte Miguel Urrutia (inv. no. AP5130).

This new musical Indigenism, initially embodied in Uribe Holguín, was reinforced by Valencia, another already mentioned composer, who was also the founder of the *Conservatorio de Cali*, now the Antonio Maria Valencia Conservatory. Valencia released a symphonic poem in 1942 entitled *Chirimia y Bambuco Sotareño*. It was constructed upon a traditional melody that was and remains almost a Hymn for the *Nasa* Indigenous community from the Cauca region in Colombia. Both compositions were representative of the Indigenous symbols implicitly yet were created within the European orchestral tradition. Bochica, was an Indigenous, white prophet, while Bambuco was a musical genre rooted in the Creole, Spanish and European tradition.[20]

The Bachues movement was expanded by the presence of musical Indigenism in newspapers and magazines. It was further augmented by visual artists who rep-

20 Both composers studied at the Schola Cantorum in Paris. They were leaders in the adoption of European models of the orchestral music education and practice in Colombia.

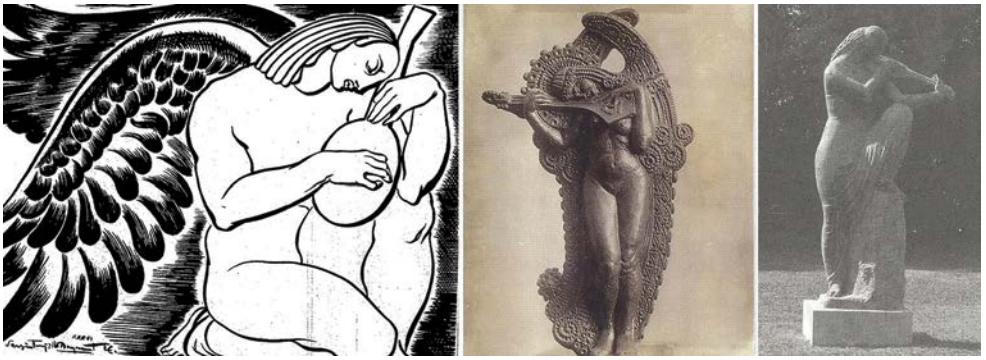


Fig. 10: Sergio Trujillo Magneant (1911–1999), frontpage of Antonio Maria Valencia's Song cycle on Revista de Indias, printed illustration; Romulo Rozo, *La Música*, and Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962) *Daleki Zvuci*.[21]

resented the Indigenous boom that became an implicit part of the same greater movement for the public audience. Nevertheless, some of those representations contained implicit evocation of remote European roots, but within the boundaries of the general Indigenist and Americanist style. For instance, a Valencia's song cycle was published in *La Revista de las Indias,* a pseudo academic magazine initially printed during the *República Liberal* Period. The publication implicitly used the sculpture entitled *La Música* by Romulo Rozo. We can easily find the visual relation that these publications made between those two movements. The sculpture from Rozo is placed next to another sculpture, entitled *Daleki zvuci* ("distant sounds," or "distant chords") a 1918 work by the Croatian and Yugoslav artist Ivan Meštrović (fig. 10). The result is a factual relation between the European references of the Indigenist movement in Colombia and its subsequent transformation during the *República Liberal* period.

The *Bachues* movement gave Uribe Holguín the building blocks for his musical Indigenist creations through the content found in the articles of Hernández de Alba and Francisco de Igualada. Further visual representation in newspapers and magazines evoked the same pre-Hispanic world ideas that Rozo and *Los Bachues* placed in circulation in printed media. As a result, Uribe's music enjoyed increased interest due to radio broadcasts, and following the United States's cultural exchange policies during the Cold War, international recognition.[22] The sound of Uribe Holguín's *Bochica* proposes a heroic, noble, and strong representation of the Muisca deity, who, in words of the composer on a radio program, taught good

21 The last two images are taken from Gutierrez Viñuales, *Romulo Rozo: Tallando Patria* (Bogotá, CEDODAL-FAVOH-Editorial La Silueta, 2015), vol. 1, p. 38 and vol. 2, p. 7.

22 For further reading: Camilo Vaughan, "La composición de los tres Ballets Criollos de Guillermo Uribe Holguín como producto de exportación colombiano para un escenario panamericano," *Revista Música Cultura y Pensamiento* 9 (May 2019): 81–92.

customs, and brought order to Indigenous chaos. This heroic representation of the Indigenous culture, despite opposing ideas, allowed artists such as Sergio Trujillo Magneant to design the visual representations for both the visual arts movement and the art music published in the printed media. For the public, these images, which ultimately did not represent the adoption or the rejection of the European culture, became the visual character upon which Indigenous topics constructed their identity.

Despite the superficial opposition between these two movements, the print media, probably in response to the influential state policies established during the *República Liberal* period, linked them as one. As a result, public thought on Indigenous topics were woven into the construction of a new Colombian national identity during the República Liberal period.

A Brief Coda

We conclude that the symbols may be re-signified depending upon the historic, political, and media context. The Colombian adoption of these two Indigenous, pre-Hispanic deities, promoted by the liberal hegemony in the 1930s and 1940s, became tacit representations of social ideals. From those ideals emerged the recently born national culture. Bochica and Bachué, two complex characters of the Muisca mythology were re-signified after Christian allegories to good and evil as found in the Bible and other sources of Christian symbolism. They were both deities in the pre-Hispanic Muisca culture, conceived outside Christianity and both reappeared in the twentieth century from two opposite positions in the creation of national identity through the visual arts and musical Indigenism. These two positions looked at the Spanish and European heritage from two antithetical points of view as contradictory models of a nation that finally united and appeared together for the public. They found a place in print media, hiding their respective and different ideologies, but highlighting their commonalities: the conception of a heroic and strong representation of the Indigenous race and culture as the distant origin of the Colombian nation. That representation contrasted with previous iconographical representations in literature and the media. Furthermore, the adoption of Indigenism became a key component for composers and artists to participate in cultural exchange policies with the United States during the Second World War and the Cold War.

CENTRED ON THE PERIPHERY: VISUAL ART, CULTURAL NATIONALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL AVANT-GARDE IN 1960s HOBART

Arabella Teniswood-Harvey

In 1963, Hobart, the capital city of the island state of Tasmania, hosted the first Australian Composers' Seminar, an event that has since been described as "the beginning of a new community of purpose among Australian composers." In retrospect, the scholar Graeme Skinner argues that through "the participation of [the now significant Australian composers Larry] Sitsky, [Felix] Werder, [Helen] Gifford, and [Peter] Sculthorpe, Hobart would be[come] regarded as, perhaps, the birthplace of 'the Australian Avant-Garde.'"[1] Two years later in 1965, a Festival of Contemporary Opera and Music incorporating a second seminar was also held in Hobart and resulted in the premiere of three new Australian operas conducted by Rex Hobcroft: Larry Sitsky's *The Fall of the House of Usher*,[2] Margaret Sutherland's *The Young Kabbarli*,[3] and James Penberthy's *Ophelia of the Nine Mile Beach*.[4] Later, Skinner writes, this second Hobart seminar "was remembered as being as important to the "rebirth" of Australian opera as the first was to composition generally."[5] The occurrence of such momentous events in this physically isolated and hitherto disregarded location, calls for a reconsideration of Hobart's supposed cultural isolation and due acknowledgement of the role the city played in the development of Australian music.

---

1 Graeme Skinner, *Peter Sculthorpe: The Making of an Australian Composer* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007), 288.

2 *The Fall of the House of Usher* (1965) has a libretto by the Tasmanian poet Gwen Harwood after the story by Edgar Allan Poe. In 1973, it was "the first opera to be staged at the Sydney Opera House." Thérèse Radic, "Fall of the House of Usher, The (ii)," *Grove Music Online*, 2002, accessed May 10, 2020, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000901720.

3 *The Young Kabbarli* (1965) has a libretto by Maie Casey. David Symons, "Sutherland, Margaret," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed May 10, 2020, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027160.

4 For a synopsis of Penberthy's comic opera to his own libretto (1955) see Michael Hannan, "Ophelia of the Nine Mile Beach," *Grove Music Online*, 2002, accessed May 10, 2020, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000008960.

5 Skinner, *Peter Sculthorpe*, 407–08.

In their article, "Nationalism and Art in Australia: Change in a Time of Conservatism, 1948–1968" (2005), Katya Johanson and Ruth Rentschler examine "the growing sense of cultural nationalism" that occurred during this period.[6] Although they omit music (and Hobart) from their discussion, the concerns they identify were central to the Composers' Seminars and to the broader context of cultural life in Hobart during the 1960s. Considering developments in theatre, film, television, and the art museum sector they describe a period marked by "the growth of institutions that sought to establish and professionalize the arts,"[7] by the promotion of Australian content, and by advocacy for Commonwealth support for the arts.

As Johanson and Rentschler establish, the Hobart seminars occurred within a national context of fervent cultural development. Described as a "cultural renaissance" born from deliberate attempts at nation building, the 1960s saw Australian state art museums expand not only their facilities, but also the scope of their collections through the acquisition of Australian and Asian artworks. The promotion of national content was also topical in television and the dramatic arts. In 1962, the recommendations from a Committee Enquiry into the Encouragement of Australian Productions for Television, argued for an increase in Australian content to counter the influence of American culture and to create "a genuine and exportable Australian image" through drama.[8] In 1964, the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust established a commissioning fund to present new "works by Australian playwrights, composers, and choreographers," adding to its already impressive contributions to Australian cultural life: a national theatre company in 1954, a national opera company in 1956, a national training institution (NIDA) in 1958, and a national ballet company in 1962.[9]

Locally, this cultural optimism was reflected in the University of Tasmania's incorporation of the Tasmanian School of Art and its establishment of the Tasmanian School of Music: both events occurred in 1963, the year of the first Composers' Seminar. Initially focused on training music educators, the School of Music expanded to take performance students in 1965 when it was renamed the Tasmanian Conservatorium. Over the next decades it would become known as a training institution for instrumentalists, particularly for strings, under the guidance of the Czech-born violinist Jan Sedivka (1917–2009), his wife the English-born pianist Beryl Sedivka (1928–), and Polish-born cellist Sela Trau (1898–1991). These were among the immigrant musicians who contributed immensely to the development of Australian music following their arrival in the 1960s.

6 Katya Johanson and Ruth Rentschler, "Nationalism and Art in Australia: Change in a Time of Conservatism, 1948–1968," *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 9.

7 Johanson and Rentschler, "Nationalism and Art in Australia," 8.

8 Senator Hannan in Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, *House of Senate* (Canberra: AGPS, 1963–64), March 18, 1964, 617 quoted in Johanson and Rentschler, "Nationalism and Art in Australia," 15.

9 Johanson and Rentschler, "Nationalism and Art in Australia," 10–11.

Australia's policies on immigration and citizenship were also in flux at this time. The White Australia policy that had dominated since the turn of the century was dismantled in 1966,[10] making way for the multiculturalism of the 1970s. At the same time, the recognition of the rights of Indigenous Australians gradually improved, with defining moments including the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1962*, which granted "all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people the option to enrol and vote in federal elections."[11] In 1967, a referendum led to constitutional recognition of "Aboriginal people as full Australian citizens."[12]

Acknowledging this backdrop of emerging cultural nationalism and changing notions of Australian identity, this essay will explore the communities of practice and the dialogue between music and art that helped shape and articulate notions of Australian *musical* identity at this time, as evidenced in the Composers' Seminars in Hobart. In doing so it will demonstrate that the strategy of collaboration and the notions of "networks" and "multiple modernisms" that come to the fore in recent revisionist art histories,[13] are equally pertinent when we reconsider pivotal moments in Australian music.

Collaborating and Advocating for Change

Arranged by the Adult Education Board of Tasmania in association with the University of Tasmania, the first Australian Composers' Seminar was held over four days in April 1963.[14] It included presentations by 12 individual composers, two chamber music concerts of music by Australian composers, including conference delegates, and an orchestral rehearsal and recording session of Australian works at the Australian Broadcasting Commission's Studio. Also included in the Conference Proceedings are the reports given by delegates on the new music scene in major Australian centres, as well as transcripts and summaries of addresses. Speaking for Tasmania, Felix Gethen (1916–2002) highlighted the Tasmanian and Australian content included in the Australian Broadcasting Commission's programs and advocated for a national shift in the recognition of Australian composers, from a

10 "Defining Moments: White Australia Policy," The National Museum of Australia, accessed May 10, 2020, https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/white-australia-policy.

11 "Defining Moments: Indigenous Australians' Right to Vote," The National Museum of Australia, accessed May 10, 2020, https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/indigenous-australians-right-to-vote.

12 "Defining Moments: Indigenous Referendum," The National Museum of Australia, accessed May 10, 2020, https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/indigenous-referendum.

13 For instance, see Jennifer Thatcher, "London Art Worlds: Mobile, Contingent, and Ephemeral Networks 1960–1980," review of *London Art Worlds: Mobile, Contingent, and Ephemeral Networks 1960–1980*, edited by Jo Applin, Catherine Spencer and Amy Tobin, *Art Monthly*, no.418 (July–August 2018): 38.

14 The Seminar was held from 17th–21st April 1963. An evening reception was held on the 17th to welcome delegates, and the main sessions commenced on the 18th. Australian Composers' Seminar (1963: Hobart, Tas), "Report of Proceedings," (Hobart: Adult Education Board, 1963).

position of detachment to one of belonging. "He was proud," he said, "to mention this seminar which was being held in Tasmania, and from which might result a revolution in the relationship of composers and the Government or a revolution in the attitude of the Australian public to the Australian composer."[15]

This advocacy for Commonwealth support of the arts is also evident in the inclusion of a discussion session entitled "The Composers, the Government, and the People – State Run or Free Enterprise," which was introduced by Gethen, and in the Opening Address given by Sir Stanley Burbury (1909–1995). Then Chief Justice of Tasmania, and later the first Australian-born Governor of Tasmania, Burbury argued that there was a strong case to be made "for State patronage of music." Acknowledging that the high taxation of the 20th century had impacted negatively on private patronage, Burbury called for a "Ministry of Commission of Fine Arts, whose function would be the equitable and rational allocation of public funds to assist the national culture." In line with the national interest in promoting Australian content, he believed that "emphasis should be laid on the development of a national culture rather than the transplanting of traditional forms of art which did not always breathe easily in the Australian atmosphere." Burbury's ideal was to see "at least one contemporary work included in every major concert given in Australia."[16]

Conceptualising Australian Music: The Remnants of Colonialism and the Role of Visual Art

Burbury proposed that the ideal way forward for Australian culture was to bring "in the traditional culture of the west as a firm foundation," but build "on that foundation a national culture" of its own.[17] That is, by detaching slightly from the dominant Western model and by recognising its position on the periphery, Australia could form a new national culture. In Burbury's thinking, a sense of belonging would be found in an Australian cultural identity built upon Western culture – that is, from the cultural traditions imposed by the settler culture.

The exclusion of Indigenous Australian culture in the recounting of music in Australia, and in the conceptualisation of a national culture, is even more marked in the keynote address given at the first Seminar by composer Margaret Sutherland (1897–1984), then aged 65. Largely ignoring Aboriginal musical and performative practices in her account of the introduction of pianos, opera, oratorio and orchestral music, she declared:

15 Australian Composers' Seminar (1963: Hobart, Tas), "Report of Proceedings," 14.

16 Australian Composers' Seminar (1963: Hobart, Tas), Summary of the opening address by His Excellency, the Administrator, Sir Stanley Burbury, K.B.E., in "Report of Proceedings," 1–2.

17 Ibid.

> Let us look calmly and dispassionately to the beginning of white settlement in this country, and see how soon we can discern any kind of musical yearnings among the extraordinarily heterogenous mixture of persons who had assembled, willingly or unwillingly, in this country of infinite mystery.[18]

Continuing her survey to the early twentieth century, she bemoaned the expatriation of composers Percy Grainger and Alfred Hill, concluding that thus "the creative field in Australia remained barren and inhospitable."[19]

As a point of comparison, Sutherland then turned in her speech to the development of painting in Australia, claiming that "literature and the visual arts by their very nature relate themselves immediately and naturally to their country of origin; they have overwhelming advantages over music, in the early stages, because they can so swiftly and graphically reflect a new country."[20] Sutherland, herself the niece of the Australian Impressionist painter Jane Sutherland (1853–1928), proposed a notion of artistic progress characterised by increasing authenticity and vitality. From the early nineteenth century depiction of Australia "through European eyes" to the heightened observation of the Australian Impressionists, whose "great influence" triggered "the vigorous and characteristically Australian school of contemporary painting" and finally guided artists "away from sterility to become the vital force they are to-day."[21]

Here we find Sutherland acknowledging the national and international attention given to contemporary Australian painting. Two years earlier, in 1961, an *Exhibition of Recent Australian Painting* in London had "aroused great interest" and "received high praise." Shortly afterwards, the Australian art historian Bernard Smith (1916–2011) remarked in his lecture "The Myth of Isolation" that this exhibition "may well come to constitute, therefore, something of a landmark in the history of our painting. For the first time Australian art has found a large receptive audience outside its own country."[22]

As Smith's lecture demonstrates, the push to export Australian cultural products was accompanied at this time by a simultaneous wish for the Australian product to be validated by international approval. A tension existed between the desire to develop and promote Australian content and the supposed superiority of the European model. As Johanson and Rentschler explain, the "desire to define and assert an Australian culture and to overcome the "cultural cringe" often meant reinforcing European values."[23] For instance, the Elizabethan Theatre Trust's "em-

18 Margaret Sutherland, "The Role of the Australian Composer in Contemporary Society," in Australian Composers' Seminar (1963: Hobart, Tas), "Report of Proceedings," 3.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., 5.

22 Bernard Smith, "The Myth of Isolation," 1961, in *Antipodean Perspective: Selected Writings of Bernard Smith,* ed. Rex Butler and Sheridan Palmer (Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2018), 111.

23 Johanson and Rentschler, "Nationalism and Art in Australia," 9.

phasis on professionalism led to a contradiction between its nationalist aims and its imperialist assumptions – there was an implied assumption that Australia lacked professionalism, whereas Europe possessed it." To provide models to emulate, the Trust brought performers and companies "of international rank" to Australia and was guided in its foundation years by three European executive officers in a row.[24]

Margaret Sutherland also advocated in her keynote for "the need to have composers from other countries visit us here."[25] But for her, it was not a matter of Australian composers needing musical advice and compositional role models, but rather of there being a need for greater recognition of composers as professionals by the general public.[26] She stated:

> We are swamped by executive artists yet denied creative musicians. This lack of balance is a crippling handicap; it means that the technical and executive side of music is emphasised, but never the creative: and this in its turn has a direct bearing on the fact that the composer, the creative musician, is, in the mind of the general public, a nonentity.

Sutherland's observation of the greater attention given to executive musicians (performers or conductors) along with the Australian desire for approval and leadership from international musicians is evident in a 1967 oil portrait and twelve preparatory sketches by Jack Carington Smith (1908–1972) held at the University of Tasmania (figs 4 to 16).[27] The subject, Thomas Matthews, was the Honorary Director of the first Composers' Seminar. Matthews is shown alongside Margaret Sutherland, Stanley Burbury, and Rex Hobcroft (1925–2013, then recently appointed as Lecturer in Music at the University of Tasmania) in the sole photograph published in the Seminar's proceedings (fig. 1).[28]

Born in Liverpool, England, in 1907/08,[29] Matthews had enjoyed a successful career as an orchestral violinist, soloist, and teacher, before his appointment to Chief Conductor of the Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra in 1962, where he remained until 1968.[30] As a violinist he was known for his promotion of twentieth-century English

24 Ibid.,12.

25 Margaret Sutherland, "The Role of the Australian Composer in Contemporary Society," 7.

26 Australian Composers' Seminar (1963: Hobart, Tas), "Report of Proceedings," 7.

27 These images are reproduced with kind permission of the University of Tasmania and Julie and Owen Carington Smith.

28 The negative is held in the Mercury Historical Collection, Tasmanian Archives, and is reproduced with kind permission of the State Library and Archive Service, Tasmania.

29 Matthews's birth date is listed as 1908 in Helen Bell, "Thomas MATTHEWS (1908–) concert pianist," created April 17, 2018, accessed May 19, 2020, http://www.bellsite.id.au/helen_tree/HTMLFiles/HTMLFiles_18/P9570.html; and as 1907 in Donald Brook, *Violinists of Today* (London: Rockliff, 1948), 97–102, https://archive.org/stream/violinistsoftoda009124mbp/violinistsoftoda009124mbp_djvu.txt. His date of death is unknown.

30 His first appointment was at the age of 15 with the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra, and he worked with this orchestra, and then also with the Hallé Orchestra for the following decade. He later worked with the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the London Symphony Orchestra. See



Fig. 1: Left to right: K.G. Brooks, Sir Stanley Burbury, Margaret Sutherland and Thomas Matthews. Australian Composers' Seminar Reception to Visiting Musicians, 19/04/1963, Negative no. E6789/1-2: Tasmanian Archives; NS4024/1/234.

music. For instance, he performed the London premiere of Benjamin Britten's Violin Concerto in 1940[31] and in 1946–47 performed William Walton's Violin Concerto nine times with the Hallé Orchestra under John Barbirolli.[32]

Photographic portraits of Matthews from the late 1940s convey a mature violinist with an intense seriousness of purpose. The Australian photographer Athol Shmith has framed his subject at close proximity (fig. 2), cropping the body to focus attention on Matthews's handling of the instrument.[33] The image is both dynamic and contained, with dramatic lighting emulating the spot-lit effect of the concert stage and the act of playing evoking an aural element. In contrast, the

Brook, *Violinists of Today*.

31 Tully Potter, "Britten and Brosa," Tarisio: Fine Instruments & Bows, accessed May 19, 2020, https://tarisio.com/lso-digital-exhibition/britten-brosa-shaham/.

32 Brook, *Violinists of Today*, 99.

33 This photograph is reproduced with kind permission of the National Gallery of Victoria and Kalli Rolfe Contemporary Art.



Fig. 2: Athol Shmith, *Thomas Matthews, London Symphony Orchestra*, 1949, gelatin silver photograph, 30.0 × 38.0 cm (image). Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria. Purchased through The Art Foundation of Victoria with the assistance of The Ian Potter Foundation, Governor, 1989 (PH16-1989). © The Estate of Athol Shmith, Courtesy Kalli Rolfe Contemporary Art.

portrait by Elliot and Fry held in the National Portrait Gallery of London is highly studied (fig. 3).[34] Arranged in profile looking downwards, Matthews is the object of the viewer's gaze.

When we consider the University of Tasmania's portraits in relation to these earlier photographs of Matthews as a violinist, we trace the transformation in his career from violinist to conductor, as he shifted from "centre" (London) to "periphery" (Tasmania, Australia). When Matthews moved to Australia he remained committed to new and local music, performing as soloist Margaret Sutherland's *Violin Concerto* (1954) with the Victorian Symphony in 1961, and conducting a studio broadcast of the same composer's *Concertante for Oboe, Strings and Percussion* (1961) in Hobart in April 1962.[35] He was also instrumental in promoting the music of the Tasmanian-born composer Peter Sculthorpe through his programming for concerts and broadcasts of the Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra.

34 This photograph is reproduced with kind permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.
35 Skinner, *Peter Sculthorpe*, 264–65.



Fig. 3: Elliott & Fry (active 1863–1962), *Thomas Matthews*, bromide print. London: National Portrait Gallery (NPG x90576). © National Portrait Gallery, London.

The University's small collection of portraits speaks not only of Matthews's significance in Tasmania as an international figurehead and supporter of new music, but of the art and music communities in Hobart at this time. The artist, Jack Carington Smith, led the Tasmanian School of Art, which had been amalgamated into the University in 1963. Having studied in London from 1936 to 1939, Carington Smith was influenced by the work of post-impressionist British artists such as Walter Sickert (noted for his keen interest in music hall and theatrical subjects) and Augustus John, and by the new austere style being taught at the Royal Academy of Arts. Known for his portraits, landscapes and watercolours, Carington Smith admired the work of James McNeill Whistler, for whom music provided a model, and explored a more abstracted style in his own series of nocturnes. Lindsay Broughton writes that Carington Smith also "regarded the process of composing a picture, with colours, tones, lines and forms, as being akin to musical composition."[36] However, coming from a prosperous and established Launceston family, Carington Smith's portraiture reveals a tendency to perpetuate traditional class structures through the portrayal, as Max Angus noted, of "people who have achieved fame."[37]

Of immediate relevance to the portrait of Thomas Matthews is Carington Smith's 1963 prize-winning portrait of Professor James McAuley,[38] a conservative and influential poet and public intellectual, whose anti-modernist attitudes and actions have been blamed for impeding the development of literary modernism in Australia.[39] Accepting an appointment at the University of Tasmania in 1960, and having musical interests of his own, McAuley was an active figure in Hobart's new music scene. In 1963 (aged 46) he narrated the text from D.H. Lawrence's *Kangaroo* for the performance of Peter Sculthorpe's *Fifth Continent* (1963) conducted by Matthews,[40] and in 1965 he contributed to the Contemporary Opera Seminar, leading a session on "Words, Music and Movement."[41]

Carington Smith's portrait of McAuley conveys a strong and direct, perhaps even confrontational personality. Seated and leaning in towards the viewer, the subject fills the picture plane commanding our attention. The direct eye contact, the confident, self-contained body language and firm physicality contrasts with the interiority and melding of body and ground that characterises the oil portrait of Matthews (fig. 4).

36 Lindsay Broughton, "Carington Smith, Jack (1908–1972)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed July 14, 2020, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/carington-smith-jack-9690/text17089, published first in hardcopy 1993.

37 Max Angus, *Who was Jack Carington Smith?* directed by R.D. Barnes (A Tasmanian State Film Unit Production, 1970), Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, accessed November 3, 2019, https://youtu.be/I6YzEwPsjuI.

38 Jack Carington Smith (1908–1972), *Portrait of Professor James McAuley*, 1963. NGA 65.17. National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.

39 Peter Pierce, "McAuley, James Phillip (1917–1976)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed July 17, 2020, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mcauley-james-phillip-10896/text19347, published first in hardcopy 2000.

40 Skinner, *Peter Sculthorpe*, 323.

41 "A Festival of Contemporary Opera and Music: Incorporating the Second Australian Composers' Seminar," (1965: Hobart, Tas), "Report of Proceedings," (Hobart: Adult Education Board, 1966).

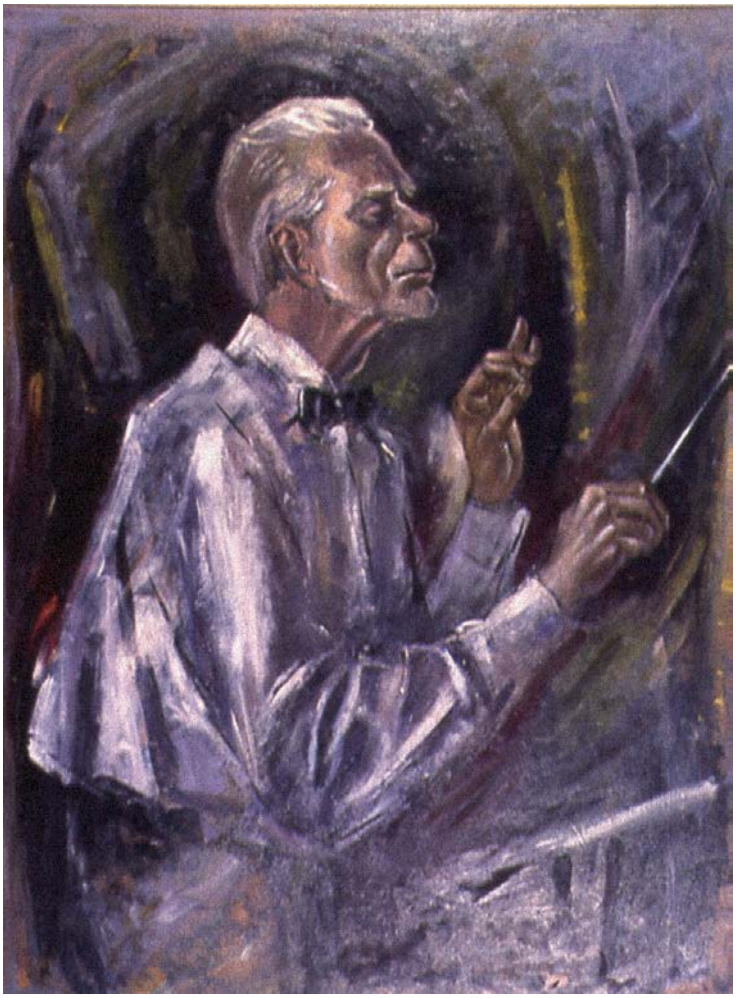


Fig. 4: Jack Carington Smith, *Portrait of Thomas Matthews*, 1967, oil on canvas, 121 × 91.5 cm (stretcher). Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.

While the portrait of McAuley reveals nothing of his profession, the portrait of Matthews is concerned as much with the act of conducting as it is with portraying Matthews's specific characteristics and inner spirit. The preparatory sketches indicate Carington Smith's interest in capturing Matthews's hand gestures and his facial expression. Nine of the twelve sketches (figs 5 to 13) explore the conductor's range of arm gesture and movement, from precise and concentrated signals focussed on specific finger placements and captured by Carington Smith in fine lines, to the more animated flurries that result from faster tempi in which the artist used looser, more sweeping lines to capture the arms moving at greater speed.



Fig. 5: Jack Carington Smith, *(3/4 length study, right profile of Thomas Matthews) No. 939*, chalk on brown paper, 56.3 × 39.4 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 6: Jack Carington Smith, *(Two sketches of Thomas Matthews conducting) No. 938*, chalk on brown paper, 57.5 × 38.8 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 7: Jack Carington Smith, *(Sketches of Thomas Matthews conducting) No. 935*, chalk on brown paper, 59.4 × 35.5 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 8: Jack Carington Smith, *(Right profile 3/4 length, Thomas Matthews conducting) No. 937*, chalk on brown paper, 56 × 39.8 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 9: Jack Carington Smith, *(Right profile 3/4 length, Thomas Matthews conducting) No. 936*. chalk on brown paper, 59.2 × 37.7 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 10: Jack Carington Smith, *(Two studies, Thomas Matthews left hand conducting) No. 941*, chalk on brown paper, 58.3 × 37.8 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 11: Jack Carington Smith, *(Portrait profile of Thomas Matthews) No. 551*, chalk on brown paper, 56.1 × 37.4 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 12: Jack Carington Smith, *(Study of Thomas Matthews conducting) No. 550*, chalk on brown paper, 57.6 × 37 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 13: Jack Carington Smith, *(Thomas Matthews conducting) No. 942*, chalk on brown paper, 57.9 × 39.7 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.

The remaining three sketches (figs 14 to 16) are studies of Matthews's head in profile, one of which is perhaps the most finely worked of all (fig. 14). The subject's closed eyes and assured countenance encourage the viewer to linger over the contours of his face and texture of his skin, expertly revealed by Carington Smith through limited means. In this image and in the finished oil painting, Carington Smith portrays Matthews with a highly refined, other worldly quality that separates him – the European musician – from the likes of Australian public figures such as McAuley.

The high status awarded European musicians in Australia at this time is indicative of the impact that the colonial mentality continued to have on the discourse around Australian music and art. Bernard Smith, the art critic and historian, is said by Terry Smith to have been "an outstanding thinker about the relativities of power within the cultural flows between the great metropolitan centres and their peripheries, especially as they played out between Australia and its colonisers."[42] For him, the new acclaim for Australian art in London provoked an interesting dialogue between the notions of internationalism, provincialism and cultural iso-

42 Terry Smith, "Australian Painting Today (1961)," in *Antipodean Perspective: Selected Writings of Bernard Smith*, ed. Rex Butler and Sheridan Palmer (Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2018), 105.

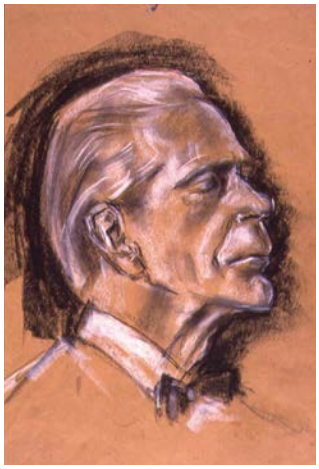


Fig. 14: Jack Carington Smith, *(Study of Thomas Matthews) No. 940*, chalk on brown paper, 57.6 × 39.2 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 15: Jack Carington Smith, *(Study of right profile, head Thomas Matthews) No. 934*, chalk on brown paper, 55.4 × 37.8 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.



Fig. 16: Jack Carington Smith, *(Right profile, portrait head Thomas Matthews) No. 933*, chalk on brown paper, 58.8 × 36.8 cm sheet. Donated to the University of Tasmania by Douglas Steane through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme, 1991. © Julie and Owen Carington Smith, 2020.

lation. At home, writes Smith, perceived weaknesses have been attributed to Australia's geographic isolation from the international centres of London, Paris and New York. Australian critics considered Australian art to be "hopelessly provincial" by world standards.[43] The commentary surrounding the London exhibition however, both from Australians writing in the exhibition catalogue and from the English press, promotes a myth of "isolation from the sources of European culture" as a contributing factor to the strength of Australian art.[44] "In its current form", writes Smith, "this myth asserts that the strength and vitality of Australian art lies in its complete isolation from the Renaissance tradition."[45] Quick to dispel such falsehood, noting, as Terry Smith summarises, the "European fascination with the art of peoples they regarded as primitive,"[46] Bernard Smith proposes that the "element of truth in the isolation myth is our partial isolation from the full effects of the modern movement."[47]

43 Bernard Smith, "The Myth of Isolation," 112.
44 Ibid., 113, 115.
45 Ibid., 115.
46 Terry Smith, "Australian Painting Today (1961)," 106.
47 Bernard Smith, "The Myth of Isolation," 127.

In the musical context we find Margaret Sutherland reiterating this point, when she speaks in her 1963 keynote of the isolation impeding access to musical modernism and noting the detrimental effects of this on composers.[48] Bernard Smith however concedes to a "process of selection and rejection" by artists, as "one might expect of an art like Australian art, closely affiliated with European culture yet displaying distinct qualities of its own."[49] In this last statement Smith describes a concept of Australian art very similar to Stanley Burbury's conceptualisation of Australian music that, as we noted earlier, is one that amalgamated national characteristics with European tradition.

For Sutherland, the stylistic and conceptual diversity amongst Australia's contemporary composers was a strength, but she called for a greater vitality, conviction, and potency of musical thought. Attempting to promote an Australian musical confidence through references to landscape, she simultaneously proposed that Australian composers, presuming them to be of white settler and immigrant cultural backgrounds, did not feel a sense of belonging to this continent:

> Just as the age-old rock formation of this country suggest character and solidity to the senses, so should our music strive more and more to lose that self-doubting, transient quality, seeking to attain the grandeur, the dynamic vitality which would be in keeping with this country which we are in spite of ourselves, every day absorbing inch by inch.[50]

In this metaphorical reference to landscape as a model for music, we sense the importance of a distinctive body of Australian figurative painting that would become influential from the 1960s on the development and marketing of an Australian identity in music. The exploration of Australian themes by painters such as Russell Drysdale (1912–1981), Sidney Nolan (1917–1992), and Albert Tucker (1914–1999) included particular conceptions of the Australian landscape and its inhabitants that interrogated notions of harshness, barrenness, isolation, and challenge. The placement of these images on vinyl LP recording covers inferred that the music contained within shared similar qualities and promulgated the same mythologies. One example is the use of Drysdale's painting *The Rabbiters* (1947) on the cover of Festival Records' 1972 release of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra's recordings of Felix Werder's *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (1966)*, and Margaret Sutherland's *Haunted Hills* (1950).[51]

48 Margaret Sutherland, "The Role of the Australian Composer in Contemporary Society," 6–7.

49 Bernard Smith, "The Myth of Isolation," 119.

50 Margaret Sutherland, "The Role of the Australian Composer in Contemporary Society," 8.

51 Russell Drysdale, *The Rabbiters*, 1947. Oil on canvas, 76.6 × 102.5 cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Images of the cover of the vinyl LP recording (Festival Records SFC-80020) are available on *Discogs*, accessed July 17, 2020, https://www.discogs.com/Felix-Werder-Margaret-Sutherland-Concerto-For-Violin-Haunted-Hills/release/5914061

Conclusion

This brief investigation has revealed shared concerns between the discourse of visual art and the discourse of music in early 1960s Australia. The concepts of belonging and detachment were explored in the lectures of composer Margaret Sutherland and art historian Bernard Smith as both sought to foster confidence in an emerging national cultural identity in the face of a prevailing colonial mentality. For composers, the international success of contemporary Australian painting provided not only subject matter to be explored in music, but a model to identify with as Australian composers advocated for recognition in a society which favoured the performer and idealised the international exponent. That such formative discussions and collaborations occurred in Hobart warrants acknowledgement of a shift for this short period from geographic centre to periphery. Whilst Sydney and Melbourne dominated visual art, Hobart can be considered the birthplace of the Australian musical avant-garde.

RECRUITING TRADITION: CATHEDRAL CHOIRS AND THE HERITAGE INDUSTRY

Christopher Price

The English cathedral choir has had to reinvent itself, iconographically speaking, for the purposes of recruitment in challenging times. As an ecclesiastical institution, it is as old as the buildings themselves. Enormous changes have transpired since the medieval period, and Directors of Music in cathedrals are now finding that if the choir is to survive in the twenty-first century it must appeal to an increasingly secular – and sceptical – generation of parents who are less willing to hand over their children to an institution which makes considerable demands above and beyond the average school experience. The visual expression of that appeal is the subject of this essay.

A key feature of the imagery employed makes very direct reference to the heritage cathedrals embody. Britain's heritage industry is, arguably, its greatest export, and the iconographical tropes associated with it are all too familiar to an image-hungry world whose appetite for this sort of thing cannot be sated. Modern iterations of this role-playing seem bent on reproduction rather than re-interpretation. Any image of a royal procession in Westminster Abbey is an impressive catwalk of archaic robes, and the State Opening of Parliament has changed little in several centuries: the monarch looks down from the throne in the House of Lords – the non-elected chamber to which, let it be noted, the elected Members of the House of Commons have been summoned – accompanied by royal attendants of uncertain provenance. Outside the Houses of Parliament, the Heritage Industry has been particularly busy in the last decade or so: in 2012, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee featured a replica of a Tudor Royal Barge, but that was comprehensively surpassed by the heritage double bill following the death of Her Majesty: after her funeral, the Coronation of King Charles III treated the world to an extraordinary display of monarchical representation. The Kohinoor diamond was tactfully left in the Tower, but everything else – topped off with a gold state coach – was an object lesson in heritage iconography.

Even re-inventions are done with that trademark, post-modern irony for which Britain used to be famous until the idiocy of Brexit redefined the nation. Two months after the Jubilee celebrations, before the Referendum was so much as a glint in any Brexiteer's eye, the filmmaker Danny Boyle set out to persuade the world that James Bond had gone to fetch the Queen from Buckingham Palace in a helicopter so that she could parachute in to the Opening Ceremony of the Olympic Games to declare the official opening. Her Madge did not seem particularly

amused, but the nation smiled indulgently. In fact, the entire ceremony was such a rich tapestry of subtle references to various facets of British culture that much of it was lost on most native Brits, while the rest of the world was simply baffled for at least some of the time. As one of our great actors, Kenneth Branagh, wandered around the teeming arena dressed as Isambard Kingdom Brunel watching the Industrial Revolution take shape, many Americans apparently assumed he was portraying Abraham Lincoln. Confusion was confounded because Branagh was quoting Shakespeare's *Tempest* at the time, to the accompaniment of Edward Elgar. A scholarly exegesis of the whole thing can be found in "The Oxford Companion to the London 2012 Opening Ceremony,"[1] but a more enjoyable, fictionalised version can be found in Jonathan Coe's novel *Middle England* (2018), which credits Danny Boyle with achieving something we all now think is impossible, a sense of shared national identity, albeit short-lived.

Notwithstanding all that, the British Heritage Industry offers us an image of the nation with which many seem keen to sympathise. Britain, we would have ourselves and others believe, is a green and pleasant land of village greens, timbered housing, medieval castles, gift shops, inns and taverns, and, of course, medieval churches and cathedrals. The tumultuous din of the heavy industry which catapulted Britain into its industrial revolution from the eighteenth century onwards and on to its colonial dominance in the nineteenth century, and the concomitant seismic transition from a rural to a predominantly urban society, does not form part of this narrative. The nineteenth century rows of terraced housing built for the factory workers, and the blocks of flats built to offer cheap housing in the twentieth century do not figure prominently in advertising material which privileges the pastoral over the urban.

Just as all pictures are works of fiction, any iconography attempting to depict the character of a national heritage is committed to constructing a narrative in which we would wish to see ourselves reflected. Among the contributory characters in the narrative the UK is composing for itself, religious buildings are prominent, as if to reference a spiritual authority for the work in hand. Those religious buildings are usually seen in close association with other architecture elements that articulate the temporal power, such as castles and other edifices of high aristocratic and/or civic status. Together they loom over the towns and cities they inhabit, and punctuate the rural environment, usually in an elevated and slightly distant position, exuding exactly the kind of aloof elitism which inspires one of the strongest and most deeply ingrained features of the British Character: deference (fig. 1).

The strength and longevity of this characteristic should not be underestimated. It is true that British history furnishes outstanding examples of thinkers and writers who have seen this deference for what it is: a pathetic subservience to a ruling elite placed in a position of power by nothing more than a set of socially

1 Alice Northover, "The Oxford Companion to the London 2012 Opening Ceremony," Oxford University Press blog, August 12, 2012, https://blog.oup.com/2012/08/oxford-companion-london-2012-opening-ceremony/?/.



Fig. 1: Durham Cathedral and Castle.[1]

constructed institutions whose sole purpose is to serve their own interests whilst apparently validating their privileged position by reference to inchoate notions of history and tradition. Its staying power is remarkable.

William Cobbett (British social reformer, 1763–1835) was one such thinker. The historian David Cannadine quotes him as denouncing the "chain of dependence running through the whole nation which, though not everywhere seen, is everywhere felt."[3] Cannadine subjects this aspect of the British character to close scrutiny. It is, of course, directly related to his main concern: the quintessentially British preoccupation with class. In a long discussion of the methods in which class identity has been conceptualised with respect to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British society both at the time and by later historians of the periods, Cannadine debates the relative usefulness and primacy of those views which saw society as a two-tier system. "The most simplified of all, […] gentlemen and non-gentlemen, superior and inferior, polite and common, learned and ignorant, rich and poor, nobility and commoner, 'laced waistcoats' and 'leather aprons', and so on"[4] as opposed to the "increasingly popular tripartite social categories."[5] These, he notes, were as visible in politics, the law, and education as they were on the

2 Visit County Durham, accessed February 3, 2021, https://www.visitcountydurham.org.

3 David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 65.

4 Ibid., 30.

5 Ibid., 46.

railway which, as soon as it had been invented, divided its carriages into first-, second-, and third-class accommodation. His point about education is pertinent:

> Teaching, learning and literacy were intrinsically hierarchical. There was an elaborate ladder of places of learning, from Oxford and Cambridge universities, via Eton and Harrow, Manchester and Leeds grammar schools, to the humblest parish school. The higher up the social scale, the better, the longer and the more expensive the education that was available. […] People from three basic social backgrounds went to three basic types of institution: public schools and Oxbridge for the aristocracy and gentry, grammar schools and professional training for the middle classes, and parish schools (or nothing) for the rest.[6]

George Cruikshank's *British Bee Hive* (originally 1840, reworked in 1867, fig. 2) offers a visual representation of the various strata making up British society. Cannadine calls it a "picture of society as a graded, interlocking hierarchy,"[7] and in a lengthy discussion of the various conceptualisations of class he finds it illuminating:

> It was a less powerful, less sensational, less menacing vision of British society than that projected by the Chartists or the supporters of the Anti-Corn Law League. But even in the troubled, disturbed 1830s and 1840s, it was also more accurate, more resonant, more convincing.[8]

Cannadine is keenly aware of the inadequacies of any model. The most tortuous example is "the elaborate tables drawn up by R.D. Baxter in 1867, in which he listed 69 occupational groups in the hierarchy of labour." In the mid-nineteenth century, Cannadine argues, "It was still not clear who was a gentleman and who was not […] The only sure way of knowing that you were a gentleman was to be treated as such. But that was something about which it was often not possible to be sure at all. Another great divide […] was between those who were respectable and those who are not. But once again, there were different views" as to where the lines should be drawn.[9]

However conceptualised, Britain's class system is a hierarchy which is enacted in many ways, at many levels. "The state opening of Parliament, the installation of a University Chancellor, the beginning of a legal term: all these were [and still are] opportunities for the pomp and circumstance of order and degree to be made public." The visible expression of such hierarchy is the procession, which British obsession stands in marked contrast to the American parade. One is quintessentially hierarchical, the other innately egalitarian. Cannadine sees this as both process and product. "As Britons were confronted by, or participated in, these transcendent social dramas, it must have been easy to believe that this ritualised depiction of social gradations was indeed the real version of the natural order of things."[10]

6 Ibid., 47.
7 Ibid., 97.
8 Ibid., 88.
9 Ibid., 92.
10 Ibid., 48–49.

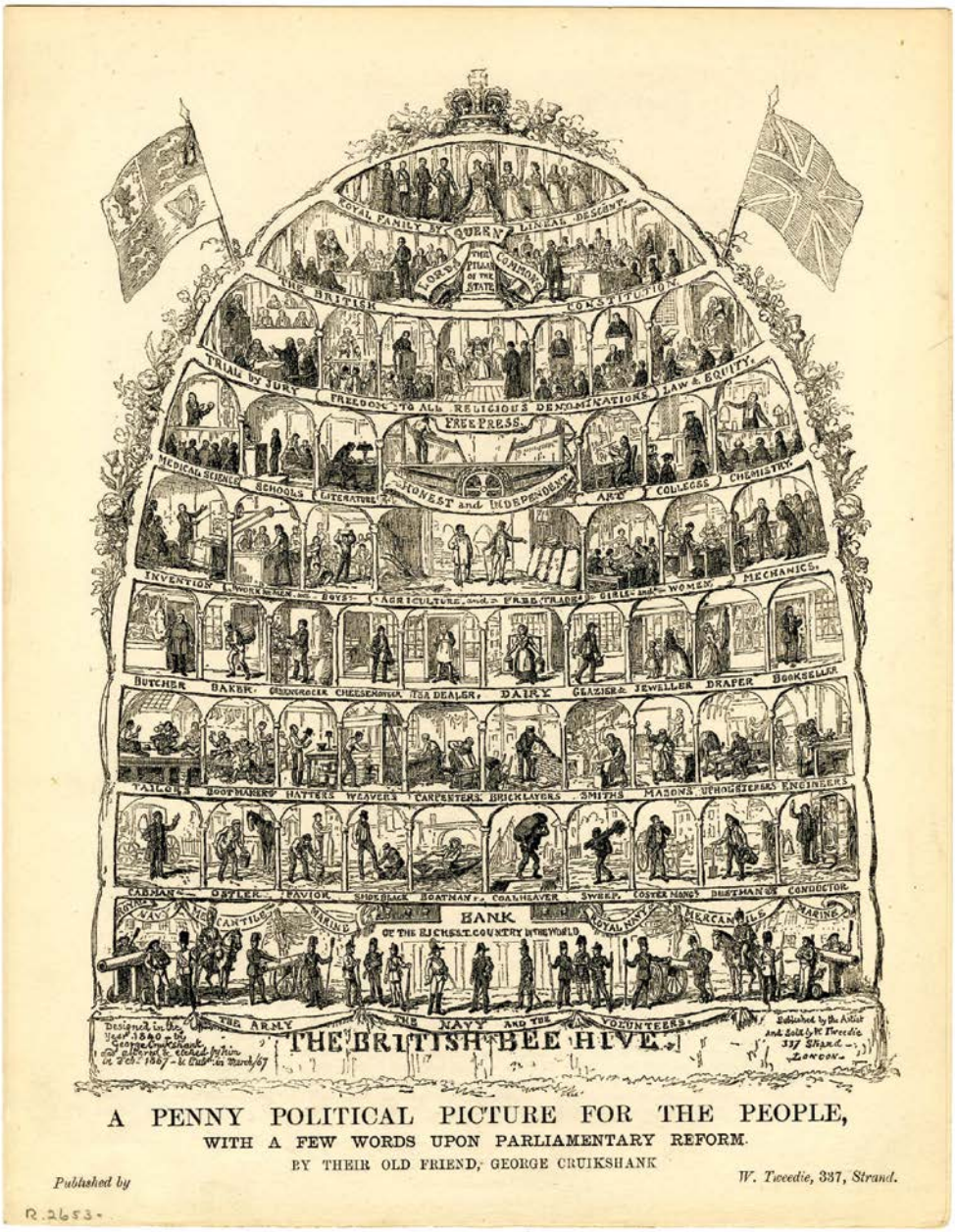


Fig. 2: George Cruikshank, *The British Bee Hive* (printed in London by William Tweedie), 1867, etching on paper, 28.4 × 22 cm. London: British Museum, 1977, U.1456.

All this exemplifies what another historian, Linda Colley, calls "the primacy of the polite vision."[11] This points to a process of assimilation and adoption of a dominant ideology which has become so complete that it is accepted and enacted with no sense of an alternative world view. In other words, the way the elite class assesses society, culture, and politics dominants the way in which everyone assesses the same. It is a powerful dynamic whose strength has, on occasion, proved some other thinkers woefully wrong. As the bombs were falling on London in World War II, the great essayist George Orwell was confidently predicting that such an appalling tragedy would see the end, finally, of the British elite ruling class. Nearly eighty years later, our present Prime Minister is a product of the very same elite educational system.

This testifies to one defining characteristic of the British Establishment: its remarkable ability to weather the most extreme social and political upheaval. World War II is but one example of a succession of national crises which would have seen off lesser institutions long ago. Those crises include the Norman invasion in 1066, the Reformation under Henry VIII in the 1540s, the Civil War (including the removal of the monarchy by beheadings) in 1641, the wholesale replacement of the monarchical succession in 1688 when James II was becoming far too Catholic for everyone's liking, paving the way for the creation of a constitutional (rather than absolute) monarchy and the House of Hanover, and the creation of the House of Windsor during the First World War when people started to notice that the bombs dropping on London bore the name House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the same name as the then ruling dynasty. That incomplete list prompted a very rapid reinvention of the British Monarchy.

Religious buildings are very prominent metaphors amongst the powerful icons of such fortitude and longevity. Durham's photogenic placement of a cathedral next to a castle (fig. 1) is a fortuitous representation of the marriage, in England, of church and state. It also serves as a neat segue into the next part of this argument, because one is much, much more accessible than the other. One can only join the aristocracy in the castle by birth (or as a result of a considerable amount of grovelling servitude), but *anyone* can go to church.

Once inside a church, all sorts of useful service may help perpetuate the institution. In a nation whose bond between church and state is enshrined in its constitution (technically non-existent but nonetheless ever-present), such service may earn preferment. To be sure, there were periods during which the volatile nature of British religious politics may have necessitated discretion. One of Britain's oldest satirical songs celebrates the eponymous Vicar of a town called Bray, in Oxfordshire, who found himself compelled to change religious allegiance several times to safeguard his career. The first of six verses is shown below (fig. 3), but it only begins to make sense if the listener is aware of the turbulent history of England's Reformation. Writing in 1662, one Thomas Fuller sums up the likely incumbent thus:

11 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (Yale University Press, 2009), 80.
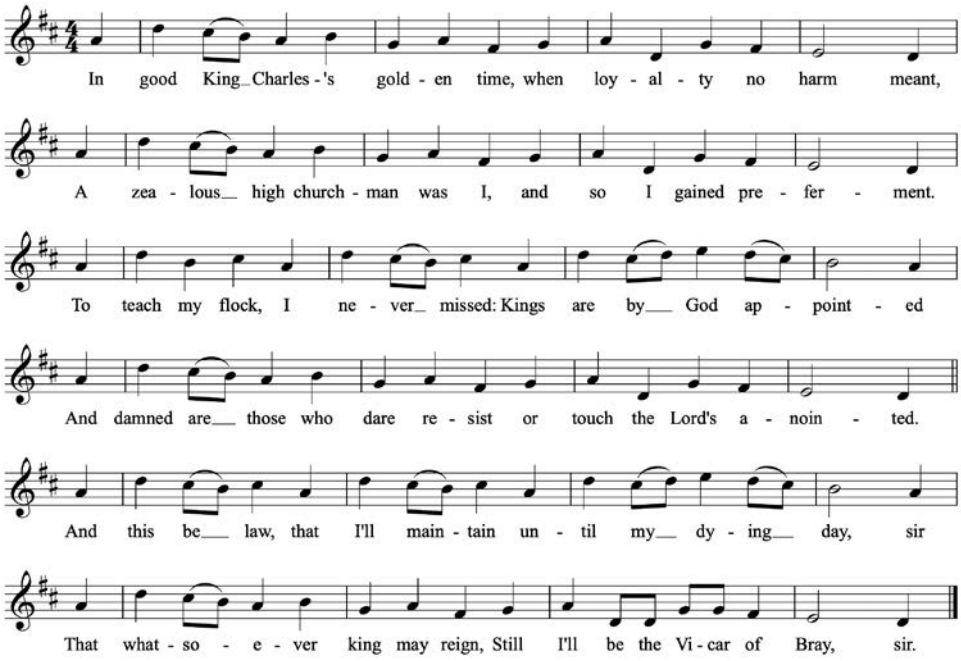


Fig. 3: *The Vicar of Bray*, verse 1 & chorus.

> The vivacious vicar hereof living under king Henry the Eighth, king Edward the Sixth, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, was first a Papist, then a Protestant, then a Papist, then a Protestant again. He had seen some martyrs burnt (two miles off) at Windsor, and found this fire too hot for his tender temper. This vicar being taxed by one for being a turncoat and an inconstant changeling, – "Not so," said he; "for I always kept my principle, which is this, to live and die the vicar of Bray." Such many now-a-days, who though they cannot turn the wind will turn their mills, and set them so, that wheresoever it bloweth their grist shall certainly be grinded.[12]

The song ridicules Britain's sectarian politics, although they cannot have been very funny at the time. The latter part of the sixteenth century was one of the bloodiest chapters in British history, and anti-Catholic feeling was a recurrent feature of national life long after that. Cathedrals, however, founded or reconstituted under Henry, enjoyed a degree of autonomy which allowed them to function as a small fiefdom within the larger body politic. Cathedrals were financially independent, with many the beneficiaries of vast tracts of land which they, in turn, rented to tenants. That income funded an establishment of staff who found steady work in

12 Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: T. Tegg, 1840), 113.

various capacities, including the cathedral's music-making. For those boys and men who secured employment, it offered an unusually secure source of income and opportunity.

Boys provided the treble line in the cathedral, collegiate choirs, and monasteries since at least the Middle Ages. One early piece of evidence is found at New College, Oxford, "including (bottom left and right) the sixteen tonsured choristers" (fig. 4).[13] It is appropriate to consider briefly what might have been the appeal of a cathedral choir for a boy in the period from the mid-sixteenth-century to the 1800s. Put simply, choristership clearly offered a better start in life than most boys might expect outside the Precincts.

The modern Welfare State in Britain is approximately seventy years old. Previously, provisions for education, health, and welfare assistance were a patchwork of charitable and local support. Documents in Canterbury Cathedral recorded the donations the clergy would make in the early 1700s to the people queuing up at a back gate for assistance. Each donation was scrupulously recorded, and provides a litany of human misery. Shattered soldiers ("To 3 lame souldiers that had but 3 legs between them"[14]), diseased widows ("To a mayde with a cancer in her breast"[15]), men broken by injury ("Given to one Brown who lost his arm by a cart falling upon it"[16]), and victims of piracy ("To a hansom youth about 15; had his tongue cut out, as by his signes I understand he had been a slave in Turkey"[17]) were sent away with sixpence or a shilling. In the same Treasurers' Books, the organ blower is given sixpence every time he catches a rat.

For a singer, employment by the Dean and Chapter, however meanly treated, offered some insurance against such destitution. It is small wonder, then, that generations of men and boys clung on to their singing work while they could. The names of Lay Clerks[18] and Choristers recorded in the Treasurers' Books at Canterbury clearly show that singing was a family affair, many choristers following in their fathers' footsteps to become Lay Clerks.

Notwithstanding the advantages, dreadful clues emerge from primary sources regarding the conditions of choristership in cathedrals throughout the land, from which a few examples suffice. The best-known is perhaps the biographical account of Richard John Samuel Stevens, a Georgian organist, composer, and singer. Stevens was sent to choristership at St Paul's, and his diaries are a rich resource for

13 Alan Mould, *The English Chorister: A History* (Hambledon Continuum, 2007), facing 174.

14 Treasurer's Book. GB–CA; CCA-DCc-TB10, p. 40v.

15 Treasurer's Book. GB–CA; CCA-DCc-TB13, p. 84.

16 Treasurer's Book. GB–CA; CCA-DCc-TB24, p. 25.

17 Treasurer's Book. GB–CA; CCA-DCc-TB10, p. 39.

18 The gentlemen singers providing the alto, tenor and bass parts in a cathedral choir. The word "Lay" signifies "not ordained" in this context, as opposed to ordained priests, who are otherwise known as "clerks in holy orders".



Fig. 4: New College, Oxford, and its One Hundred Clerks. MS New College Oxford cclxxviii.[2] (photo Look and Learn)

scholars of late-eighteenth century cathedral choirs. He describes the tutelage of William Savage, Master of the Choristers, thus:[19]

> Mr Savage was certainly a good teacher of the Science of Music in all its bearings; but he was violent and impatient in his temper to the greatest degree: and his impetuosity sometimes drove him into chastising the boys almost to cruelty: in the course of my apprenticeship I was once beaten most intolerably by him.[20]

Alan Mould, in his comprehensive history of the cathedral chorister, makes the point that this sort of disciplinary behavior was not unusual. Mould notes the wider social context in which the treatment of children was, by modern standards,

19 In J.R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, illustrated edition (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), 467.

20 Mark Argent, ed., *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006), 13.

appalling.[21] There is no doubt that these were centuries in which adults set poor examples. Even the ordained men – the "Minor Canons" – who sang in the cathedral choirs alongside the choristers and Lay Clerks were a group of men whose behaviour could not always be trusted. In 1560, Archbishop Parker enquired as to the character and reputation of Canterbury's cathedral staff in his Articles of Visitation:

> You shall enquire of […] the above named members, officers and ministers of this your said church; whether you know or suspect any of them, to obtain his room or living by money, or unlawful covenant, gift or reward […] whether any of them be known, or suspected to be a swearer, an adulterer, a fornicator, or suspected for any other uncleanness. Whether any of them do use any suspect house, or suspected company of any such faults, any tavern, alehouse, or tippling houses, at any inconvenient season. Whether any of them be suspected to be a drunkard, a dicer or carder, a brawler, fighter, quareller, or unquiet person; a carrier of tales, a backbiter, slanderer, batemaker, or any other ways breaker of charity or unity, or cause of unquietness by any means.[22]

It is a revealing passage, listing as it does, remarkable detail of the potential misdemeanours of cathedral staff. The expectation seems to be that ordained clergy were as susceptible to the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil as were their lay colleagues. Parker's questions are repeated in some form or other at every archbishop's visitation over the next three centuries, and they apply to everyone, but at this stage in the cathedral's history it is interesting to note that there was no discrimination made between ordained and lay staff in such matters.

Less than a century after Parker, it seemed that the archbishops' concerns were justified, and cathedrals paid the price. They were certainly amongst the most high-profile objects of Puritan wrath, as statues were smashed, windows shattered, and music burned. The most infamous Canterbury figure from that period is Richard Culmer, one of the Six Preachers who, in the topsy-turvy period of the Commonwealth, ruled the ravaged cathedral. His *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury* of 1644 is memorable for his description of a Puritan (probably Culmer himself) "Rattling down Becket's glassy bones" in an orgy of stained-glass destruction, but the Minor Canons were the subject of some of his most withering scorn. Most of *Cathedrall Newes* is a catalogue of the Cathedral's misdeeds, but in one relatively neglected passage, Culmer focuses on this particular group of musicians:

> The Cathedrall Prelates [clergy] to maintaine their Quire Consort, doe get their Singingmen into the Ministery, and provide them Benefices with Cures of soules [curacies, or appointments to paid parish ministry] in divers Parishes, in, and

21 Alan Mould, *The English Chorister: A History* (Hambledon: Continuum, 2007), 150.

22 John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, the First Archbishop of Canterbury in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1711), 73, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Dr8NAAAAQAAJ.

> about the said Citie, they being many of them onely reading-Priests, as Mr. &c. late Weaver, now reading-Priest, and Parson of St. Mary Bredman, and Peticanon [Minor Canon] of that Cathedrall, Mr. &c. late Tobacco pipe-maker, and *reprieved from the Gallowes* [my italics], now reading-Priest and Parson of St. Martins, and Peticanon of that Cathedrall. Mr. &c. late Taylor, Servingman and Butler to the Deane of that Cathedrall, now reading-Priest and Curate of St. Mary Bredin, and also of St. Mary Magdalen, and Peticanon of that Cathedrall. Mr. &c. late Serving-man, now reading-Priest, and Curate of St. Johns, and Parson sine cura, and Peticanon of that Cathedrall.[23]

Culmer's accusation – that the Minor Canons were disreputable men, cloaked by means of ordination and various parish benefices with a veneer of respectability to enable them to sing in the cathedral choir – is of a piece with the corruption against which the Puritans level their fury. The allegation that one man had been saved from the gallows for the sake of his singing is one of the more extreme examples.

It is hardly surprising, then, that choristers of this lengthy, unedifying period of English sacred music history may not have been the cherubic beings of the present-day iconography discussed below. Indeed, one early cohort of Canterbury choristers are on record as having turned to crime. In 1756, five choristers were brought before the Dean and Chapter:

> Choristers of this church were complained of to the late Vice Dean and such Prebendaries as were then residing here, who then summoned them to appear before them and found them guilty of stealing lead from the church, and other high crimes which they confessed to be true: and whereas the said boys were this day summoned before the Dean and Chapter and confessed they had been guilty of the offences charged against them, we decree they all shall be forthwith expelled from the choir.[24]

They seem to have been a particularly bad lot that year. Another chorister had already been expelled "for frequent misbehaviour in time of divine service and many other gross misdemeanors."[25] However, such poor behaviour seems to have been the remarkable exception in a group of children characterised by mute obedience in the face of deadening servitude. There is no reason to believe that the life of a Canterbury chorister would have been any more exciting than that of one just up the road in Rochester. One James Field, accompanying Charles Dickens there, noted "how sleepy and inane were the faces of many of the singers" and described the cathedral services as "a sickening monotony of repetition."[26]

---

23 Richard Culmer, *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury* (London: 1644), 2, http://www.kentarchaeology.ac/TopographicalTradition/1644-culmer.pdf.

24 Dean's Book. GB-CA; CCA-DCc-DB/3, p. 115.

25 Ibid., 108.

26 Philip Barrett, *Barchester: English Cathedral Life in the Nineteenth Century* (London: SPCK, 1993), 164.



Fig. 5: Grave marker for Maria Hackett (photo Chris Price).

Even as recently as the nineteenth century, little had changed. As one writer puts it, it seems that the life of a chorister was little more than a "benign form of child labour that could also provide rudimentary education."[27] In fact, there is evidence that they were expected not only to sing, but to work as domestic servants in the canons' houses in which they were lodged. The picture of their lives becomes clearer in the nineteenth century when one woman, Maria Hackett (1783–1874), "The Chorister's Friend," took it upon herself to campaign for the better treatment of choristers. Her grave marker (paid for in 1877 by subscriptions raised from choristers throughout the country),[28] (fig. 5) may be found in St Paul's Cathedral today. It is a generous gesture when one realises that her reforming zeal was primarily focused on that particular institution. The extent to which choristers' treatment improved in the 1800s would almost certainly have been less significant were it not for her untiring efforts. In 1827, she published *A Brief Account of Cathedral and Col-*

27 Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 66.

28 David Gedge, "The Choristers' Friend: Maria Hackett and Her Reforming Zeal," *The Musical Times* 132, no. 1783 (Sep., 1991): 470.



Fig. 6: The girls of Canterbury Cathedral Choir (photo Ray Burmiston).[29]

legiate Schools; with an Abstract of the Statutes and Endowments. Page vii of that book gives a "Comparative View of the number and present state of the Endowed Choristers educated in the different cathedral and collegiate schools." Eight of the 40 institutions examined taught only reading, writing, and arithmetic. By contrast, 16 other places offered the choristers a "classical education" either at the cathedral school or another nearby. Nowadays, we call this a "postcode lottery." One's education depended upon the location of their home. Nevertheless, any education was better than the streets outside the Precincts.

So much for the historical perspective. Fortunately, much has changed immeasurably for the better and, unsurprisingly and justifiably, present-day recruitment literature feels no need to mention the embarrassing past. One other aspect is similarly ignored: until 1991, the cathedral choir was an all-male environment. Then Salisbury Cathedral started a girls' choir, which ran separately from the boys. Still at the forefront of this development, the choir is completely integrated today. Across the country, the picture varies. Currently, most cathedrals have girls singing in some capacity. Canterbury's girls' choir (fig. 6) was established in 2014 but was one of the slowest. St David's, in Britain's smallest city (it's a city if it has a cathedral) now uses nothing but girls for the cathedral choir top line; the boys' choir is a separate entity.

29 "Girl Choristers," Canterbury Cathedral, accessed March 3, 2021, https://www.canterbury-cathedral.org/worship/choir/girls-choir/.



Fig. 7: The boys of Canterbury Cathedral Choir (photo Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral).[30]

The arrival of female cathedral choristers, it should be noted, is remarkable not so much for the fact that it has actually happened, but that it took this long. Equality between the sexes, though still an ambition rather than a reality in many areas, was enshrined in legislation in Britain in 1975. Even now, the opening of cathedral choir opportunities to girls is a product not so much of legislation as of attitudinal change and frank necessity. The all-boy treble line is more difficult to achieve these days.

Regardless of the gender of the young people to whom the recruitment material is aimed, the message is clear. Blessedly emancipated from the underpaid servitude, squalid living conditions, and sub-standard education of yesteryear, the potential chorister and their family is presented with images, set against a backdrop of splendid architecture and monumental pageantry, of some sort of community life mixed in with a bit of communal merry-making. Here, for example (fig. 7), are a recent cohort of Canterbury boys, photographed against the splendid backdrop of the east end of the cathedral quire. Canterbury has a particularly impressive aspect when viewed from west to east, as the floor level of the cathedral rises to the Trinity Chapel at the east end, where the shrine of St. Thomas and Becket stood until

30 "Boy Choristers," Canterbury Cathedral, accessed March 3, 2021, https://www.canterbury-cathedral.org/worship/choir/choristers-2/.

Henry VIII took exception to it. The result is that the choristers look down at the viewer, their diminutive stature considerably enhanced by the use of perspective.

Alongside the images, of course, are words, urging consideration of a number of things, amongst them the educational benefits of choristership and of the strong community bonds forged in this small, intense community. The following extract from Llandaff Cathedral's web pages is typical:

> The benefits of a Choristership in the Cathedral Choir should not be underestimated for the boys that take them up, and choristers learn valuable skills that will set them up for life in whatever field they choose. These include:
>
> - A free musical education with professional music staff
> - The opportunity to work with peers and adults to a high level, making new and lasting friends across the year groups
> - Development of important life skills: time keeping, confidence and self-discipline
> - The chance to be part of a musical tradition in Llandaff that stretches back centuries and includes some of the most wonderful choral music ever written
> - Opportunities to take part in concerts, recordings and domestic and foreign tours.[31]

These points play strongly to parental anxieties. Faced with the prospect of handing over the care of one's offspring to a boarding-house environment, as most cathedral choir schools are (either in-house or sub-contracted to a local private school), any caring parent needs to be reassured that their child will be looked after, and that the attendant educational advantages will make any incidental sacrifices worthwhile.

Of course, the most obvious form of recruitment activity available to cathedrals is the public concert, and the iconography advertising that sort of thing puts the choirs right back in their most emphatic locations, the architectural environments. These advertisements are laden with meanings. Utterly soaked in the opulent visual language of architectural heritage, they advertise music of an elite cultural tradition and invite comparisons with the highest professional standards of both music and advertising.

In short, this material invites application to join the highest echelons of British intellectual and cultural life. It was Pierre Bourdieu who nailed the political dimension: "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier," he noted. "Nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class' – nothing more infallibly classifies – than tastes in music. This is of course because, by virtue of the rarity of the conditions for acquiring the corresponding dispositions, there is no more 'classifactory' practice than concert-going or playing a 'noble' instrument."[32] He might have added to that observation admission

31 "Llandaff Cathedral Choir." Llandaff Cathedral, accessed May 30, 2021, https://www.llandaffcathedral.org.uk/music-2/the-cathedral-choir/.

32 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1986), 6.

to a cathedral choir. In that respect, all the recruitment material is essentially the sort of thing that any advertising aimed at an exclusive clientele would offer with the addition of a soundtrack. Thanks in no small part to the Carol Service from King's College, Cambridge, that soundtrack is arguably the most recognisable sonic brand in the world.

Heritage is all very well but, as successive generations discover, it is pointless unless reinvented in some meaningful way to serve afresh. It must be renewed lest the artefacts and the reverential behaviours surrounding them, come to be seen as nothing more than the hollow elements of dusty ritual. Tradition, as with all earthly things, is constructed. Its mortality is stalked by the spectre of fleeting evanescence. Dust beckons to dust. Unless tradition is given substance – marmo-realised in stone, encased in book, re-enacted in colourful costume and accompanied with music, preferably set to words in an archaic tongue – it will vanish as a dream.

The challenges of renewing it seem currently to be experienced more keenly. It is becoming more and more difficult to recruit children to cathedral choirs. One newspaper article in 2015 reported that choir schools across the country, citing Westminster Abbey, Salisbury, and Portsmouth as examples, identified a few challenges. For example, parents are less keen to commit their children to living away from home in boarding schools, and the general decline in local, parish music-making.[33] A more recent iteration of the problem was given very clear articulation by the Chair of Governors of Westminster Cathedral Choir School, David Heminway, in a letter to parents in 2019. He is reported as saying that "the school was finding it "increasingly difficult" to recruit choristers, and that parents were also keen to see their children more frequently."[34] The resulting decision to allow choristers to return home at weekends prompted the resignation of the Cathedral's Master of Music, Martin Baker. The Cathedral has since launched a "strategic review" of the music there. It is not the only institution to do so: Canterbury Cathedral will embark upon a similar exercise in 2021. That said, recruitment is only part of the problem.

More general financial pressures have been making themselves felt for a number of years. In 2013, Llandaff cathedral sacked its adult singers just before Christmas that year to save money. The following year, *The Telegraph* reported that "many of the 48 cathedrals in England and Wales are suffering as low interest rates hit investments and the cost of maintaining and repairing historic buildings rises."[35] *The Tablet* noted that "the group Friends of Cathedral Music, which distributes

33 Peter Stanford, "Why are Traditional Cathedral Choirs under Threat?" *The Telegraph,* December 23, 2015.

34 Gabriella Swerling, "Westminster Cathedral Choir Row Deepens," *Daily Telegraph,* January 9, 2020.

35 Miranda Prynne, "Cathedral Choirs under Threat from Church of England's Squeezed Finances," *The Telegraph,* February 27, 2014.

around £250,000 annually to cathedral music departments,[36] has this year received an unprecedented request for more than £1 million from 36 choirs, but will only be able to deliver around half of that."[37] In 2017, *The Guardian* newspaper reported that "As many as half of England's Anglican cathedrals are facing financial crisis and a closure cannot be ruled out."[38]

Cathedral choir schools may serve as a barometer of such an unfriendly climate. Those institutions were founded centuries ago in some cases, to educate the boy choristers. Now, many cathedral choir schools have taken other, fee-paying, students to offset costs. Several, however, have recently closed, including Ripon in 2012, Tewkesbury Abbey in 2006 and, most recently, York Minster School, in June 2020.

The reconstruction of heritage, then, is both burden and boon: unless the buildings are to be left to rot, expensive refurbishment must be done. If the newly sand-blasted stones are to be anything more than silent witnesses to a fading faith in an increasingly secular society, they must be enlivened with the worship and music which has graced them for centuries. The ever-irascible columnist Simon Jenkins writes unusually tenderly about this: "The prospect is of these churches going the way of medieval castles, to become barricaded vacant ruins, as Philip Larkin wrote, 'A shape less recognisable each week / A purpose more obscure.'" Jenkins also notes the remarkable fact that the congregations attending cathedral services "have grown some 30% since the turn of the century, even as church attendance has fallen by the same amount." He has his own diagnosis: "This can be explained partly by a lingering family attachment to childhood ritual, and in the case of cathedrals by the appeal of music, *especially the ever popular evensong* [emphasis added]." Jenkins is referring to one of the features of a cathedral which marks it out as a space apart. There are others, he thinks:

> They answer to a longing for congregation and communal space. Their key is a quality unfashionable to social analysis, the offer of solitude with beauty. You need not to be of faith to sit quietly and contemplate the loveliness of a cathedral. As a dean once hinted to me in a whisper, "Here we don't bang on about God." The sociologist Grace Davie described a cathedral as "vicarious religion", somewhere an individual can be private, undisturbed and uplifted by architecture and music. To Davie cathedrals catered to "a desire for anonymity, the option to come and go without explanation or commitment". They are psychotherapy in glass and stone.[39]

---

36 "Foundations We Have Helped," Friends of Cathedral Music, https://fcm.org.uk/grants/foundations-we-have-helped/.

37 Paul Wilkinson, "Cathedral Choirs Face Funding Crisis," *The Tablet,* January 7, 2016.

38 Harriet Sherwood, "Cathedrals in Crisis: Fears of Closure as Half Face Big Cash Problems," *The Guardian,* April 23, 2017.

39 Simon Jenkins, "To Survive, Britain's Churches Need to Learn from Our Cathedrals," *The Guardian,* December 27, 2019.

Whether this is an eloquent description of an experience beyond the quotidian or simply a blind clutching for meaning is for the reader to decide, but to that case for the defence might be added one more piece of testimony from a Director of Music. When Andrew Carwood, from St Paul's Cathedral, was asked whether cathedrals should spend funds on buildings or music, he argued that a silent cathedral would have lost much of its point:

> In a world which is increasingly secular, the fact that people can come into cathedrals and hear this astonishingly beautiful sound, sends shivers up the spine, it takes us back to something which I think is really important in our soul. That's one of the things which I think cathedral choirs can give society at large. If the cathedrals of England fell silent everyone would lose something.[40]

T. S. Eliot, much concerned with the way in which tradition urges a reinterpretation of the intersection between past and present, put it more poetically in 'Little Gidding': "The communication of the dead is tongued with fire beyond the language of the living."[41] It is salutary to reflect that if the visitor to a cathedral does indeed experience anything resembling the sublime, it is probably the fusion of wood, stone, and glass – ancient and inanimate – with the very present, vibrant, but fleeting, music of the choir which elicits such visceral, inchoate response.

All of which is probably good news for those charged with reinventing the cathedral choir in the twenty-first century. Without denying the severity of the challenge – the burden – the boon is that they have the heritage on their side. All that magnificent stonework, bedecked with tracery, vaulting, stained glass, and statuary, counts for something. Yes, they will look a bit different. Girls and boys will stand side by side, they will probably live nearer to their cathedral, perhaps even at home with their parents, in a family unit, whilst attending local schools. But they will still look great in the pictures.

40 Miranda Prynne, "Cathedral Choirs under Threat."

41 David Gorman, "Four Quartets, T.S. Eliot: An Accurate Online Text," accessed May 31, 2021, http://www.davidgorman.com/4quartets/index.htm.

IDEALISATION AND CARICATURE IN THE REPRESENTATION OF POPULAR MUSIC AND DANCE IN TWENTIETH- AND TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY URUGUAY

Marita Fornaro Bordolli

This essay analyses the work of three visual artists who accompanied the changes in the construction of the Uruguayan popular culture imaginary; from the rural environment during the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth, to urban manifestations which include elements contributed by enslaved African people and European immigrants through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Their art has in common thematic interests and a mediating function in relation to identity construction. This mediation is concretised through the idealisation and caricature of the visual aspects of the represented cultures; of those, the main focus is on the artistic manifestations, omitting those involving social conflict.

Realistic Precedents of Idealisation and Caricature

During the nineteenth century, the symbols of a nascent country were developed in Uruguay. The figure of the *gaucho*, shared with Argentina, was critical in this process, and eventually became the most important element of regional identity. The gaucho, inhabitant of the *pampas* south of the continent, was shown as a threat to civilisation; a wandering character who disdained both law and property. That is, until he was selected by the ruling elites as the most appropriate representative of an identity that chooses not to be indigenous or African: his *mestizo*[1] character (although that *métissage* is ignored in its elaboration) eventually became the symbol of the rural, of the courage and rebellion that allowed *criollos*[2] to become independent from the Spanish Empire. Thus, gauchos were the best "We" for that elite, after polishing their elements at odds with civilisation. This process has been abundantly studied for Argentina and Uruguay in other research. I have focused on the analysis of the iconography that links literature, figurative arts and music related to the gaucho culture.[3] I have identified three currents in the iconographic

1 *Mestizo*: "mixed"; in Latin America, with ancestry of different origin (Spanish, Indigenous and/or African).

2 *Criolles*: Spaniard descendants, born in the Americas.

3 Marita Fornaro Bordolli, "Aboriginals and *Gauchos*: The Ties between Music, Literature and Figurative Arts in Nineteenth Century Uruguay," in *Music and the Figurative Arts in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Roberto Illiano (Turnhout: Breepols, 2020), 443–470.

representation of the gaucho.[4] First, that of chroniclers and travellers of the nineteenth century, who founded a costumbrist[5] rural tradition in the continent, and a specific one south of the territory of the Plata River Basin. Second, the one of the "national painters" of the country. And third, the one of popular elaboration, present in brochures and "cordel literature" (loose sheets and leaflets showing local events, traditional songs and poetry; often with illustrations).

The first current presents a gaucho seen through the eyes of the European perspective in drawings, watercolours, oils and lithographs. These visual representations have their correlation in the chronicles of that time and in the Gaucho literature, inspired by this culture. This image of the gaucho, which in various artists includes elements of orientalism, was multiplied thanks to the growing popularity of illustrated print media.[6] The second iconographic aspect for gaucho life is that represented by the "national painters." For decades, the painter of gaucho life par excellence was Juan Manuel Blanes (1830–1901), called "the painter of the homeland" in Uruguay. He was an artist of neoclassical aesthetics. Most of the gaucho scenes of this painter show an ideal field, where characters are presented resting or working on typical tasks of the cattle culture, almost absent from the conflict of the perilous and impoverished life of the inhabitant from the American *pampas*. Blanes did not paint music or dance scenes. However, his work is essential in order to understand the imaginary referring to the human types linked to gauchos. Blanes' influence on the founding iconography of Uruguay as a country is critical, due to his human types and patriotic paintings that are considered part of the Uruguayan identity from the nineteenth century to the present. The other great painter who ended up being representative of a national visual identity is Pedro Figari; he will have the focus in the first part of this essay.

Finally, the third identified iconographic current includes the gaucho music and poetry in the popular written culture. During the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, there was a proliferation of popular literature that included novels (*folletines*) and brochures with song lyrics in the Plata River region, a phenomenon associated with traditionalist societies that emerged in the nineteenth century. The gaucho singer next to the courted woman, at the foot of a window, or next to a country fire, is a recurring theme in brochures and *cancioneros* (songbooks).

Regarding the Afro-Uruguayan culture, the most outstanding records are engravings and watercolours from the colonial period. Significant iconography by national artists was not developed until the twentieth century. Black people appear marginally in scenes with a predominance of gauchos and rural people whose *métissage*, as I have pointed out, is ignored.[7]

4 This classification does not include photographic records.

5 *Costumbrista:* a literary current that focuses on accurate depictions of local and regional customs.

6 Marita Fornaro Bordolli, "Aboriginal and *Gauchos*".

7 Marita Fornaro Bordolli, "El sueño del 'indio propio': rechazos e idealizaciones en torno a la música de la 'garra charrúa'" in *Voces de América, sonoridades de América. Actas del XII Congreso de*

Pedro Figari and the Rupture of the Realist Pictorial Tradition

The rupture of this tradition of descriptive iconography was performed by Pedro Figari (1861–1938), the most important philosopher of art in Uruguayan history, as well as a painter, lawyer, teacher, and journalist. His performance in all these fields was outstanding. His legal writings, for instance, were defining for abolishing the death penalty in Uruguay (1903). As a philosopher of art he had an international projection; his book *Arte, estética, ideal*[8] was translated into French by Charles Lesca (1887–1948) and published in Paris in 1920, with a prologue by Henri Delacroix (1873–1937). It was reprinted in 1926, with a prologue by Désiré Roustan (1873–1941). When assuming the post of Director of the School of Arts and Crafts of Uruguay, Figari completely changed its approach, seeking a balance between technical and manual education, and intellectual education; he proposed a production which, inserted in daily life, was an example of what was called "productive creativity." His principles are presented in his *Plan General de la Enseñanza Industrial (Industrial Education General Plan)*. Together with his son, the architect Juan Carlos Figari (1893–1927), he summed up this approach in *Educación Integral (Comprehensive Education)*. Nevertheless, authorities rejected their proposals and Figari had to resign in 1917. In 1928, after the premature death of his son Juan Carlos, he published the poetic essay with graphic excerpts *El Arquitecto*,[9] conceived in his son's honour. Figari also wrote a series of short stories as well as the utopian novel *Historia kiria*,[10] published in 1930 in Paris.

Figari started to systematically paint when he was more than 60 years old, after being forced to give up his educational project. He produced thousands of oils, which he classified into thematic nuclei.[11] Some of them are not pertinent to this study, such as the series of "expressive stones" and "troglodytes", "crimes", and "Venetian evocations". The rest is dedicated to the life of what was the Eastern Band of the Uruguay River in colonial times until the contemporary time of the painter. For this essay, I will particularly focus on his representations of traditional music and dance belonging to gaucho culture and Afro-Uruguayan culture.

Figari abandoned naturalism and attention to detail with the documentary zeal of nineteenth-century painters and engravers, such as León Pallière (1823–1887), and Carlos Enrique [Charles Henri] Pellegrini (1800–1875), whose contribution to

---

la Rama Latinoamericana de la International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IAPSM) (San Pablo: IAPSM-AL/Letra e voz, 2018) https://drive.google.com/file/d/1PxPhR5_fQPVvoF-BwKlPSFlBf5Pr3S4M6/view

8 Pedro Figari, *Arte, estética, ideal*, 3 vols. (Montevideo: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores/Consejo de Educación Técnico Profesional/Universidad del Trabajo del Uruguay, 2011).

9 Pedro Figari, *El Arquitecto. Ensayo poético con acotaciones gráficas* (Montevideo: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores/, Ministerio de Educación y Cultura/Consejo de Educación Técnico Profesional, 2011 [1928]).

10 Pedro Figari, *Historia Kiria* (Paris: Le livre libre, 1930).

11 Luis Víctor Anastasía, *Figari, lucha continua* (Montevideo: Istituto Italiano di Cultura in Uruguay/Academia Uruguaya de Letras, 2007) 238.

musical and choreographic iconography in the Plata River region was addressed in a previous paper.[12] These artists had been intensely circulated through lithographs, a first-rate tool for establishing a nineteenth-century visual identity. Nor did Figari ascribe to the neoclassical realism of Blanes. He inaugurated a Latin American modernism that was not interested in punctiliously documenting material aspects and, under an Impressionist influence, intended to transmit atmospheres and descriptions originated in emotions. Uruguayan philosopher Mario Sambarino (1918–1984)[13] places Figari as the initiator of modernity in Uruguay. The initial rejection of his work in Uruguay is interpreted as a paradox: Figari's authentic modernising impulse was made invisible by a pseudo-modernisation that involved renouncing local and Latin American aesthetics in order to be "modern" by following colonialist patterns.[14] Figari painted rural and urban scenes. Among the first, his dancing scenes are remarkable, particularly his *pericones*. The *pericón*, an adaptation in the Rio de la Plata area of the *contradanza* brought from Madrid (and Paris), eventually became a national symbol. He also painted other dances of the same origin, some of them with revolutionary connotations during a certain period of the Colony, as *media caña* and *cielito*. These dances are the result of a long adaptation process from the English country dance, which appeared at European salons and, from Madrid, spread to the colonies. In the Plata River region these underwent a "round trip": from the colonial salons, they spread to the rural area and then started a new, parallel life in the cities. In Uruguay, the *pericón* ended up as a national dance, currently performed as a civil ritual in schools, like a sort of rite of passage in the closing party of the primary school cycle. It is also widely practiced among traditionalist dance groups. Figari painted outdoor *pericones*, ignoring the urban life of this dance: under the great protective cup of the *ombú* trees (also representative of the Uruguayan countryside), and in characteristic patios of *estancias*[15] or country houses. The scenes of this interdependent couple dance always include two guitar players, as it was styled until the mid-twentieth century. The painter focused his attention on the dancing. The disposition of the characters is very similar to that adopted by Pallière, who followed the European academic canon. The dancers wear traditional clothing with a rural character, the musicians depict the conventional representation of gauchos, and the public includes the different social components that populated the countryside, sometimes including Afro-Americans. The titles on this group of works are representative: *Fiesta en la*

12 Marita Fornaro Bordolli, "Aboriginal and *Gauchos*".

13 Mario Sambarino, *Identidad, tradición, autenticidad: Tres problemas de América Latina* (Caracas: Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos "Rómulo Gallegos", 1980).

14 Yamandú Acosta, "Autenticidad, tradición e identidad en Pedro Figari," *Anuario de Filosofía Argentina y Americana* 16 (1999): 83–101; Fernando Suárez, "Pedro Figari: pensamiento estético, creación y heteronomía," in *Pedro Figari, el presente de una utopía*, eds. Antonio Romano e Inés Moreno (Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de la República, 2016) 149–162.

15 *Estancias*: rural establishments dedicated to cattle raising, the main historical wealth of the country; the *casco de estancia* was where the owners lived.

estancia (Party at the estancia), El Escondido,[16] *Pericón bajo los naranjos (Pericón under the orange trees), Fiesta en el pueblo (Party in the town)*. Sometimes the characteristic flat house of rural landscapes appears, along with horses and dogs, all closely linked to gaucho culture. Regarding the colonial saloon scenes, the titles are also representative: *Damas antiguas (Ancient Ladies), La lección de baile (Dancing lesson), Salón federal (Federal hall), Sarao, Baile colonial (Colonial dance), Baile criollo (Creole dance), El minué colonial (Colonial minuet), Salón colonial (Colonial hall)*.

I have selected two examples of Figari's painting to analyse his language in relation to the representation of traditional culture in rural areas. The first is *Pericón en un patio de estancia* (fig.1), a painting showing a dance performed outdoors, but within a patio in the *casco de estancia*. The dancers are at the centre of the scene, performing one of the dancers' collective relationship figures inherited from the European *contradanza*. Men wear the traditional gaucho clothing, coin belts and a headband (these clothes are still used to perform these dances today). Women's garments are more similar to those used in the colonial halls. Guitarists stand to one side, as they appear in numerous nineteenth-century engravings and watercolours. The public is almost as important as the interpreters, distributed under the arcades of the house and under the vine, a plant always present in this type of patios. Above the house, the top of an *ombú*, the tree that represents the rural landscape of the region, is accompanied by a full moon, "upper frieze" of what Peluffo Linari calls "Figari's mythical space".[17] More than choreographic details, the work provides an atmosphere, emphasises the context, and summarises Figari's documentary and aesthetic universe. The other painting within this theme is a *Pericón* (fig. 2) in the middle of the countryside, also danced at night under the treetops, where the circle figure of the dancers is linked with an alternation of men and women. Once again, the public can be appreciated, with members of Afro origin, and quotidian details such as the presence of dogs, also included in the previous painting.

Figari is one of the first artists of the twentieth century who represented the Afro-Uruguayan culture. He depicted it predominantly in the urban area. The forced presence of African people in what was known as the "Oriental Band of the Uruguay River" (nowadays Oriental Republic of Uruguay) was centered in Montevideo, the city that became the capital of the country. Since there were no plantations or mines in the region, the enslaved people were mainly used as servants for the local aristocracy. Slaves performed domestic service tasks in Montevideo. In the rest of the country, dedicated to the extensive cattle ranching, the rural workers (*peones*) were *criollos*, with a great contribution of the Guarani indigenous culture. Hence, colonial manifestations of Afro-Uruguayan music and dance were focused in Montevideo until the middle of the twentieth century, when they started to take place in the rest of the Uruguayan territory.

16 *Escondido:* traditional dance from the Plata River region.

17 Gabriel Peluffo Linari, *Historia de la pintura en Uruguay, 1. El imaginario nacional regional 1830–1930* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2015) 127.



Fig. 1: Pedro Figari, *Pericón en un patio de estancia*, ca. 1925, oil on cardboard, 70 × 100 cm. Museo Nacional de Artes Visuales de Uruguay.

Figari deals with the festive activities of the Afro community in Montevideo, especially *candombe*. The word *candombe* refers to different artistic expressions: a musical genre consisting of the polyrhythmic play of membranophones, a type of musical theatre starred by groups called '*comparsa*s,' with choreography interpreted by specific characters with African and colonial roots (*mama vieja*, *gramillero*, *escobero*), and a kind of festive reunion.

When Figari began his professional career as a painter, the knowledge of Afro-Uruguayan culture was focused – and still is, at least partially – on these festive and public events, on *candombe* music, and dance offered as a show. The academy has focused for decades on these topics, with some exceptions such as Ildefonso Pereda Valdés,[18] Paulo de Carvalho Neto,[19] and the historical gaze of Ema Isola.[20] It was not until the twenty-first century that works attending to the culture and social organisation of the Afro-Uruguayan community beyond their artistic pro-

18 Ildfonso Pereda Valdés, *El negro rioplatense y otros ensayos* (Montevideo: Claudio García y Cía. Editores, 1937).

19 Paulo de Carvalho Neto, *El negro uruguayo hasta la abolición* (Quito: Editorial Universitaria, 1965).

20 Ema Isola, *La esclavitud en el Uruguay desde sus comienzos hasta su extinción, 1743–1852* (Montevideo: Comisión Nacional de Homenaje del Sesquicentenario de los Hechos Históricos de 1825, 1975).



Fig. 2: Pedro Figari, *Pericón*, ca. 1910–1945, oil on cardboard, 70 × 100 cm. Argentina: Museo de Bellas Arte (inv.-no.: 2582).

ductions were developed.[21] Figari focused primarily on *candombe* but also painted other quotidian activities of this culture, and this approach is exceptional. On the one hand, he represented scenes beyond the nuclear moment of the festivity, such as scenes of preparations; on the other, life circumstances of the Afro community in Montevideo, such as a magnificent series of wakes and burials.

In order to analyse his work in relation to the iconography of the performing arts, I have selected two other paintings out of the many entitled *Candombe*. In the first (fig. 3), the dancers are seen in the foreground: undulating bodies transmitting the characteristic movement of this dance, with clear African origins, of individual choreography and performers who do not make direct contact with the others. In the background are the figures of the king and queen of a *Sala de Nación*, a ceremony that extends adapted social organisations from Africa. The wardrobes are of festivities, with men in top hats and various frock suits; the feminine dresses are of colonial style. The space is adorned with lanterns, and there are observers from

21 See, among others, Gustavo Goldman, *Negros modernos: asociacionismo político, mutual y cultural en el Río de la Plata a fines del siglo XIX* (Montevideo: Perro Andaluz, 2019); George Reid Andrews, *Blackness in the White Nation: A History of Afro-Uruguay* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Lucía Scuro Somma, ed., *Población afrodescendiente y desiguldades étnico-racionales en Uruguay* (Montevideo: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2008).

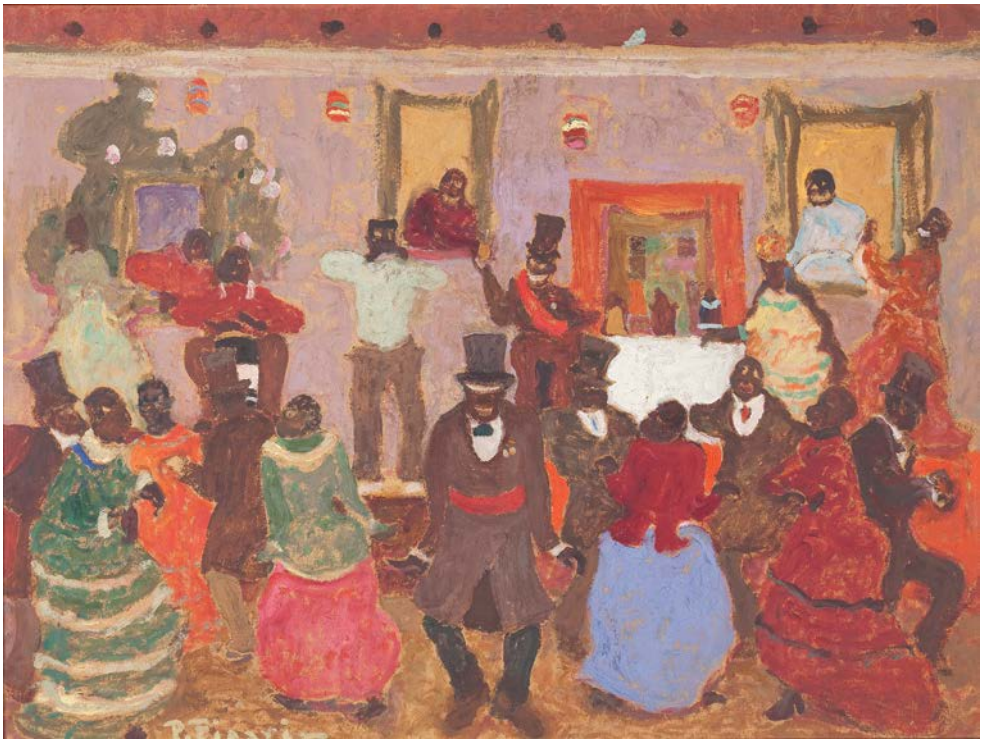


Fig. 3: Pedro Figari: *Candombe*, 1921, oil on canvas, 56 × 78 cm. Montevideo: Museo Figari.

the windows that open on the wall of a house that seem to evoke the community houses called *conventillos*, in which descendants of slaves and Spanish and Italian immigrants lived together. The other *Candombe* (fig. 4) is developed in a different environment, with more freedom of movement for the protagonists, who wear more casual clothes.[22]

I am particularly interested in the treatment of the body in the two types of dance depicted by this painter. While the representations of dances of European origin display more static bodies, which is proper of manifestations derived from *contradanza*, in the *candombe* oil paintings there is a predominance of movement. Bodies twist, representing the expressive richness of African influences. There is also a chromatic opposition: in the traditional rural dances, a dominance of light blue and white, which are the symbolic colours of the Uruguayan homeland. In the representations of *candombe* and the life of Afro-descendants the palette is strong,

22 More works by this painter can be found on the website of the Museo Figari in Montevideo, in the virtual collection of the Museo Nacional de Artes Visuales and in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Argentina. A significant amount of his thousands of "cardboards" can be seen on the blog maintained by the painter's great-grandson, Fernando Saavedra Faget: http://www.pedrofigari.com/, accessed May 7, 2020.

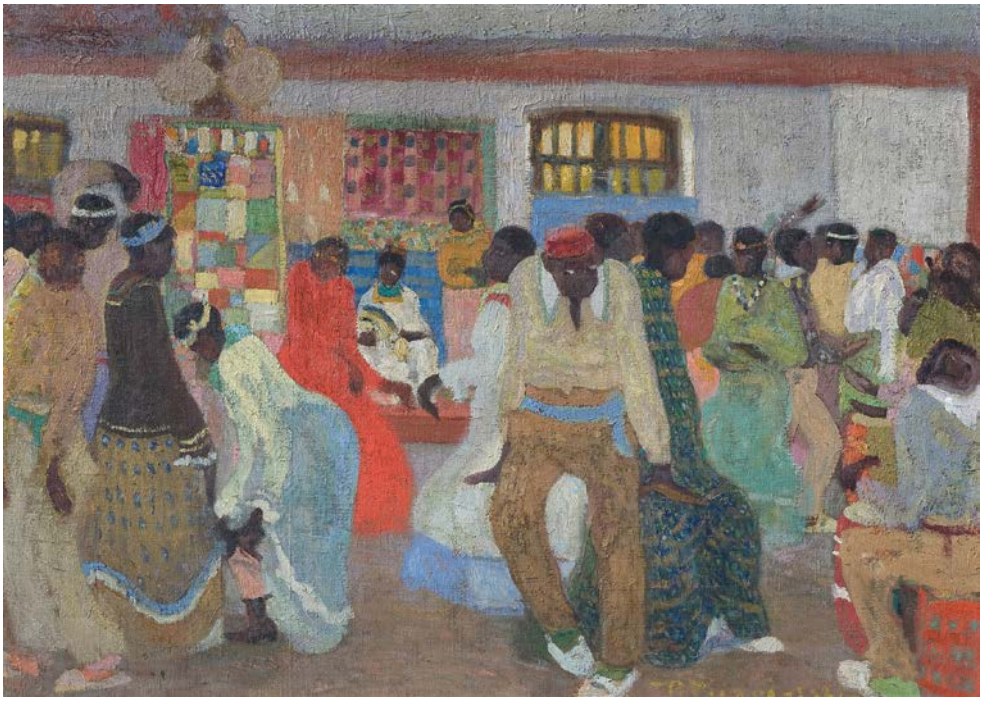


Fig. 4: Pedro Figari, *Candombe*, ca. 1927–30, oil on cardboard, 60 × 80.5 cm. Montevideo: Museo Figari.

with contrasting colours. The characters have a theatrical attitude: the faces are stains, masks, where Expressionism meets Impressionism. The drawing is synthetic with thick impasto and brushstrokes of different sizes in the same painting. The second work selected (fig. 4) is very representative of these elements.

Now, focusing on Figari's contribution to the iconography of the performing arts, it is pertinent to investigate his relationship with the scenes he painted in order to determine the nature of this contribution. Regarding this connection, opinions vary. As Gabriel Peluffo Linari, one of his most lucid analysts, points out:

> For many years, local critics tended to endorse the idea of a Figari who was, first of all, a sort of ethnographer and a memorious recreator of the "lost time". Later on, specifically pictorial assessments of his work gradually came to the fore. […] In principle, it does not seem prudent to ignore that the express intention of recreating certain historical-testimonial data was, from the early stages, among the concerns of the painter, who thus interpreted an epochal feeling. The engraver Luis Mazzey has asserted that Figari, around 1916, toured different places in Montevideo and the interior of the Republic, taking note of objects, ceremonies, colors and attires that made up the lives of black and rural people. When he later

> painted the vibrant skirts with contrasting colors, he not only subtly juggled his colorist intuition, but also evoked that color of diluted stridency that he saw in the attires of the black people and in the curtains of the *ranchos*.[23]

In this sense, the painter strongly adheres to Nativism as a movement inspired by local traditions, of which his friend Fernán Silva Valdés (1887–1975) was the most representative poet. In poetry, Nativism succeeds gaucho poetry: the former imitates the speech of the gaucho, the latter refers to the inhabitant of an idealised rural world.

This same researcher points out the importance of how Figari ended up painting from the field of humanistic and social concerns and not in the opposite sense, the most common for painters of his time. He also notes how these "crude, primordial images" – Figari has an important production of paintings that focus on "troglodytes" – conquered the French market, interested in its Latin American alterity, already worn out by Orientalism and African exoticism.[24] The purpose is not to give details of the tradition, but to build it from art as a mediator. As previously discussed, this approach motivated a much more reluctant reception in Uruguay, which was still tied to European Neoclassicism, in contrast with Argentina and France. Figari's painting is directly linked to his philosophical thought and responds to his differentiation between ideation and idealisation.

> I use the word "Idealise" in the sense of a thoughtless and, therefore, conventional and arbitrary celebration tending to exalt, magnify or depress; that is, when we disfigure, exaggerate or unilateralise and, by opposition, I use the word "ideation" as the action of deliberate reasoning, which is directed in the sense of dominating reality through knowledge.[25]

---

23 "Durante muchos años la crítica local tendió a avalar la idea de un Figari que era, antes que nada, una suerte de etnógrafo y un memorioso recreador del "tiempo perdido". Más tarde, pasaron paulatinamente a ocupar un primer plano las valoraciones específicamente pictóricas de su obra.[…] En principio, no parece prudente pasar por alto que la intención expresa de recrear ciertos datos histórico-testimoniales estuvo, desde los prolegómenos, entre las preocupaciones del pintor, quien interpretaba, de esa manera, un sentimiento epocal. El grabador Luis Mazzey ha aseverado que Figari, hacia 1916, recorría distintos lugares de Montevideo y del interior de la República, tomando nota de objetos, ceremonias, colores y vestidos que integraban la vida de negros y paisanos. Cuando luego pinta las polleras haciendo vibrar en ellas los colores opuestos, no sólo realiza sutiles malabares con su intuición de colorista, sino que evoca también aquel colorido de desleída estridencia que vio en las ropas de los negros y en las cortinas de los ranchos." Gabriel Peluffo Linari, *Historia de la pintura en Uruguay, 1. El imaginario nacional regional 1830–1930* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2015) 120.

24 Linari, *Historia de la pintura en Uruguay,* 121.

25 "La palabra "Idealizar" la empleo en el sentido de una celabración irreflexiva y, por lo mismo, convencional y arbitraria tendiente a enaltecer, a magnificar o a deprimir, vale decir, cuando desfiguramos, exageramos o unilateralizamos y por oposición empleo el vocablo "ideación" como la acción del razonamiento deliberado, que se dirige en el sentido de dominar la realidad por el conocimiento." Pedro Figari, *Arte, estética, ideal*, vol. 2 (Montevideo: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores/Consejo de Educación Técnico Profesional/Universidad del Trabajo del Uruguay, 2011 [1960]), 43.

> We do not perceive things in the outside world as they really are, we just perceive in ourselves the effects of our relationship with everything else.[26]

Also in *Arte, estética, ideal* Figari proposes:

> Every being, every thing, every circumstance, produces a personal reaction; that is the element that must be technically translated, using the most appropriate technique. It is precisely this product of human individuality the one which offers interest, not the effort to objectively reproduce a being, a thing, a circumstance, whatever they may be. That is descriptiveness.[27]

Hence, for Figari, evocation and fantasy are important. He does not seek the detail of a documentalist, but rather to express environments, contexts, atmospheres, and memories of his own or those made by his own society (as is the case of the scenes in the colonial halls). A document transcribed by Peluffo Linari summarises his aesthetics:

> I went directly to paint sensations, instead of painting 'things': this is the secret of my painting –an open secret– […] It is precisely the associative liberty what makes the aesthetical emotions bloom,[28]

Therefore, in his paintings, he starts from an "idealised reality" and reaches an "accomplished idealisation." He begins with a "personal impression" to reach artistic expression, and thus achieve the "poetrization of the real." According to Peluffo Linari,

> This need for a reciprocal correspondence between "life forms" and "culture forms", the connecting thread of Figari's anthropological utopia, also lies behind the language of the image, in that extensive pictorial frieze that goes from *Los trogloditas* to the rural and urban scenes of the Plata River. There, the original troglodyte type, the black man of the saraos and *candombe*s, the gaucho of the creole patios, act as paradigms of a social study where the relationship of man and his environment has not yet entered into the "current complex chaos", and therefore, where the coherence between "way of being" and "way of doing" is kept pristine and alive, between thought and behavior, a coherence that in Figari is the necessary premise to build a cultural identity.[29]

---

26 "Nosotros no percibimos las cosas del mundo exterior como ellas son en realidad, sólo percibimos en nosotros los efectos de relacionamiento para con lo demás." Pedro Figari, *Arte, estética, ideal*, vol.2, 47.

27 "Cada ser, cada cosa, cada circunstancia producen una reacción personal; y bien: es ese elemento el que debe ser traducido técnicamente, por medio de la técnica más apropiada. Es justamente ese fruto de la individualidad humana el que ofrece interés, no el esfuerzo para reproducir objetivamente un ser, una cosa, una circunstancia, cualesquiera ellos sean. Eso es descriptividad." Pedro Figari, *Arte, estética, ideal*, vol. 2, 53.

28 "He ido derechamente a pintar 'sensaciones' en vez de pintar 'cosas': este es el secreto de mi pintura – secreto a gritos – […] Es precisamente la libertad asociativa la que hace florecer las emociones estéticas". Gabriel Peluffo Linari, *Historia de la pintura en Uruguay, 1. El imaginario nacional regional 1830–1930* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2015), 120.

29 "Esa necesidad de una correspondencia recíproca entre "formas de vida" y "formas de cultura", asunto que constituye el hilo conductor de la utopía antropológica de Figari, subyace también bajo

For Figarian aesthetics to achieve a status similar to that of Blanes, it was necessary for the Uruguayan society to begin a long journey towards its own recognition as multicultural, and not merely as "the most European in America." That illusion led to the idealisation of a mestizo gaucho that was applied a necessary "whitening" so that it could become a satisfactory symbol for the elites dedicated to creating the identity of the nascent country (a process shared with Argentina).

In short, Figari's dance paintings should be of interest for an iconographer of the Uruguayan performing arts since his imaginary, so different to that developed during the nineteenth century, allows, through that idealised world, the visualisation of a culture through new contexts. His paintings do not show the conflicts of national marginal subcultures with respect to the welfare state that began to take shape in the twentieth century. Through them, the national identity is reworked, often through irony in the painting of the characters, but this identity shows the enclosure of that world, which did not mix with the white and European societies. It suffers segregation even in death, in those magnificent wakes and burials "of black people" where the community did not share the pain with those who hired them as servants.

Afro-Uruguayan culture, then, entered the national imaginary mediated by visual and performing arts, without the opacity of its social conflicts. Drums became the sound image; dancers, the kinetic image of a sensuality that would be attributed to this culture to the present day, with an imaginary elaborated within the community itself. It is shared in several countries of Latin America, where I researched cultures with African contributions, such as Venezuela. Finally, it includes the idea that "drums run in the blood."

It is important to note that Figari's work in turn inspired Jaurès Lamarque Pons (1917–1982), the first Uruguayan composer who, with a background of only two pieces, placed *candombe*, tango and milonga on the stage of art music. His opera *Marta Gruni* included Afro-Uruguayan performers. Lamarque synthesises this inspiration in one of his works, *Suite de ballet según Figari* (*Ballet Suite according to Figari*). The following photograph (fig.5) shows Lamarque with a painting by Figari, representing this connection of different artistic disciplines. Lamarque knew first-hand the Afro culture in Montevideo, but he was inspired by Figari to stage it in an opera that, like Figari's painting, achieved an identity language where recitatives and arias develop from the rhythm of *candombe*, tango and milonga.

---

el lenguaje de la imagen, en ese extenso friso pictórico que va desde Los trogloditas a las escenas rurales y urbanas rioplatenses. Allí, el tipo primigenio troglodita, el negro de los saraos y los candombes, el gaucho de los patios criollos, actúan como paradigmas de un estudio social donde la relación del hombre y su medio ambiente no ha ingresado aún en el "caos complexivo actual" y donde se mantiene, por lo tanto, prístina y viva, la coherencia entre "modo de ser" y "modo de hacer", entre pensamiento y comportamiento, coherencia que en Figari es la premisa necesaria para construir una identidad cultural." Gabriel Peluffo Linari, *Historia de la pintura en Uruguay*, 123.

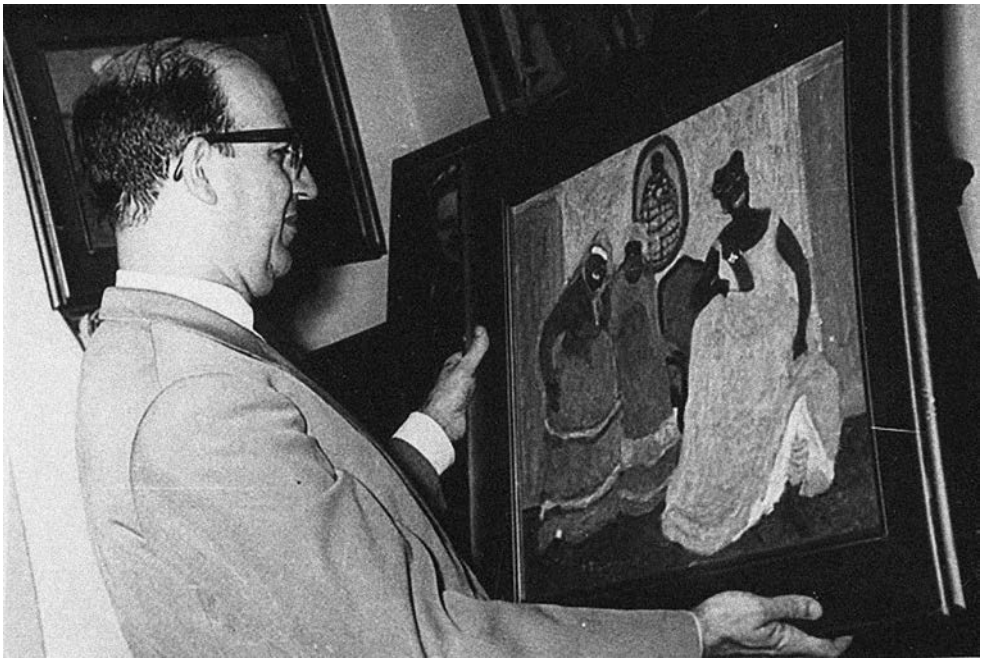


Fig. 5: Uruguayan composer Jaurès Lamarque Pons with a painting by Figari. Archivo Familia Novoa Lamarque.

Carlos Páez Vilaró: In Pursuit of the Ideal Africa

In the framework of a research that prioritises African roots, I highlight the work of Carlos Páez Vilaró (1923–2014), one of the most internationally recognised visual artists from Uruguay. Páez Vilaró was inspired by the work of Figari and was part of the "Group of 8," an association of Uruguayan artists originated in 1958 to develop the most experimental aspects of art.[30] He contacted artists from Europe, the United States, and Latin America, resulting in a close relationship with Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), and visits to the studio of Alexander Calder (1898–1976). He met writers like Jorge Amado (1912–2001), musicians like Vinicius de Moraes (1913–1980) and researchers from African-American cultures including Ildefonso Pereda Valdés (1899–1996) from Uruguay, and the Brazilian anthropologist Paulo de Carvalho Neto (1923–2003). He lived for years in New York, São Pablo and Buenos Aires. In Uruguay, he had ateliers in Montevideo and Punta Ballena (Maldonado). He researched the countries where African-American culture was developed, including Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Dominican Republic and

30 The other artists of the group were Oscar García Reino (1910–1993), Miguel Ángel Pareja (1908–1984), Raúl Pavlovsky, Lincoln Presno (1917–1991), Américo Spósito (1924–2005), Alfredo Testoni (1919–2003) and Julio Verdié (1900–1988).

Haiti, and African countries including Nigeria, Senegal, Liberia, Cameroon, and Congo, where he also produced works. He collaborated with Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) on the Leprosarium of Lambaréné, in Gabon.

Páez Vilaró's paintings embrace very different expressions. The most remarkable are his murals, which can be found in different continents, many in hospitals, following his purpose of "bringing color where pain is." He was also a ceramist, sculptor, author, and a composer. He built Casa Pueblo, a landmark in experimental architecture, a "sculpture house" with African influences as well, a work which began with his own labour and the contribution of fishermen in Punta Ballena.[31]

The link between Páez Vilaró and *candombe* is recounted by the same artist in a late book, essential in order to understand this relationship. In *Entre colores y tambores. Viaje desde la punta de la cerbatana hasta la lonja del tamboril* (*Between Colours and Drums: Journey from the Tip of the Blowgun to the Drum Skin*,[32] Páez Vilaró presents a clear argument against the barbarism of the conquest. The author traces the history of indigenous and black cultures, with an *ad hoc* use of varied bibliography, and includes his own experience in Africa and America.

Páez Vilaró dedicated a chapter to his encounter with *candombe* towards the end of the 1940s, a story sifted by half a century of memories, and by his prose with a poetic style, rich in metaphors. After a youthful period in Buenos Aires, the artist returned to Montevideo and searched fruitlessly for motifs for painting, even touring neighbourhoods in a horse-drawn garbage carriage. One afternoon, while touring the *Barrio Sur* neighbourhood, one of the main enclaves of the Afro population, Páez Vilaró set up to paint in the city's historic Central Cemetery, and a *comparsa* stormed into his life:

> I felt behind the wall a deafening noise with a beat of drums that became more and more firm, advancing and disturbing the silence of the graves. I left my tasks on hold and went out to meet what turned out to be a tight little group of street musicians. They were surrounded by a bunch of kids which, like wasps in a nest, singing and laughing out loud, dancing in circles to the beat of the drum players. When I was by their side, I was invaded by an emotion never experienced before. It was a group of black drummers and agile dancers who had gone out to serenade and collect money for the Christmas festivities. There were "chico", "piano", "repique" and "bombo"[33] drums forming the line that motivated the dynamics with the beat of the drum skins.
>
> Perspiring, their faces washed with happiness, those drummers seemed to have been playing since the beginning of history. Their arms, marking the effort in their veins, crushed the leather mouths of the drums, extracting hoarse and

31 For a more complete biography of the artist, as well as abundant documentation on his work, see http://www.casapueblo.com.uy/.

32 Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Entre colores y tambores. Viaje desde la punta de la cerbatana hasta la longa del tamboril* (Buenos Aires: Artes Gráficas Integradas, 2000).

33 Traditional names of the different registers of the Afro-Uruguayan drums.

jungle-like groans. Their steps were slow and dragged, fraying their *alpargatas* [footwear] against the cobblestone. Their clothing was patchy and ragged, only matched by poverty. One wore a beret; another, a hat threaded with straw, falling over his eyes. The other two, heads uncovered; proudly showing off their long bluish-black hair, spilling over their shoulders like epaulettes.

In the front line of the *comparsita*, an old black man with a mottled white beard, clad in a moth-eaten tailcoat, looked up at the sky, waving his terrycloth top hat, nervously "telegraphing" on the street with the tip of his cane. As a partner, he had a voluminous old black woman, proud of her role, waving a fan with one hand, and holding the skeleton of an umbrella with the other. Also at the forefront, a luxurious *escobillero* threw his broom to the sky, sweeping the sunset. Luxuriously dressed, he marked his way with the sound of bells. A dried up snake surrounded his belly, and from the snake hung two pieces of Bengal tiger hide. […]

I remained petrified on the tiles of the sidewalk. A tingling ran through my body from head to toe. I began to glimpse that thanks to that humble *comparsita* my desire to paint would return. […] Finally, the group entered through the open mouth of a *conventillo*, curbing the appetite of the night that was announced. The clothes hanging across the patio were waving like welcome flags […][34]

34 "Sentí que, por detrás del murallón, un ruido ensordecedor y acompasado de tambores se hacía cada vez más firme, avanzando y perturbando el silencio de las tumbas. Dejé mis tareas en suspenso y salí al encuentro de lo que resultó ser un pequeño y apretado conjunto de músicos callejeros. A sus costados ardía un borbollón de chiquilines que, como las avispas en un camoatí, cantando y riendo a carcajadas, hacía ronda al compás de los tocadores. Cuando estuve a su lado me invadió una emoción nunca antes experimentada. Se trataba de un grupo de tamborileros negros y ágiles bailarines que habían salido a dar serenatas y recolectar dinero para los festejos de Navidad. Un "chico", un "piano", un "repique" y un "bombo" formaban la cuerda que motivaba su dinámica a lonja batiente. Transpirando, con los rostros lavados por la felicidad, aquellos tamborileros parecían venir tocando desde el principio de la historia. Los brazos, marcando el esfuerzo en sus venas, machacaban las bocas de cuero de los tamboriles, extrayéndoles quejidos roncos y selváticos. Sus pasos eran lentos y arrastrados, desflecando alpargatas contra el adoquín. Sus vestimentas eran desiguales y remendadas, sólo emparejadas por la pobreza. Uno usaba boina; otro, un sombrero enhebrado en paja, caído sobre los ojos Los otros dos iban al descubierto, mostrando con orgullo su largo pelo negro azulado desbordándoles los hombros como charreteras. Al frente de la comparsita, un negro viejo de barba blanca jaspeada, enfundado en un frac apolillado, miraba hacia el cielo meneando su galera de felpa, mientras con nerviosismo telegrafiaba en la calle con la punta de su bastón. A un costado, haciéndole pareja, una negra vieja voluminosa y orgullosa de su papel. Con una mano ventilaba y abanico y con la otra sostenía el esqueleto de su sombrilla. También en la vanguardia, un escobillero de lujo lanzaba a lo alto su escoba barriendo el atardecer. Lujosamente ataviado, marcaba su andar con cascabeles y campanillas. Una víbora reseca rodeaba su barriga, y de ella colgaban dos pedazos de cuero de tigre de bengala. […]
Me quedé petrificado sobre las baldosas de la vereda. Un hormigueo recorrió mi cuerpo de pies a cabeza, Comencé a vislumbrar que a partir de esa humilde comparsita retornarían mis ganas de pintar. […]Finalmente el conjunto entró por la boca abierta de un conventillo, contentando el apetito de la noche que se anunciaba. Las ropas tendidas a lo ancho del patio flameaban como banderas de bienvenida […]." Vilaró, *Entre colores y tambores*, 140–142.

That was the beginning of Paéz Vilaró's relationship with the *conventillo* "Medio Mundo," one of the characteristic tenement houses of the late-nineteenth century in Montevideo and Buenos Aires, which, like a convent, were divided into numerous individual rooms with shared areas and a large central patio. These shared dwellings were important points of syncretism for manifestations of popular culture contributed by Spanish and Italian immigrants, and by descendants of African slaves.[35]

Páez Vilaró rented a room in "Medio Mundo" and began to be a part of the *conventillo* life. He lived and worked there for years, painting daily scenes of this tenement house and the festivities.[36] His atelier was one room of the house, offered for rent, and was designated with the name of "Yacumenza," (fig. 6) a term that the artist took from the cry *"¡ya comienza!"* ("*its starting!*"). It was pronounced by a Brazilian inhabitant in the dialect known as Portuñol, which marked the beginning of a drum beat. Paéz Vilaró referred to his atelier throughout his life. It can be interpreted as an allegorical *locus* of his positioning in the Afro world of Montevideo.

As a *candombe* performer, Páez Vilaró participated as a drummer in the *comparsas* "Añoranzas Negras," "Morenada," and "Cuareim 1080"[37] until the last year of his life, mainly through the "Fiesta de las Llamadas," and he composed several *candombe*s and tangos in a song format. His lyrics ventured into "sonorous poetry":

Oyé ye yumba
cumbasandumba
enrondatumba
detumbaé
Tumbatalaca
Surucuplata
zumbamulata
demarimbé

Carlos Páez Vilaró – *Oyé ye yumba* (excerpt).[38]

Works by Páez Vilaró inspired by African, African-American, and especially Afro-Uruguayan cultures are very extensive. In this section I will consider some paintings and murals on *candombe* in general, in order to focus the analysis afterwards on his representation of the daily life at the *conventillo* "Medio Mundo" and the presence of the music within it.

35 About "Medio Mundo", see Milita Alfaro and Milita y José Cozzo, *Medio Mundo. Sur, conventillo y después*. (Montevideo: Medio & Medio, 2008).

36 A 3D model of this *conventillo* can be seen at https://www.elobservador.com.uy/nota/es-posible-recorrer-el-conventillo-mediomundo-a-39-anos-de-su-demolicion-20171161640.

37 "Cuareim 1080" was the postal address of the *conventillo* "Medio Mundo".

38 CD *Afrikandombes*, inserted in Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Entre colores y tambores*.

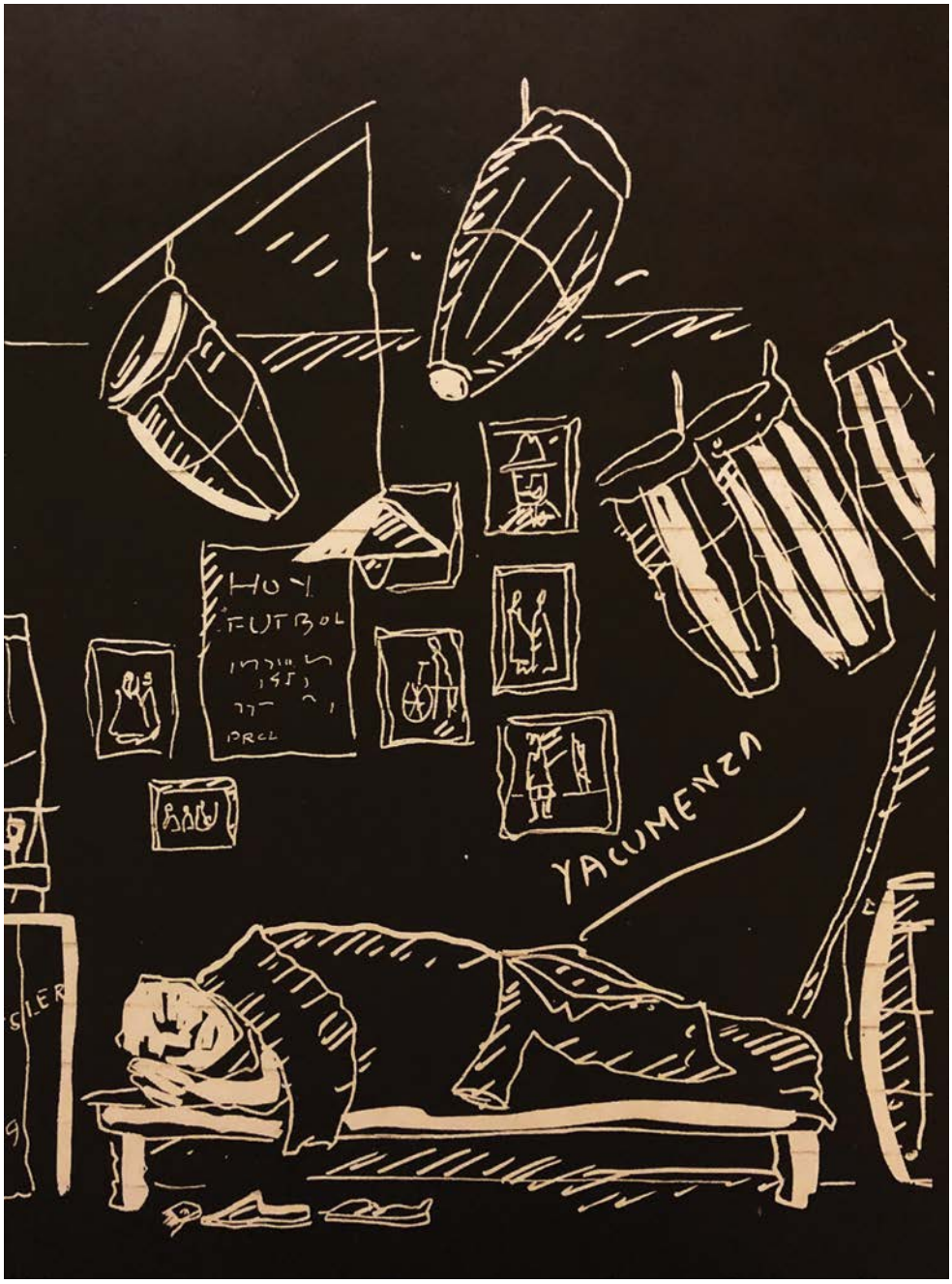


Fig. 6: Carlo Paéz Vilaró, *Yacumenza*. Drawing inserted in the book *Medio Mundo*.[39]

39 Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Mediomundo. Un mundo de recuerdos* (Buenos Aires: Artes Gráficas Integradas, 2000) 16.

Here I will quickly note the strong evolution that took place following his early works, which were quite naïve and influenced by Figari. An encounter with the work of Picasso in 1956 caused a stylistic rupture, furthered by the artist's own experience of African art, gained during his travels in the 1960s. Some periods represent crucial moments in the country, such as his "Carligrafías," painted during the period of dictatorship endured by Uruguay between 1973 and 1985. Or moments from his life, as in the abstract period that accompanies the loss, search, and encounter of his son during the well-known tragic plane crash of a group of Uruguayan athletes in the Andes.[40] Throughout his career, in addition to those specific series (by theme or style), there is a permanent return to Afro-Uruguayan culture.

The concept of "blackness" is present in the work of Páez Vilaró, both in the descriptive aspect of *candombe* as well as in music and dance, as demonstrated in the *Candombe* series on the website of Museo Casa Pueblo. It is present in the paintings inspired by the African cultures that he directly knew, in the murals that took scenes from the Barrio Sur in Montevideo, to other international cities. The symbolic aspect is also very important, for example, in the works that open each chapter of the book *Entre colores y tambores*. The text I have transcribed above is especially useful for understanding the artist's view of African and African American cultures. To point out some passages: "[they] seemed to have been playing since the beginning of history," notes Páez Vilaró, reporting his first impressions. That sense of the archaic, that temporal depth suggested by the artist in numerous written texts and interviews determined his worldview as an exotic, "jungle-like" environment. The description continues with a detailed account of the movements of the characters, even with metaphors. He referred to the *gramillero* dance, linked to African trance dances present in the Gulf of Guinea area, which are described as "nervously 'telegraphing' on the street with the tip of his cane." It is also noteworthy that, in this first presentation of the *candombe*, Páez Vilaró does not show the spectacular costumes of the *comparsa*s, but rather highlights the poor, old, patchy costumes and paraphernalia of the dancers.

I have selected two paintings from the beginning of this century, acrylics on canvas, referencing the membranophones with which *candombe* were interpreted by a *comparsa* (figs 7 and 8). They summarise Páez Vilaró' style and his ability to synthesise the centrality of the scene. The vibrant colours of the drummers' garments, previously seen in Figari, are worked on flat drawing here, with strong black outlines. The representation of movement with the arms in the playing position is also present. Picasso's influence is notorious in the rendering of faces. Elements of African, Sudanese, and Congolese cultures, and elements of the advertising drawing from his beginnings as a visual artist are also present.

40 Páez Vilaró was one of the leaders of the search groups for the young athletes.



Fig. 7: Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Tamborilero y gato*, acrylic on canvas. Museo-Taller de Casapueblo. Photo by Alejandro Medone.



Fig. 8: Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Tres tamborileros*, acrylic on canvas. Museo-Taller de Casapueblo. Photo by Alejandro Medone.



Fig. 9: Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Bailarines y vedettes*.[41]

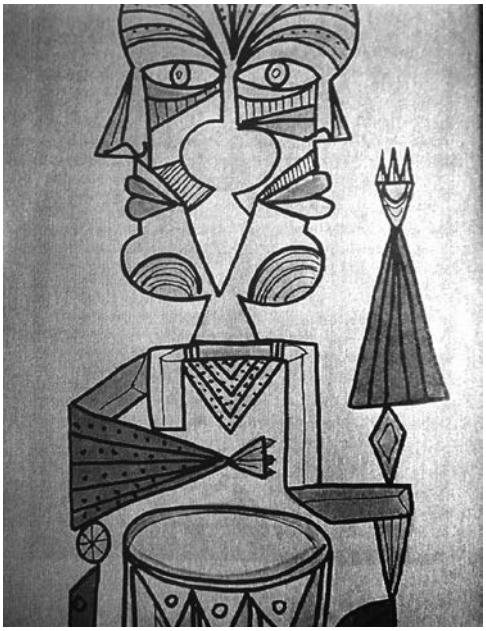


Fig. 10: Carlos Páez Vilaró, *El escobero*.[42]

The African influence is especially noticeable in the paintings that, published in black and white, illustrate each chapter of *Entre colores y tambores*. From this series, a return to his African experience that he assumed in the year 2000, I include the painting that illustrates Chapter 31, "Dancers and vedettes," where the influence of Picasso is notorious, and the painting corresponding to Chapter 28, "The escobero," in which said influence are joined by African elements.

Finally, two murals. The first, *Cuareim 1080* (fig. 11), links *candombe* and tango through the figure of Carlos Gardel (1883?–1935). Painted in 2006, it is placed in the Barrio Sur of Montevideo, "the place" of *candombe*, and close to the plaza and the monument that honours this quintessential tango singer (whose possible Uruguayan nationality has been discussed for decades). Yet again the characters of the *comparsa* stand out, escaping from the picture, as does the bust of Gardel, painted with the classic smile of his most popular photos. Similar representations of the singer can be found in other murals, currently housed in Buenos Aires, and focused on tango. The second mural (fig. 12), close to the first, is also symbolic because Páez Vilaró painted it in the patio of the housing cooperative built where "Medio Mundo" was founded.

41 Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Entre colores y tambores*, 220.

42 Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Entre colores y tambores*, 198.



Fig. 11: Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Cuareim 1080*. Mural, Montevideo.



Fig. 12: Carlos Páez Vilaró, *A mi querido Mediomundo*. Mural, Montevideo. Photo: Gonzalo Díaz Fornaro.

Another fundamental book for understanding the presence of Páez Vilaró at the epicentre of the black community is *Medio Mundo*,[43] which includes prose, poetry, drawings, and photographs. Páez Vilaró shows the insertion of *candombe* in the life of the community housing, but always with his added touch of daily life. He shows the washer women air-drying clothes, and a few lonely men waiting for something unseen. With the purpose of conveying part of the atmosphere of this type of housing, I include two photographs (figs 13 and 14) by Álvaro Sanjurjo Toucón (1942), who captured the architecture and inhabitants of the "Medio Mundo."

Páez Vilaró rendered drums, *comparsa*s, the flag, and trophy carriers. Crests and stars, the Islamic flag (brought by the Islamised Sudanese cultures who arrived to the Río de la Plata) and choreographic characters, previously discussed. The *Mama Vieja*, a representative of the saleswomen and washerwomen of Colonial Montevideo, the *Gramillero*, a character whose choreography alludes to the shamanic trance of African cultures, and the *Escobero*, an expert juggler. These are the characters that fascinated Páez Vilaró in his first physical encounter with *candombe*, as documented in *Entre colores y tambores*. His paintings and drawings always reveal details, such as a dog following the *comparsa* (an element perhaps taken from Figari's oils) which make these characters closer to us, more human.

This is Páez Vilaró description of attending a *candombe* event:

> To put it simply, in a council of smoke and barrels of *yerba*, each one of us with the drum welded to the shoulder, we began a *repique*[44] which lasted several hours, as many to go over corners and *boliches*,[45] and cafeterias, people, cars, bicycles, buses, cables, *zaguanes*,[46] paperboys, and mailboxes.
>
> Starting the *comparsa* from the *conventillo* "Medio Mundo" into the night was an amazing trip, unknown in tourism letters. *Chala*[47] in our mouths, raggedy slippers, striped pants. Dragging our feet with a sweaty brow and eyes up high, towards the windows. The window of a generous neighbor who threw flowers at us, or that of the pretty *morena* who, in her smile, showed back to us the crescent moon made of cloth that presided our march.[48]

43 Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Mediomundo. Un mundo de recuerdos* (Buenos Aires: Artes Gráficas Integradas, 2000).

44 *Repique:* drum playing.

45 *Boliche*: bar.

46 *Zaguán:* a small room in the entryway of a house.

47 *Chala*: a cigarette made with corn husk.

48 "Simplemente, en concilio de humaredas y barricas de yerba encintadas en latón, cada uno con el tambor soldado al hombro, iniciábamos un repique que e prolongaba varias horas, tantas como para hilvanar esquinas y *boliches*, cantinas, gente, autos, bicicletas, autobuses, cables, zaguanes, diarieros y buzones. Partir del "Medio Mundo" en *comparsa* hacia la noche era un viaje alucinante bien desconocido en las cartas de turismo. *Chala* en boca, zapatilla desflecada, pantalón a rayas. Frente sudada, andar de arrastro y los ojos puestos en lo alto, embocando el ventanal. El de la vecina generosa que nos tiraba flores o el de la morena bonita que nos devolvía en su sonrisa la medialuna de trapo que presidía nuestra marcha." Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Mediomundo*, 20.



Fig. 13: *Conventillo* "Medio Mundo."
Photo: Álvaro Sanjurjo Toucón.



Fig. 14: *Conventillo* "Medio Mundo."
Photo: Álvaro Sanjurjo Toucón.

It should also be noted that Páez Vilaró did not limit his works to the stereotyped image of the Afro-Uruguayan culture and the *conventillo*. For example, he drew an old black woman listening to a phonograph (fig. 15). It creates a touch of modernity that transgresses the stereotypical image of the *conventillo* as the place of a folklore "frozen in time," an isolated *locus* of the national society and, therefore, not a real danger for possible mixtures with hegemonic cultural practices. Páez Vilaró also opened the range of musical genres associated with the historic housing with the inclusion of tango and danceable milonga. He documented the visit of composer and pianist Pintín Castellanos (1905–1983) and he painted and narrated his own piano interpretation of the famous milonga *La puñalada* (*The stab*) in the tenement house.

Mediomundo is a collection of drawings and poetry. The thematic centre of the book is the demolition of this *conventillo* by the dictatorship, between 1973 and 1985. Residents were evicted on December 3, 1978, and the building was demolished two days later, with the argument that it was under risk of collapse. Actually, this action was linked to the presumption of activities of resistance to the regime by figures associated with the Afro-Uruguayan community. The "Fiesta de las Llamadas" event was considered dangerous by the regime due to the people associated to it. The persecution of its participants continued for years. I have personally endured this persecution with my students while carrying out field work in the 1978 parade.



Fig. 15: Carlos Páez Vilaró, drawing inserted in the book *Mediomundo*.[49]

Páez Vilaró conceives *candombe* and his interpreters as allegories of the fall of this building. He tied those, in turn, to the beginning of the change of the Afro-Uruguayan culture. Páez Vilaró was a part of that culture, beginning in his youth, as painter and musician. This change was marked by the migration of a large part of the inhabitants of the traditional Afro-Uruguayan neighborhoods from the coast of the bay of Montevideo. The disappearance of collective housing marked the end of this type of community life, the representative microcosm of the Afro culture in Montevideo. Thus, in order to represent the demolition of the building, he drew the back of a retreating drummer, with the inscription "like a *lubolo* on a carnival night, it died on its terms" (fig. 16).

49 Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Mediomundo*, 33.

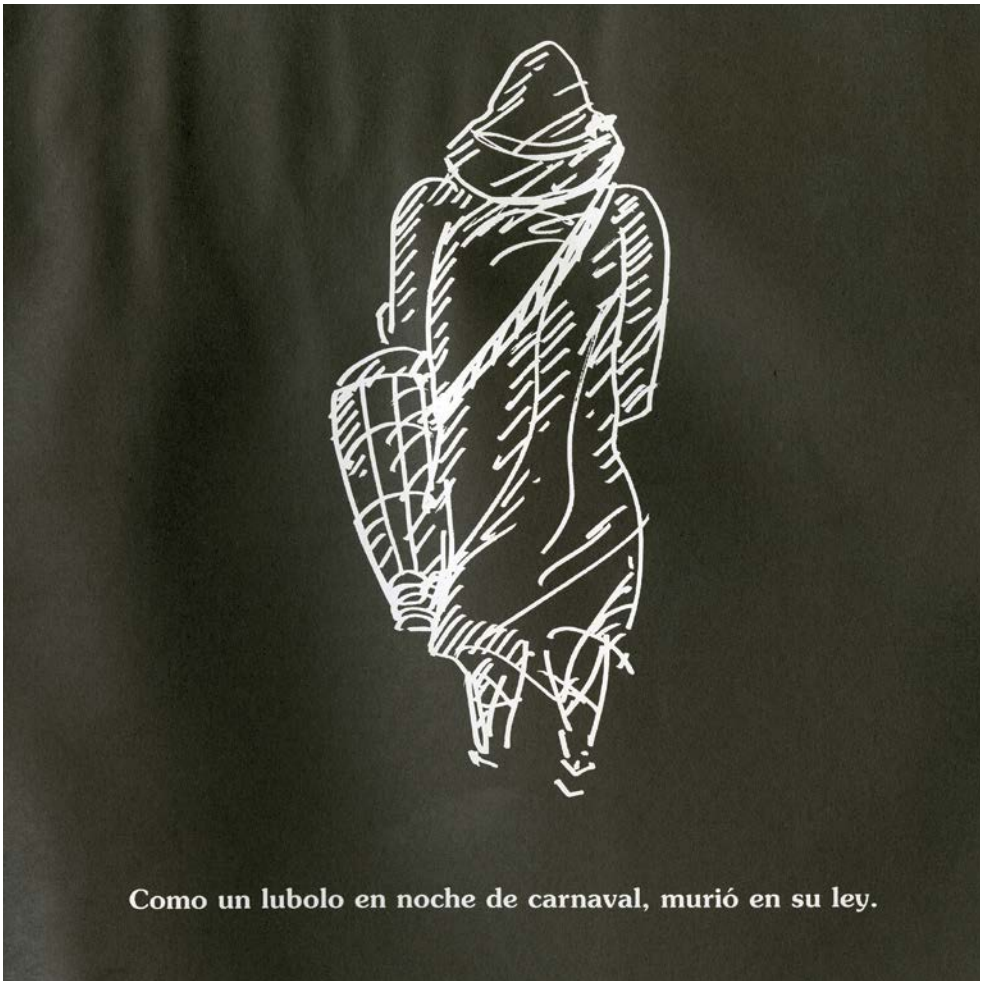


Fig. 16: Carlos Páez Vilaró, "Like a *lubolo* on a carnival night, it died on its terms".[50]

Páez Vilaró's relationship with the Afro community in Montevideo lasted until his death at the age of 90. Shortly before, he paraded with the "Cuareim 1080" *comparsa* and painted a mural in the Mercado Agrícola of Montevideo. Some Uruguayan intellectuals have observed in Páez Vilaró the attitude of a ruling-class white man towards the bearers of the cultural goods he uses as inspiration. This statement, however, can be put in perspective when considering how much of the Afro community in Montevideo itself participated in a game of legitimations in which the artist felt accepted. His art was legitimized by the subjects who inspired him. These subjects were part of a story of admiration and self-legitimation

50 Carlos Páez Vilaró, *Mediomundo*, 53.

through the intellectual artist, even if that meant exhibiting them before the UNESCO authorities, who Páez Vilaró took to visit the *conventillo* "Medio Mundo" in 1954.

Páez Vilaró's attitudes must be interpreted within the context of his own time. Certain contemporary writers analyse them under the current assessment of intercultural relations, without taking into account the profound changes that have emerged in this field in recent decades. It is true that Páez Vilaró lived for almost two decades of the twenty-first century, and that the book in which he especially displays his philosophy regarding black cultures was published in 2000. However, as frequently happens with pioneering figures, his ideological framework remained anchored to the decades of the beginning and the apogee of his activity. The same can be said of the Afro-Uruguayan community, which respectfully accepted him until his death.

Páez Vilaró's connection with blackness has been analysed by the sociologist Vannina Sztainbok.[51] She considers the book in question to be an example of the autobiography of a dominant white male, pointing out the process of racialisation and affirmation of whiteness by opposition, the fetishisation of blackness, the paradox of a society that hypertrophies the artistic aspects of the black community but makes its members invisible in everyday social life. Sztainbok contrasts Páez Vilaró's story to that of Rubén Galloza (1926–2002), an Afro-Uruguayan painter born in Barrio Sur in an impoverished situation, in a methodological strategy that leaves room for discussion. There is no doubt about Páez Vilaró's class position. His idealisation of the Afro Uruguayan culture, his sensual and sexual vision of the black woman taken from his African experiences to the parades in the *Llamadas* festivities are evident. But, as the author acknowledges in her conclusions, this vision was, and is, shared internationally by intellectuals, scholars, journalists, and by the Afro communities themselves.[52]

The link of Páez Vilaró's with the culture he painted from the decade of 1940 until a few days before his death must be understood in the context of what, for him, was a kind of Edenic time, a time of discovery and daring. For a young, white, upper-class intellectual, entering that "open mouth of a *conventillo,*" as he himself describes it (a strong metaphor), his first experience of crossing the threshold of that world he had just discovered, meant a violation of the heavy taboos of his time. He would be followed in this transgression more than a decade later by the composer Lamarque Pons, already mentioned, when he took the *candombe* interpreters from their world and placed them on the stage of the Solís Theater, the most consecrated artistic space in the country. The painter had already transferred

51 Vannina Sztainbok, "National Pleasures: The Fetishization of Blackness and Uruguayan Autobiographical Narratives," *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2008): 61–84.

52 The peculiarities of the insertion of the Afro-Uruguayan community into the national society have been extensively studied by George Reid Andrews in *Blackness in the White Nation: A History of Afro-Uruguay* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011). About racial identity in Latin America, see Peter Wade, "Racial Identity and Nationalism: A Theorethical View from Latin America," *Ethnnic and Racial Studies* 24, no. 5 (2001): 845–865.

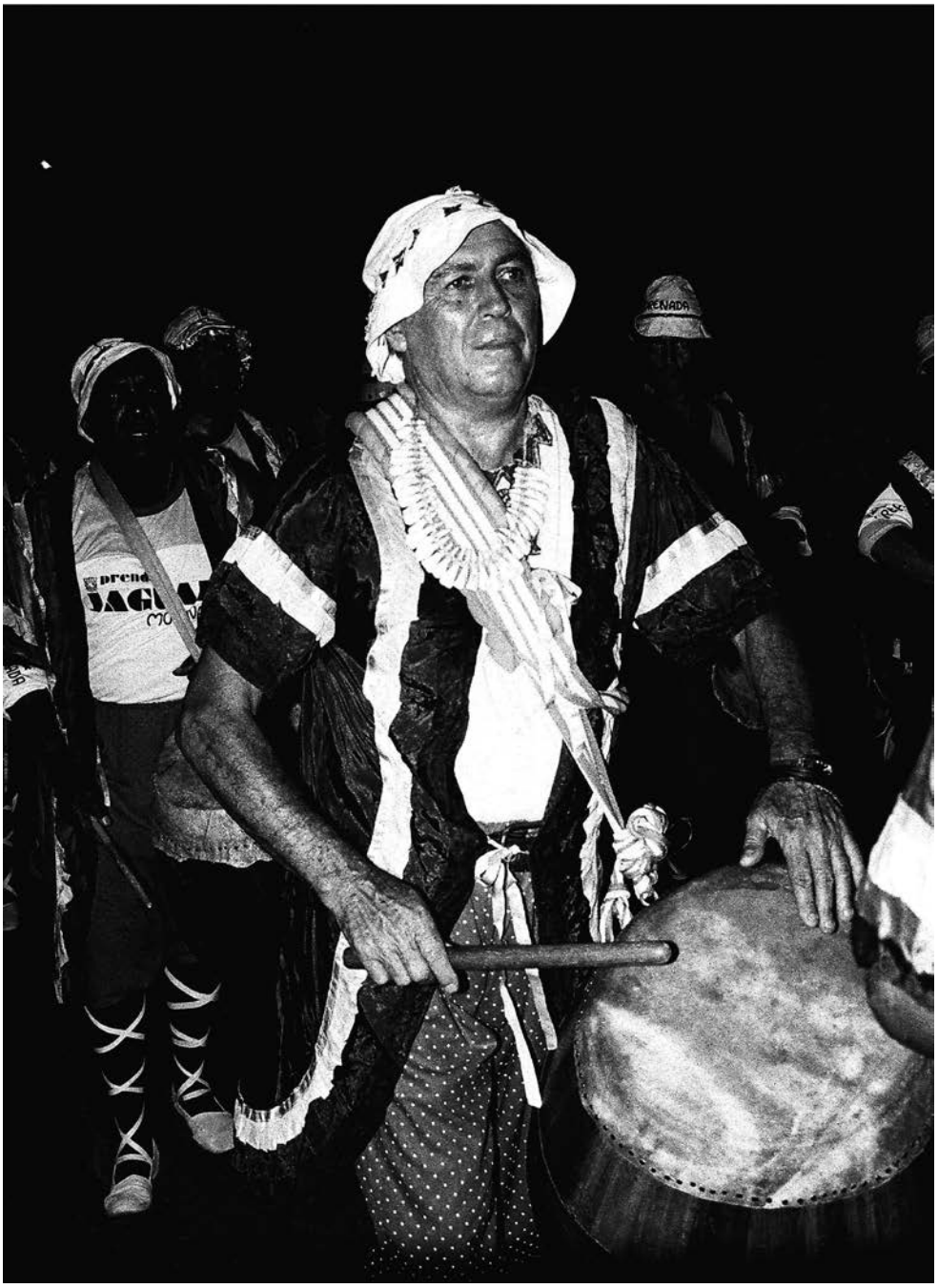


Fig. 17: Carlos Páez Vilaró as a drummer. *Las llamadas* parade, 1991. Photo: Aldo Novick.

them to play in Punta del Este, the internationally well-known Uruguayan beach city, and to tour the streets of Carrasco, the most distinguished neighborhood in Montevideo. On the other hand, Páez Vilaró travelled through Africa in the midst of independence conflicts in those countries, lived in a leprosarium, put his body out there in his own way. Evidently, his worldview did not accompany the changes of a society that, since the 1980s, incorporated this blackness into the national identity. But his ability to show that world – both in its spectacular and quotidian aspects – outside the spatial thresholds established since colonial times, made an important contribution to this process. And yet, it remains a country where university professionals of Afro origin are almost non-existent, to cite a contemporary example of social thresholds which are still in place.

Arotxa: *Candombe* in the Present

As a third case, I present drawings by Rodolfo Arotxarena (born 1958), known under his signature Arotxa, a caricaturist with an extensive career. Arotxa is well known for his political caricatures as a graphic journalist for the newspaper *El País* in Montevideo. He began publishing there in 1975 at the age of 16, and continued through until 2018. A self-taught artist, his work shows some international influences and as well as the influence of Hermenegildo Sábat (1933–2018), a Uruguayan-Argentinian caricaturist. Arotxa has been following the political evolution of Uruguay, and the sharpness and wisdom of his work ultimately lead to consideration of him as a political analyst.[53] Arotxa dedicated a series of caricatures to the Uruguayan President José Mujica (born 1935; presidency: 2010–15), compiled into a book,[54] and a series of drawings and caricatures about tango, milonga, and *candombe*. Among his works on Carlos Gardel, a representative figure of tango (an ongoing controversy concerns his place of birth) "El Gardelazo" stands out, a gigantography measuring 17m × 26m. It was created after one of the singer's well-known portraits was displayed in the Department of Tacuarembó (where presumably Carlos Gardel was born) between 1996–2009.

Arotxa's works that focus on tango and *candombe*[55] rely on realistic drawings and caricatures. In the latter, one of the characteristics is the use of marginal characters, since the tango is no longer the sole domain of the marginal classes, and the hypertrophy of female sexual characters, a feature shared with other artistic manifestations related to this dance. Grotesque elements are a frequent component. *Candombe* occupies a central place in the works of Arotxa, with several exhibitions and a published collection.[56] The author went to Barrio Sur in his adolescence, and

53 Carina Novarese, "Arotxa: 'Lo que hago es abatir la solemnidad del poderoso'," *El Observador*, May 6, 2019, http://cilbeti.com.uy/ra/Arotxa_Lo_que_hago_es_abatir_la_solemnidad_del_poderoso_.pdf.

54 Arotxa, *Dibujos al Pepe* (Montevideo: Gota, 2019).

55 See Instagram: @arotxadibuja.

56 Arotxa, *Candombe de San Felipe y Santiago* (Montevideo: De la Plaza, 1994).

he even played in the *comparsa* "Morenada".[57] His drawings of *comparsa*s and isolated characters, for which he opted for a realistic aesthetic, have been incorporated into the Uruguayan imaginary, reproduced in different objects, such as show programs and vinyl record covers.

For the present essay I will focus on his caricature work on one of the characters of the Afro-Uruguayan *comparsa*, the so-called *vedette*, a character associated with burlesque theatre since the mid-twentieth century. When the vedettes are represented in their youth, the drawings show, once more, a strategy of hypertrophy of the female secondary sexual traits. Those characteristics, in this case, include the very exuberance that is required of this type of character.

We observe, once again, the imaginary of African and African American women and the legend of their extraordinary sensuality. This has even been the subject of reflections in poetry, a subject I have researched for the production of an album.[58] I include here the poem *María Mele,* by Washington Benavides (1930–2017), a poet closely linked to popular music:

> María Mele, who puts in your blood,
> a whirlwind of leopards and a blue rose
> María Mele, who was born of a common black woman,
> In an old *conventillo* in Barrio Sur
> Don't call her a goddess, leave her as woman
> Who works all day and, at dusk,
> dances the *candombé* to the beat of the *llamadas*…[59]

In many cases, Arotxa does not represent the *vedettes* with young, full bodies. Instead they are presented as great figures who continued performing in carnival with their aged bodies. These women, possibly grotesque when placed within the canon of Western beauty, are appreciated for their naturalism by the carnival public. Thus, the two great *vedettes* in the history of Uruguayan carnival, Rosa Luna (1937–1993) and Martha Gularte (1919–2002), are represented both in their maturity and decadence. Withered bodies and headdresses can be read as allegories of the passage of time, a paradox in a carnival that every year promises to be reborn. The sadness of these images is mediated, but also alleviated by means of the caricature strategy. According to Arotxa's conception regarding caricatures and humour:

---

57 *Entrevista a Arotxa. Programa Equipaje de mano*, interview by Jaime Clara, El Observador TV, August 2, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TJSgTHY2DFQ&t=1471s.

58 Marita Fornaro Bordolli, ed., *No la llames diosa… Mujeres negras al sur: miradas desde la poesía y desde la música afrouruguaya,* Sondor 8.299–2 (Montevideo: Sondor/Universidad de la República, 2007).

59 "María Mele que te pone en la sangre/un torbellino de leopardos y una rosa azul…/María Mele que ha nacido de negra común/En un viejo conventillo y en el Barrio Sur…/No la llames diosa, déjala en mujer/Que trabaja todo el día y al anochecer/Al compás de las llamadas baila el candombé…" For an interpretation of this poem, see the *candombe*-song musicalization and performance by the Larbanois and Carrero duo: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=miDBCp9t4xY.

> What we humorists do is to give a breath of fresh air to what sometimes could become excessively heavy. An oasis, let's say, that somehow sees reality in a not so harsh manner, because caricatures are never as harsh as reality.[60]

In some theoretical approaches, cartoons are distinguished from caricatures, considering the latter as a specific cartoon technique.[61] A caricature entails an exaggeration or distortion of features. A caricature can focus on a political issue or on a social function. Although Arotxa is better known for his political works, his series of social themes are numerous and diverse (*caudillos*, musicians, soccer players, intellectuals, etc.). Stereotypes are more frequent in social caricatures than are found in political characters. The individual, hypertrophied traits of the characters are essential for the rapid recognition of the character. However, when approaching the vedettes of the Uruguayan carnival *comparsa*, Arotxa conjugates stereotype and individual traits. In the case of drum players and other characters in the *comparsa* the artist opts for a general type. For the two vedettes, Rosa Luna and Marta Gularte, their evolution towards maturity and old age is represented in the drawing. Their individuality is important for the public recognition. It is the story of the two women and their own journey in the life cycle. The apogee of the almost naked body evidences the passage of time. Hence the popularity of these "sad caricatures," in which the ironic visual rhetoric procedure yields to the grotesque.

Furthermore, these caricatures challenge the supposedly ephemeral nature of this specific style of drawing. Arotxa stated:

> The life of a caricature is ephemeral. The moment a caricature appears, it reaches its maximum splendor. I am not saying that it is as brief as a dance, in which what the dancer is drawing is blurred when he stops doing a certain step, but the lifespan of the caricature is for the moment. There are some that manage to be much more historical, so to speak, because the episodes that generated them are much more important.[62]

However, the *candombe* characters drawn by Arotxa, both with realistic and caricaturist styles, remain in force, and not for starring a specific episode, but rather due to the annual repetitive nature of their show. The musical-choreographic genre remains in practice, and the figures identified as individual personalities are preserved in the Uruguayan social imaginary.

---

60 "Lo que hacemos los humoristas es darle una ventana de aire fresco a lo que a veces puede llegar a ser excesivamente pesado. Un oasis, digamos, que de alguna manera vea la realidad no tan cruda, porque las caricaturas nunca son tan crudas como la realidad." "Arotxa, 40 años," interview by Florencia Traibel, video: Juan Gari, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SQXjVH2mx1k.

61 Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon as a Historical Source," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4, no. 1 (1973): 81–93 among others.

62 "La vida que tiene una caricatura es efímera. Durante el momento en que una caricatura aparece, ahí tiene el máximo de esplendor. No digo que sea tan breve como la danza, en la que que lo que el bailarín va dibujando se desdibuja cuando deja de hacer un paso determinado, pero la vida útil de la caricatura es para el momento. Hay algunas que logran ser mucho más históricas si se quiere, porque los episodios que las generaron son mucho más importantes." "Arotxa, 40 años," interview by Florencia Traibel.

Uruguayan Identity: Iconography as Mediator

The three selected artists for this essay address Uruguayan traditional music and dance, expressions of European and African origin, in testimonies of their own time and with "original" or "foundational" nostalgia.

Figari painted scenes of a rural past which was facing destruction, and scenes of the urban life of the descendants of enslaved people. He approached painting in a certain naive way, with impressionist elements and a strong ideological framework. His philosophy proposed giving visibility to the idealised cultures that he conceived as main characters of an American modernity based on the values of those cultures.

Páez Vilaró travelled in search of African roots and peoples with shared evolutions and destinies in order to read the Uruguayan Africanity. On that journey, he came upon the same community that he represented artistically in a complex game of acceptance and criticism, yet important for the evolution of the society's view on "the other African."

Arotxa continues to summarise the current state of affairs in music and dance expressions that share African elements through caricature. His works describe a world detached from the National Society, a world that acts as a mediator of that otherness.

These three artists are united thanks to Figari, whose influence Páez Vilaró and Arotxa explicitly recognized as Arotxa's caricature of Figari clearly reveals. The Afro-Uruguayan culture is still presented in isolation. It remains "the other." Páez Vilaró depicts that otherness, and the conflicts of incomplete integration. Afro-descendants in Uruguay are still merely a culture to be studied and mediated by visual and performing arts. The national imaginary on Afro-Uruguayan culture represented by the arts related to *candombe*. The verses by Benavides that state, the "woman (who) works all day and, at dusk, dances the candombé," remains a prevalent idea. It is still relegated to the second part of her day, in that spectacular part, lived by the Afro-Uruguayan communities as proof that "the Other," as it was established during the colonial period, prevails.

FROM STERLING TO CURRENCY: REPRESENTING IDENTITY IN COLONIAL AUSTRALIA THROUGH MUSIC REVIEWS AND CARTOONS

Johanna Selleck

At the turn of the nineteenth century, colonial Australians looked to the future with trepidation:

> The outlook for the Australian character is not bright … The eclectic and fairly bountiful food supply of Australia … the warm amorous climate, the open outdoor life – all tend to licentiousness … There is strong reason to hope, however, that women, politically enfranchised and reaching in time (no doubt), industrially and intellectually, a very high plane, will interfere to correct any tendency to moral decadence.[1]

The journalist quoted here from *The Bulletin* was tapping into a popular trend by speculating about what future Australians would be like. Commentators from the time drew upon concepts of nationality, class, and gender in their efforts to constitute the identity of the "Coming Australian," and their views were often formed by their responses to Australia's landscape and climate as well as its convict origins. In the lead-up to the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, thoughts turned to the birth of the new nation and the "social experiment" that was taking place. As one writer described it, Australia was a "blank paper" upon which the newcomers would write their destinies.[2] This concept of a "blank paper" was based on the idea of *terra nullius* ("nobody's land") that denied the existence of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their civilisations, which we now know date back at least 65,000 years.[3] Armed with a social Darwinist belief in their own superiority and right to conquer, many of the newcomers surveyed their world through a lens clouded with, from our current perspective, racism and misogyny. Following the First Fleet's arrival in Botany Bay in 1788, the genocide of the First Australians unfolded, their population fell from numbers estimated to be as high as 750,000 people at first contact to around 30,000 by the first decade of

1 *The Bulletin,* September 13, 1902.

2 F. J. C., "Some Thoughts on the Duties of the Upper Classes," *Victorian Review* 2 (September 1880): 617.

3 Chris Clarkson, "Buried Tools and Pigments Tell a New History of Humans in Australia," *Australasian Science* (3 August 2017), accessed May 9, 2020, http://www.australasianscience.com.au/search/node/clarkson.

the twentieth century.[4] The rise of "White Australia" culminated in the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901. Songs such as *March of the Great White Policy* of 1910 (fig.1) illustrate how the sentiments of the Act found expression across all sections of society and were influential for decades to come. One of the most powerful conduits for transmission of such sentiments were newspapers, and the following discussion draws on the major newspapers and magazines of the time including the *Argus*, *Australasian*, and *The Bulletin,* the latter of which provided a radical (and non-British centric) platform to explore Australian identity.

In pondering their future and their legacy, colonial Australians projected their hopes and fears onto invented images defined as "The National Type," the "Coming Man," and the "New Woman." These stereotypes reflected broader international trends at the time, as Richard White has shown in his book *Inventing Australia*. White points to numerous factors contributing to this, including nationalistic sentiments emanating from Europe, an enthusiasm for categorisation that dominated the science of the day, and a concern with ideas about the moral character of national types.[5] However, the incarnation of these stereotypes in Australia was a direct response to the local context and was consequently unique.

With the aim of shedding light on an emerging Australian identity, the discussion below will illustrate the ways in which the divergence from the motherlands of Great Britain and Europe occurred. I begin by outlining the historical and cultural context, which provides the basis for all ensuing arguments. The divergence is best understood through a discussion of class, nationality, and gender, given these were focal issues at the time and were shaped by the trauma of convict origins and colonial nation building. I then introduce cartoons as an expression of these basic concepts and make a connection with the language used in reviews of musical performances. Many of the cartoons are taken from *The Bulletin*. Also known as the "bushman's bible", *The Bulletin* came to represent the popular voice of the people, yet contrarily, it can also be seen as a unique manifestation of Australian culture in the way it distilled current trends of thought into a distinctive style of journalism and cartooning in addition to its irreverent (and often cruel) brand of humour. It was also a connecting point for the many writers and artists (such as Banjo Paterson and Norman Lindsay) who contributed to its pages.[6]

4 Colin Tatz, *Genocide in Australia*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Research Discussion Paper no. 8 (1999): 9–10, accessed May 9, 2020, https://aiatsis.gov.au.

5 Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688–1980* (Crowsnest NSW: Allen & Unwin 1981), 64–65.

6 *The Bulletin* (1880–2008): From its inception in 1880 up until World War I, *The Bulletin* was highly influential and well-known for its radical nationalist, pro-republican, and "White Australia" stance.
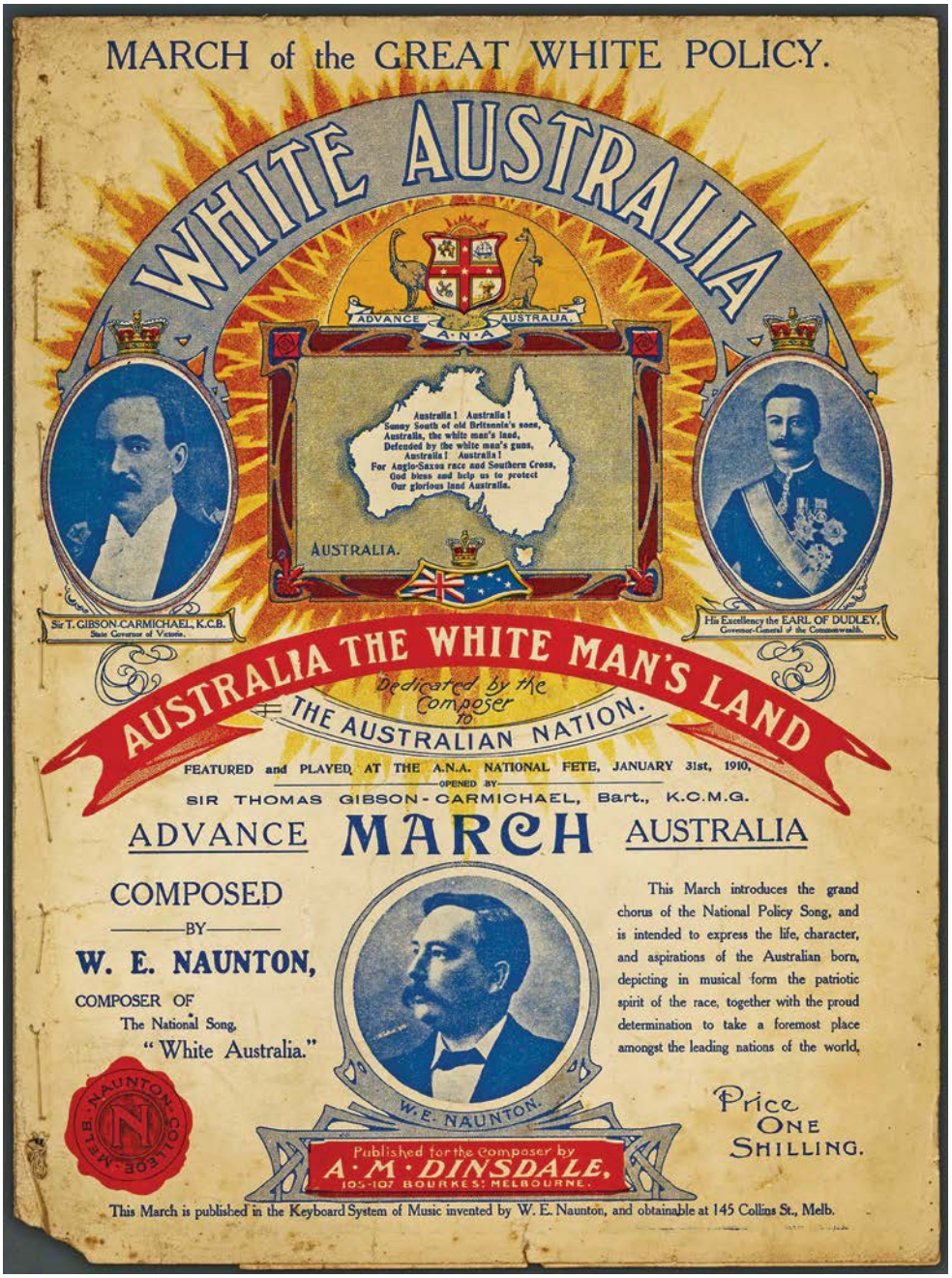


Fig. 1: W.E. Naunton, *March of the Great White Policy* (Melbourne: A.M. Dinsdale, 1910). [Copyright: public domain][7]

7 All illustrations and cartoons in this article were accessed via the National Library of Australia. http://nla.gov.au.

The theoretical framework for my analysis is based in Critical Discourse Analysis, Cultural Linguistics, and Multimodal Theory of Humour. Also central to the discussion is my PhD thesis, *Notions of Identity*, for which I analysed the vocabularies of 1,400 newspaper and magazine articles, mostly reviews of concerts in Melbourne between 1880 and 1902.[8] One of my aims was to identify linguistic markers of class, nationality, and gender, thereby tapping into what Farzad Sharifian describes as society's "collective memory bank."[9] Through identifying these markers, I was able to posit how emerging cultural traits influenced the way music was created, performed, and received in the Australian colonies. This also shed light on the way Australian frontier society opened up (for some people) new ways of "creating" (in the arts) and new opportunities for social "levelling".

Ideas About Class: A Bunyip Aristocracy

With the arrival of the first convicts and their military overseers to Australian shores in 1788, the first of many class struggles was set in motion. Next came the squatters, who transformed themselves into a class of "landed gentry" and came into conflict with the poorer class of "free-selector" farmers in the 1860s. The first generation born to the original settlers became known as "currency lads and lasses," and so the process of separation from the motherlands and the search for an independent identity gathered momentum. One early pictorial representation of a newly emerging identity and a prosperous lower class is a painting from 1840 entitled *The Landlord* by Tasmanian convict William Gould[10] (fig. 2). Importantly, this painting represents an early departure in Australia's colonial history from European and British conventions.

The subject is a suited landlord, defying convention with his unashamed, gap-toothed grin (rather than the conventional, politely closed mouth). He is smoking a pipe and lacks a sense of social grace. He stares back at us, "front-on" (rather than side profile), defiant and happy, a self-made businessman. We are party to a conversation taking place, inset at the bottom of the painting, where the landlord is asking a patron to pay for a drink. This painting hints at a distinctive artistic style

8 Johanna Selleck, *Notions of Identity: A Socio-Cultural Interpretation of Music in Melbourne, 1880–1902* (PhD diss. (Vol. II), University of Melbourne, 2007). Vol. III contains tables of vocabularies pertaining to the music reviews under analysis. Vol. I is a folio of original compositions.

9 Farzad Sharifian, *Cultural Linguistics: Cultural Conceptualisations and Language* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017), 5, accessed March 13, 2019, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313714518.

10 William Buelow Gould (1801–1853) was transported to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1827. He is considered one of Australia's most important colonial painters and natural-history artists. See Henry Allport, "Gould, William Buelow," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, accessed May 10, 2020, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gould-william-buelow-2114.

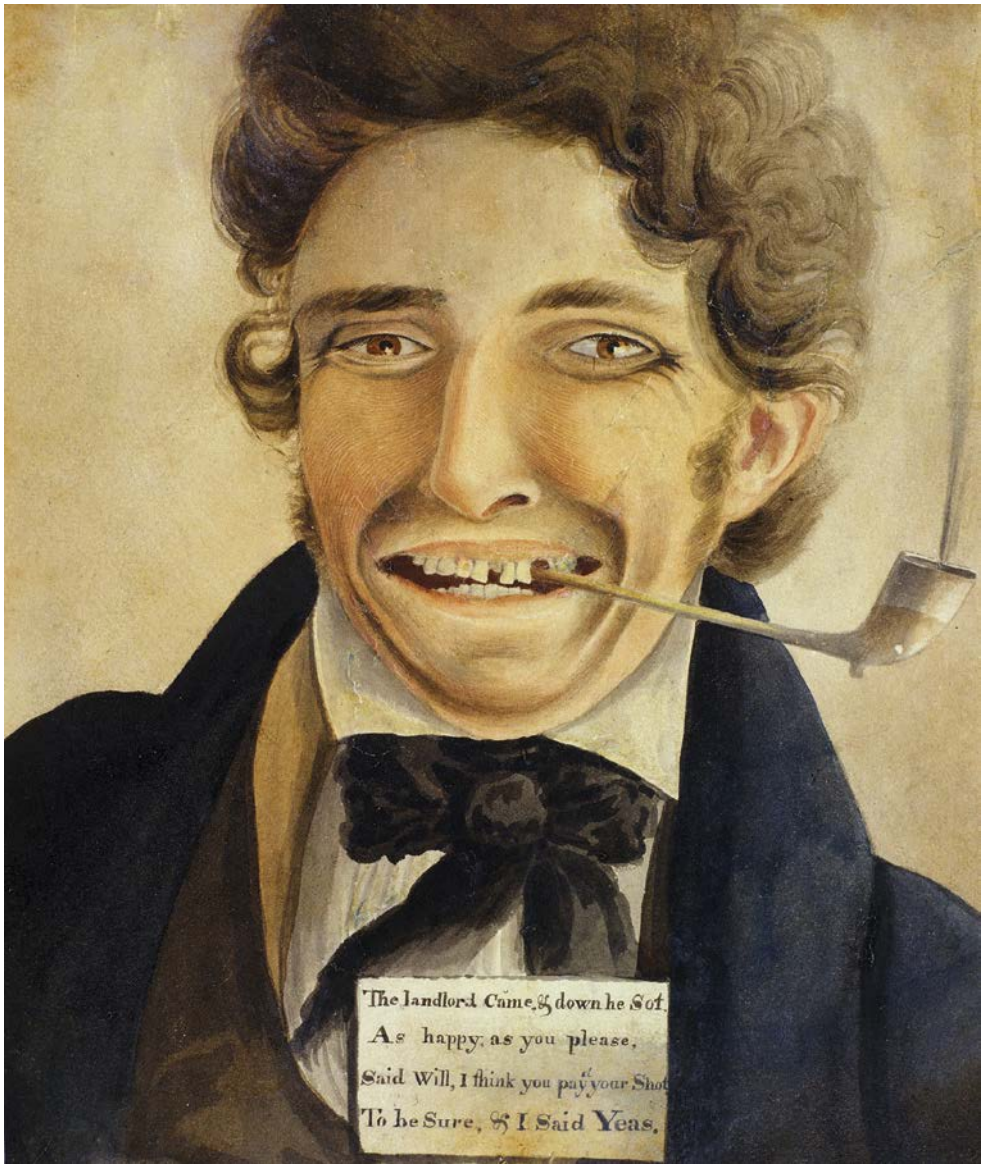


Fig. 2: William Buelow Gould, *The Landlord*, watercolour on paper. Launceston, Tasmania: Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery. Inset: "The Landlord came and down he Sot, As happy as you please, said Will I think you payd your Shot, To be sure, & I said Yeas." [Copyright: public domain]

and the emerging stereotype of the Australian "larrikin."[11] Its creator, a convict who was never able to break the shackles of alcoholism and repeated offending, was also highly skilled in botanical drawing, and his exquisite *Sketchbook of Fishes* was recognised as a document of world significance by UNESCO in 2012.[12]

Evidence of the new set of class conventions that was emerging in colonial Australia could be found in the musical as well as the visual arts. If Gould's landlord had attended the theatre or opera, he may well have been found in the gallery but might also have aspired to be seen in the dress circle or private boxes with the wealthier patrons, as illustrated in figures 3a and 3b below. These two particular images from 1874 and 1877 hold some importance for music scholarship, given they have been used by different authors of seminal books on Australian theatre (Harold Love and Richard Fotheringham)[13] for their vivid depictions of class differentiation. In figure 3a, the elegantly attired family in the private theatre box appears comfortably settled and politely composed, whereas in figure 3b, a miscellaneous audience of a different class is crowded into the upper balcony, casually dressed and competing for a good view. However, contrary to the impression given by the images, the article accompanying figure 3a breaks down the physical and psychological separation of the pit, dress circle, and gallery. The writer concentrates entirely on the audience, ignoring the entertainment on stage. From his seat in the theatre box, he observes with relish the people around him, who are:

> [H]anding about opera glasses and fans, and with excitable fuss settling down with shaking curls and brilliant, interested eyes … while in the noisy pit, far down in the gloom, men and women and scores of children, rougher and more boisterous than we heavy, well-dressed swells, scampered with much tumult over the benches to the best seats they could get by means foul or fair, while in the gallery above, a perfect saturnalia reigned.[14]

Clearly, the writer is enjoying the atmosphere as a shared experience with his fellow Australians – of all classes – and is delighting in their presence. This example also shows how the multimodal juncture between text and image can reveal a more subtle sensibility, in this case, suggestive of a more egalitarian outlook than is suggested by the images alone.

This focus on the audience in reviews of the time is a striking characteristic, as I argued in my PhD thesis, *Notions of Identity*. I provided evidence that critics commented regularly on the "class" of people in the audience and the performers, the class of the music genre itself, the audience's dress and behaviour, and matters of

11 The term "larrikin" refers to a lively, badly behaved yet likeable young man who displays disregard for convention.

12 Allport, "Gould, William Buelow," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

13 Harold Love, ed., *The Australian Stage: A Documentary History* (Kensington: NSW University Press, 1984), 295; Richard Fotheringham, ed., *Australia Plays of the Colonial Stage 1834–1899* (St Lucia: University of QLD Press, 2006), 316.

14 *Illustrated Sydney News and NSW Agriculturalist and Grazier*, February 3, 1877.



Fig. 3a: *Illustrated Sydney News*, February 3, 1877. Caption: "A Box at the Pantomime." [Copyright: public domain]



Fig. 3b: *Australasian Sketcher*, February 21, 1874. Caption: The "Gods at the Pantomime." [Copyright: public domain]

public taste (closely tied in with the moral wellbeing of society).[15] The strong presence of the audience in music reviews suggests that Australian society was "testing out" notions of class in a way that was not possible in England, where class systems were well established. A commentator in 1882 accused Australian audiences of being rowdy to the extreme[16] (possibly a "hangover" from riotous behaviour in the theatres of the goldfields). Yet conversely, the general public seemed intent on demonstrating their level of "class" and good taste. When French violinist Camilla Urso visited Melbourne in 1879 and noticed low numbers of ticket sales, she raised her prices in the belief that "a uniform price all over the house was unacceptable to the aristocratic portion of the public." Ticket sales promptly increased.[17]

In his book *The Golden Age of Opera,* Harold Love argues that the desire to put one's wealth on display in the dress circle of the theatre stems from the mid-nineteenth century European idea of opera houses as "monuments to the power and prestige of the urban entrepreneur class." However, in Australia, "differences in theatrical tradition as well as a much less rigid class system have to be taken into account."[18] Australia was a society of new wealth rather than inherited wealth, and the ticket prices for the dress circle and box seats were comparatively cheaper and more representative of a large cross-section of society than was the case in European opera houses.[19]

The tendency towards egalitarianism in Australia did not mean, however, that Australians were necessarily opposed to the idea of ranks and titles, as the term "Bunyip Aristocracy" implies (having come into being when a pioneer statesman, William Wentworth, suggested a system of hereditary peerage for the Upper House).[20] As John Hirst argues, "The old society, which had denied people equal opportunity would also have ingrained in them its own signs of success."[21] As such, the intellectual and artistic pursuits of the old world remained highly prized in the new. For example, the piano became an emblem of civility, and visitors commented on the enthusiasm with which Australian society embraced music. Oscar Comettant, a French juror at the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1888, wrote, "I do not believe there is a country anywhere in the world where music is more

15 Selleck, *Notions of Identity* (Vol II), 123–45.

16 Edmund Finn, "An Australian Failing," *Victorian Review* 6 (October 1882): 662–670.

17 Charles Barnard, *Camilla Urso: A Tribute* (New York: United States Lyceum Bureau, date unknown), 19.

18 Harold Love, *The Golden Age of Australian Opera: W.S. Lyster and His Companies, 1861–1880* (Paddington: Currency Press, 1981), 123, 125.

19 Love, *The Golden Age*, 126.

20 Michael Persee, "William Charles Wentworth," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, accessed May 15, 2020, http://adb.anu.au/biography/wentworth-william-charles-2782/text3961.

A 'bunyip' is a fearsome creature from Australian Aboriginal mythology (said to inhabit creeks and swamps).

21 John Hirst, "Egalitarianism," in *Australian Cultural History*, eds., S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 59–60.

widespread than in Australia. Certainly, there is none that has more grand pianos. 700,000 instruments have been sent out from Europe … since white settlement."[22] In the colonial context, the act of "concertising," with its public acting out of civilised behaviour, provided an important opportunity for displaying prized artistic (and associated moral) qualities. As Richard White argues, "the concert platform became a vehicle to contentedly bathe in the reflected glory of empire … providing proof of the fitness of the British race to govern the world."[23]

The particular manifestation of ideas about class, gender, and nationality that occurred in Australia in the arts and other areas should not be assumed to be merely derivative or some form of "carbon copy" of England or Europe. Historically (and even today), to dismiss the value of the emergent traits is to indulge in a form of imperialism: it reinforces the perceived "dominant" culture's superior positioning in the world. Australia has grappled with emulation versus innovation since colonisation, and the effect at times has been to stultify development. For example, a concert of new works by Australian composers in 1890 by the Victorian Orchestra met with the following criticism from the press:

> The "Local Composers Night" was an experiment, it is to be hoped, [that] will not be repeated … We would suggest that an announcement that the orchestra would give a whistling chorus, or gymnastic exhibition, might perhaps prove more successful.[24]

The objection was that the local works should have been programmed alongside "the standard works of the great masters" rather than independently.[25] Another example is the ban on Australian compositions at the 1888 Exhibition in Melbourne, which prevented the work of a well-known local composer being performed because it was "the work of a colonial."[26] Even some contemporary Australian scholars, in assessing the cultural evolution of the country, fall into this trap of summarily dismissing colonial resourcefulness and creativity, to the point of labelling it "shameful".[27] However, this judgement misunderstands that this was a time when amateur music making was coming to the fore, and with it, a perceived increase in 'mediocrity'. However, I argue that this is exactly the background out of which the truly 'exceptional' is able to rise: genius does not arise from a vacuum, and there

22 Oscar Comettant, *In the Land of Kangaroos and Gold Mines*, trans. Judith Armstrong (1st edition, Librairie Fischbacher, Société Anonyme, 1890; trans. Melbourne: Rigby Ltd. 1980), 136. The census of 1891 gives the population of Australia as 3,174,392. This suggests an average of one piano per 4.5 head of population.

23 White, *Inventing Australia*, 73.

24 *Australasian*, October 25, 1890.

25 *Argus,* October 24, 1890.

26 Thérèse Radic, "The Victorian Orchestra 1889–1891: In the Wake of the Centennial Exhibition Orchestra, Melbourne, 1888," *Australasian Music Research* 1 (1997): 38–39.

27 For example, Roger Covell states, "Shameful as it may be … the drawing-room ballad must be counted as one of the major influences … on the bulk of Australian compositions." See Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967), 62.

should be no shame in educating the masses and bringing music to all classes in society. Measurement against a British yardstick often set up expectations of failure. In 1862, William Walker had hoped that "Australia would produce writers worthy to be placed alongside Bacon, Shakespeare, Byron and Scott."[28] Twenty years later, this had not come to fruition, and a journalist summed up the characteristics of the "Coming Australian" as: "An inordinate love of field sports … a very decided disinclination to recognize authority … a grievous, dislike of mental effort … and he will never contribute any lasting work to English literature or attain distinction in science and art."[29] However, by seeking merely to reproduce British culture, these commentators were looking in the wrong place. The emergence in the 1880s of the Heidelberg School of Australian Impressionist painters and a nationalist school of writers signalled the birth of new art forms and a unique Australian vision: "sterling" had already given way to valuable local "currency."

Ideas about Nationality and Gender: Currency Lads and Lasses

The Coming Man

Many colonists were not convinced, however, that the tempering effects of "high culture" would win out over the harsh realities of everyday life, and cartoons such as figure 4a below (pillorying the "Coming Australian" as evolved into a camel to suit the climate), point to fears about the degeneration of good British stock. There was much discussion surrounding this concept of the Coming Australian, and the "alter ego" to the camel-man, the "Coming Man," appears as early as 1858. He is depicted below (fig. 4b) as a noble, muscular, working-class character.

Authors Nick Dyrenfurth and Marian Quartly have pointed to a shift in thinking in the Anglo-European world in the late 1800s, when public attention "turned from shame and concealment of the masculine body to its celebration." The illustration of the Coming Man significantly pre-dates this, suggesting an early manifestation of this trend. Dyrenfurth and Quartly cite scholars who "read this shift in class terms as a co-option of the bourgeoisie of muscular proletarian styles of masculinity. But in Australia … the ideal male body was equally available to working-class intellectuals.[30] As a corollary, another aspect of the idealisation of masculinity was an emphasis on athletic strength and power in music reviews of

28 Brian Kiernan, "Literature, History and Literary History: Perspectives on the Nineteenth Century in Australia," *Studies in Australian Literary History*, Sydney Studies in Society and Culture 17 (Nottingham, U.K.: Shoestring Press; and New South Wales: University of Sydney, Sydney Association for Studies in Society and Culture, 1997), Open Journal Systems, accessed May 17, 2020, https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/SSSC/article/viewFile/8066/8195.

29 James Hogan, "The Coming Australian," *Victorian Review* 3 (November 1880): 103–109.

30 Nick Dyrenfurth and Marian Quartly, "All the World Over: The Transnational World of Australian Radical and Labour Cartoonists," in *Drawing the Line: Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence*, eds. Richard Scully and Marian Quartly (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2009), 244.



Fig. 4a: "A drought-resisting stock," *The Bulletin*, December 10, 1903. [Copyright: public domain]



Fig. 4b: "The Coming Man," *Melbourne Punch*, May 13, 1858. [Copyright: public domain]

some male performers, examples of which are given below in relation to pianist Mark Hambourg.

In comparing the cartoon (fig. 4a) and the illustration (fig. 4b), it is obvious that the cartoon format achieves a sense of denigration very effectively, whereas the illustration serves to elevate the subject. This sheds light on the fact the "New Women" (the subject of the next section) was consistently portrayed through cartoons rather than "artful" illustration. The negative effect of cartoons is most strongly seen in the depiction of non-whites, where the cartoon format makes them instant targets of ridicule as can be seen in figure 5 below. This particular cartoon sheds light on how cartoons operate to manipulate our opinions.

First, the "non-Englishness" of the subjects in figure 5 is apparent not just in the colour of their skin but in their use of "pidgin English" highlighting their inability to speak the language (a hallmark of high culture). Contrast this with the celebration of "proper Englishness" in the tastefully designed cover for the *March of the Great White Policy* (fig. 1 above). It is interesting to note way the human smile is being portrayed. The three photographs on the music cover display upper-class men within the centuries-old, Western-formulaic tradition of portraiture and with the polite "non-smile," which keeps the viewer at a distance and non-engaged.



Fig. 5: "Close up marry me, mine think it," *The Bulletin,* 13 December 1902. [Copyright: public domain]

The depiction of smiles in both the cartoon and the music cover can be compared with Gould's painting in figure 2, which suggests defiance in the landlord's wide-mouthed, toothy grin. Here, the viewer is welcomed into the experience rather than repelled or formally distanced. We are invited to smile along *with* the Landlord. In fact, the landlord is almost laughing. Contrast this with the Aboriginal couple in figure 5, which suggests full-blown laughter. We "hear" the garish and coarse laughter in our imaginations, the effect heightened by the dishevelled appearance and accompanying text suggestive of ignorance. The viewer is invited to laugh *at* the subjects rather than *with* them, and their denigration is made complete.

The cartoon in figure 5 was drawn in the same year (1902) of the Commonwealth Franchise Bill, which made Australian women the first in the world to be granted the right to both vote and stand for parliament in a federal election.[31] This same bill excluded Aboriginal people from voting. In the debate that took place prior to passing the bill, the member moving the bill, Sir William Lynne, suggested giving "half-bloods" the right to vote. The answer from a Mr O'Malley was that "There is no scientific evidence that he [the Aboriginal person] is a human being at all."[32] Thus, it can be seen that cartoons such as in figure 5 served to reinforce these beliefs in the mind of the public and maintain the subjugation of the First Australians.

The New Woman

As the suffragist movement gained momentum in Australia in the lead up to the Franchise Bill of 1902, concepts of gender and nationality impinged more forcefully upon the national consciousness. Importantly, although models of womanhood remained anchored in the vocabulary of the feminine, those relating to men transcended gender into the realm of national ideology. Positive idealisations about the Coming Australian were characteristically male and white-skinned. Non-whites and women were categorically excluded from the notion of an "Australian type" as the regular supply of derogatory cartoons testifies. Whereas the Coming Man was predicted to be handsome and noble fellow, the Coming Woman was pilloried as "Skirtless Motherhood" and "Women at Her Worst," dressed in manly attire and often to be found riding a bike as illustrated in figures 6a and 6b.

The image of the bike came to be used metaphorically for the "New Woman" who was striving for independence and equality and was, symbolically at least, riding away from her womanly responsibilities. The phenomenon of the bike-riding woman and associated dress styles ('bloomers') spread throughout the Western world, but I argue it is exactly this process of a 'template' applying across different countries that

31 Janet Wilson and Deirdre McKeown, *Votes for Women*, Parliamentary Library Publications Archive, E-brief, accessed May 17, 2020, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_ Library/Publications_ Archive/archive/women.

32 Commonwealth Franchise Bill, 2nd reading, April 23, 1902, House of Representatives, p.11929. Parliamentary Library Publications Archive, E-brief, accessed 17 May 2020, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/archive/women/Lynespeech.



Fig. 6a: "Skirtless Motherhood," *The Bulletin*, June 8, 1895. Inset: "Child of New Woman: But mama, what if a thunderstorm comes on, where could you hide us?" [Copyright: public domain]



Fig. 6b: "Woman at her Worst," *The Bulletin*, November 2, 1895. Inset: "Oh, maiden on the wheel rejoice, for truth it is to tell, who makes you his willing choice, must surely love you well. And brave indeed is he who durst, for he has seen you at your worst." [Copyright: Public domain]

helps to delineate the subtle differences between countries. This is beyond the scope of the present essay, but even a cursory examination of American and English newspaper articles and illustrations (as presented, for example, in Ana Stevenson's article on the subject)[33] suggests marked differences in the styles of journalism and illustration, formed by deeper social and cultural issues unique to each country. In Australia, the context of brutal convict origins, the ongoing slaughter of the original inhabitants, and the unforgiving landscape coupled with the view of women as moral saviours made the bike-riding woman seem all the more threatening, especially in a world where the Cult of Domesticity did not align with the realities of frontier life. This, perhaps, explains a heightened level of sarcasm and vitriol in the New Woman cartoons in *The Bulletin* as male journalists and cartoonists tried to solve the quandary.

Fear of the bike-riding woman is particularly apparent in the following cartoons, where the implication has gone from an unmotherly mother (fig. 6a) and unwomanly woman (fig. 6b above) to being capable of destroying the entire human race (fig. 7a) and evil personified (fig. 7b below). An important characteristic of these cartoons is the use of active rather than passive construction. The participants, the women who are the subject of the satire, are the doers of the action and as such are being held to blame. Contrasting with this, the passive depiction of the Coming Man does not invite questioning or criticism. His identity is solidified in

33 Ana Stevenson, "'Bloomers' and the British World: Dress Reform in Transatlantic and Antipodean Print Culture, 1851–1950," *Cultural and Social History* (October 2017), accessed May 10, 2020, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320363106.



Fig. 7a: "The New Order," *The Bulletin*, October 18, 1902. Inset: "'Twas once the want of wicked men, Who plotted to deceive the fair, To make them presents now and then, Of bonnets sweet and roses rare, Of rings and chains and dresses gay, And fans and feathers and the like, But now they choose another lay, and Mephistopheles today, Would give sweet Marguerite a bike." [Copyright: public domain]

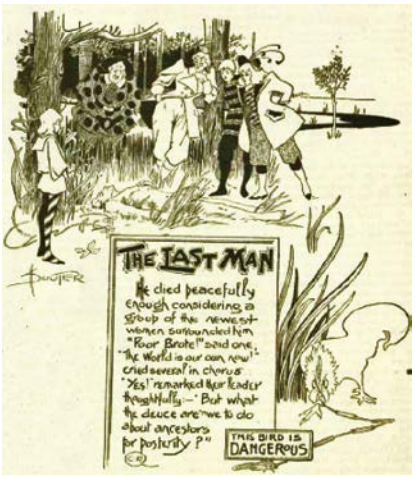


Fig. 7b: "The Last Man," *The Bulletin*, October 25, 1902. Inset: "He died peacefully enough considering a group of the newest women surrounded him, 'Poor Brute!' said one. 'The world is our own now' cried several in chorus. 'Yes' remarked their leader thoughtfully: but what the deuce are we to do about ancestors for posterity?" [Copyright: public domain]

the strong lines of the illustration, whereas the New Woman's identity is obscured in the sketchy caricatures of the cartoons.

The escalation of resentment that is apparent in the comparison of the cartoons from 1895 (fig. 6) with the pair from 1902 (fig. 7) parallels the increasing momentum of the women's suffragist movement and helps to explain why it was four decades after being given the right to stand for federal parliament in 1902 that the first woman was elected in 1943.

It is not surprising that the issue of women's rights and freedoms became associated with the image of the bicycle, given its increasing popularity at a time of intense international debate over women's suffrage and that this found expression in cartoons. However, Australia's circumstances represent a unique set of triggers resulting in a distinctive 'school' of cartooning that began in the 1850s and whose heritage can be traced through to the present time.[34] These cartoons displayed their own artistic style and brand of humour, expressed through the conjunction of text and image, their messages strongly interconnecting with local opinion pieces in the daily press, as is discussed in the following section.

34 For example, see R. Smith, "Cartoonists of Australia", *Australian Left Review* 11 (February–March 1968), accessed May 10, 2020, https://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1917&context=alr.

Cartoons: The Art of Satire

The tools of Critical Discourse Analysis offer valuable insight into the cartoons presented above and the ways in which they achieve their desired effect. Iro Sani *et al* argue that cartoons "harness both linguistic and non-linguistic elements ingeniously to persuade public opinion … Their prime goal is "to safeguard normative boundaries of society."[35] The New Woman cartoons can be seen as fulfilling this "safeguard" role. The mechanisms by which they achieve this are outlined in table 1 below, which applies Sani's methodology using six analytical tools: lexical items, coinage, word class, denotation, connotation, and clause structure.

Table 1: The "New Woman" cartoons from *The Bulletin* analysed using the typology developed by Sani *et al*.

CARTOON	**"Skirtless Motherhood" (8 June 1885) fig. 6a**	**"Woman at her Worst" (2 Nov. 1885) fig. 6b**	**"The New Order" (18 Oct. 1902) fig. 7a**	**"The Last Man" (25 Oct. 1902) fig. 7b**
LEXICAL ITEM	"Skirtless Motherhood"	(1) "Maiden-on-the-wheel" (2) "Woman-at-her-worst" (3) "Oh"	"The New Order"	"This bird is dangerous"
COINAGE	(1) "Skirtless Motherhood" (2) "New Woman"	"Maiden-on-the-wheel"	"The New Order"	dangerous "bird"
CLAUSE STRUCTURE	Caption: simple Text: simple (interrogation)	Caption: simple Text: complex (poetic, begins with interjection)	Caption: simple Text: complex (poetic)	Caption: simple Text: complex (poetic)
WORD CLASS	adjective, noun	(1) & (2) complex noun (3) interjection[36]	adjective, noun	phrase, adjective, noun
DENOTATION	woman	woman	woman	woman
CONNOTATION	negative (manly)	negative (at her worst)	negative (evil)	negative (dangerous)

35 Iro Sani, Mardziah Hayati Abdullah, Afida Mohamad Ali, and Faith Sathi Abdullah, "Linguistic Analysis on the Construction of Satire in Nigerian Political Cartoons," *Journal of Media and Communication Studies* 4, No. 3 (March 2012): 52–59, accessed 13 March 2019, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320702677.

36 Sani *et al* claim that cartoonists persuasively use interjections at the start of a text to capture the attention of the audience. Interjections are considered a strong word class used to depict emotion. Sani *et al*, "Linguistic Analysis," 57.

The first thing to note in table 1 is the reliance on adjectives (e.g., "Skirtless" Motherhood), which Sani maintains is an important device used to create social identities in cartoons. This effect is enhanced by being a "newly-coined" term ("skirtless"), which grabs the reader's attention. The term "skirtless motherhood" amplifies the image of a manly and non-nurturing woman conjuring up a train of associations starting from the premise that she will be unable to properly care for her children because she does not wear a dress. The innocent children's plaintive plea for protection forces the reader to identify with their vulnerable state. Furthermore, the wearing of pants "closes off" the woman's sexuality, making her more inaccessible to men. As part of a trail of cartoons appearing regularly in the press, the persuasive effect of these cartoons is further amplified by the repetition of the same theme in subsequent editions. The interaction of cartoons with other printed matter in newspapers arguably has far-reaching implications. For example, the same edition of *The Bulletin* that printed the "Skirtless Motherhood" cartoon (fig. 6a) also published: (i) three further cartoons featuring women in an unflattering light; (ii) an article, "Woman – Old and New," which is highly insulting to women generally but particularly to the "shriek woman suffragist"; (iii) a photograph of four women wearing pants on bicycles appearing in a theatrical production; and (iv) on the same page, two short sarcastic articles about women riding bicycles, one criticising the "rationalised woman" riding a bike and causing road accidents, and the second stating, "Woman ceases to be an angel, even by courtesy when she bestrides a bike."[37] Alongside these negatives portrayals, there is a full page of music reviews including many women who are praised for qualities that represent the opposite of the manly, bike-riding woman, namely, the qualities of being "sweet," "delicate," "pretty," etc.[38] The reviews represent the reverse side of the same coin and work persuasively in tandem with the cartoons and articles to impose social boundaries and set expectations. The combined effect is all the more powerful because, unknowingly, the reader is being assaulted with propaganda on many levels from the most blatant in the cartoons to the most subtle in music reviews. However, the message is arguably the same.

Looking closely at the text in the cartoons (figs 6a–7b), there is a magnetic attraction between text and drawing, which heightens the impact. The overall effect is one of gross exaggeration, but it is delivered in such a way (greatly assisted by the element of humour) as to persuade the reader to accept the stereotype. If the same message was to be conveyed in words alone, it would be much less palatable because the racist or sexist elements would be more exposed.

The discussion will now turn to how music reviews deliver their message using more subtle and intricate means compared to the clever satire of cartoons.

37 *The Bulletin*, June 8, 1895.

38 For example, in the same edition of *The Bulletin* as the "Skirtless Motherhood" cartoon, actress Violet Varley is described as "the sweet native-born singer of many past operas and one of the prettiest and most promising…" (*The Bulletin*, June 8, 1895).

Music Reviews: The Art of Subtle Persuasion

The battle between traditional feminine aesthetics and the newer models of femininity as demonstrated in the cartoons above was being played out in every area of society. It was believed that women would always fail as "creative" musicians because it meant venturing onto the masculine side (like the manly, bike-riding woman), which went against their true feminine natures. According to London's *Musical Times*:

> A woman who, when taking pencil, pen or music sheet, forgets what is the character and obligation of her sex is a monster who excites disgust and repulsion … they are neither men nor women, but something which has no name and part in life.[39]

The author here is expressing a level of disgust that is not too dissimilar from the "New Woman" cartoons and articles from *The Bulletin*, where the New Woman was described as "The shriek woman" whose "eloquence is denunciation of Monster Man … shriek for dinner, shriek for breakfast, shriek for tea."[40] The belief system underpinning these criticisms is grounded in the idea of "separate spheres" for men and women, which has been well documented by musicologists.[41] However, in my PhD thesis, *Notions of Identity*, I suggested that the operation of the separates spheres was complex and possibly had a unique manifestation in Australia (because "Australians felt the need to exorcise the demons within, and labels such as 'charming', delicate', and 'manly' were doing just that").[42] This is evidenced in the particular combination and style of cartons, reviews, and articles that magazines like *The Bulletin* brought together in a sophisticated and complex formula. Across the different media, the gendered vocabularies acted to reinforce stereotypical thinking; however, they also (paradoxically) provided an avenue to break it down, because women who were performing publicly and gaining recognition continually forced those around them to reassess their ideas about what women were capable of achieving. This created a dilemma for reviewers searching for a basis on which to praise or criticise a performance. Therefore, whilst the language in music reviews acted to reinforce stereotypical ideas about womanhood, it also helped to undermine the stereotype by conveying more radical and empowering messages about the "New Woman."

---

39 Anon, "The Feminine in Music, *Musical Times* 23, no. 467 (1 October 1882): 522. English periodicals such as the *Musical Times* were available in Australia in libraries, by subscription, and through booksellers.

40 *The Bulletin*, June 8, 1895.

41 For example, Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, eds., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1991).

42 Selleck, *Notions of Identity* (Vol II), 193.

For women at the height of their profession, the gender barriers were strongly tested and fluid, with many contradictory expectations coming into play, yet the ultimate measurement was always going to be comparison with a man. For example, the French violinist Camilla Urso, who performed in Melbourne in 1879, was described by her biographer in the following terms:

> There is no denying the remarkable power and breadth of her style, which is far in advance of that exhibited by the majority of the best male performers. Her touch is at once as firm as steel and as soft as velvet. In all of this, Madame Urso may be said to be a man, or the equal and compeer of a man.[43]

For top performers such as Urso, not only do we find vocabularies associated with masculinity creeping into the reviews, but often this appears alongside more extreme versions of the vocabulary of the feminine, as though some kind of compensatory effect was occurring. This could take the form of exaggerated descriptions of being "one with nature," having supernatural powers, or being likened to a "pure vessel" through which morality and the minds of the great composers were transmitted to the audience, as in the following review of a Camilla Urso concert in Melbourne:

> It is something you cannot describe. It is an influence which may not be formulated in words. It is a charm, a glamour, a spell. It is a recollection to come back to you in dreams. It is itself a dream in which you forget all jealousies, all hatreds, all rivalries. It makes you wish that with music there were never associated anything but what is holy and gracious and pure.[44]

It appears the technique of exaggeration was as useful in reviews as it was in cartoons, and the rise of the virtuoso performer in the nineteenth century made it all the more acceptable. Urso promoted herself as a virtuoso and was reviewed in those terms, described by critics specifically as a "virtuoso" and a "genius."[45] In the European context, Dana Gooley observes in her book *The Virtuoso Liszt*:

> Virtuosity is about shifting borders … the limits of what seems possible, or what the spectator can imagine. Once this transgression is complete, the border shifts, and the boundaries of the possible are redrawn … Franz Liszt remain the quintessential virtuoso because he was constantly and insistently mobilizing, destabilizing, and reconstituting borders.[46]

---

43 Charles Barnard, *Camilla: A Tale of a Violin* (Boston: Loring, 1874), 140.

44 *Australasian*, December 6, 1879.

45 See *Argus*, November 21, 1879, where Urso is described as a "virtuoso" and *Argus*, November 13, 1879, as a "genius." Urso's reviews regularly emphasise virtuosic qualities (even likened to Paganini) in addition to the more "feminine" qualities. See Selleck, *Notions of Identity* (Vol III), 22–27.

46 Quoted in Žarko Cvejić, *The Virtuoso as Subject: The Reception of Instrumental Virtuosity, c.1815–1850* (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 11, accessed May 18, 2020, https://www.cambridgescholars.com/download/sample/63188.

This "redrawing" of borders can also be seen as extending beyond the technical execution on the instrument to the person who was actually doing the execution, including a woman. In this way, virtuosity arguably provided an opportunity for shifting gender as well as aesthetic boundaries.

Reviews of Dame Nellie Melba also illustrate some of these points relating to the fluidity of the gendered vocabularies in top-level performers. Melba's reviews extend beyond the realm of mere "prettiness" to something more thrilling and inherently powerful.[47] Also, Melba actively promoted an "outdoors" image of herself by talking about her tomboy childhood,[48] thus aligning herself with the masculine domain and mythology of the "Australian type." A cartoon in *The Bulletin* even promoted her to the masculine sphere by drawing an analogy of a Melba concert with a boxing match (fig. 8).

For men, a similar "cross-gender" effect is noticeable for those at the higher levels of performing, with feminine qualities appearing in their reviews, albeit to a lesser extent. For example, the violinist Johann Kruse's use of "a strong yet delicate bow" or the pianist Mark Hambourg's "fiery energy and exquisite delicacy."[49] More commonly, however, a notable trend for critics reviewing male performers was to masculinise (and thereby "Australianise") the performance and the music itself by using analogy with sport. This can be seen in a number of reviews of pianist Mark Hambourg in 1897. For example:

> Two years ago, he was chiefly a slogger and though Beethoven and other composers couldn't bowl the boy out with their curliest deliveries, his batting showed room for improvement. Mark has returned to Australia a great player. He drives music to the off, or pulls it round to the leg, or gets a single through the slips as feelingly as he sends it flying over the boundary.[50]

This review uses a striking mix of analogy and metaphor, coloured by colloquial, sporting language. The causal, irreverent style has an element of the Australia larrikin in it. There is an aspect of "levelling" (even disrespect) here towards the great master Beethoven and the art of music, and a style that makes the reviews of Mark Hambourg stand apart from more conventional approaches to music criticism.[51]

47 Selleck, *Notions of Identity* (Vol II), 180–81.

48 Selleck, *Notions of Identity* (Vol II), 90–91. Melba's "tomboy" persona, including her interactions with journalists, was commented on in *The Bulletin*, October 4, 1902.

49 Regarding Johann Kruse see *Argus*, June 26, 1885; regarding Mark Hambourg see *The Bulletin*, October 4, 1897.

50 *The Bulletin,* July 31, 1897.

51 An increased emphasis on physicality is to be expected in reviews of nineteenth-century virtuoso performers. However, for the same reasons I have offered above in relation to the bike-riding "New Woman", these attributes arguably had different manifestations according to unique settings of different countries.



Fig. 8: "After reading some Melba criticisms," *The Bulletin*, October 18, 1902. Inset: "What I like is his flawless agility"; "I rather admire his perfection of shake"; "But look at the other's facile technique and fioritura." [Copyright: public domain]

Other writers have observed similar trends in the mixing of sport and the arts in the Australian psyche. Richard Fotheringham, for example, has shown a strong connection between sport and the development of drama in Australia.[52] Poppy Fay makes similar arguments and points to a literary tradition in Australia dating back to the 1890s.[53] The tradition of sporting influences arguably continues through to today. When *The Ring* was performed in South Australia in 2004, it was likened to the "Grand Prix," and the set designer incorporated special effects used at the Sydney Olympics.[54] This intrusion of sport into other aspects of Australian culture can be interpreted an example of "Cultural Cognition," which Farzad Sharifian defines as "interactions between individuals across time and space."[55] These interactions can become ingrained in the cultural fabric and handed down through generations. A more general example of how this phenomenon can manifest throughout society is to be found in historian Barry Andrews's claims that "something like 1 in 30 of the words we use [in Australia] is a sporting word," and of those, "perhaps 1 in 5 is a sporting Australianism."[56]

Whereas masculinity was primarily associated with physical form, femininity was more closely aligned with morality. In Australia, music had a strong moral

52 Richard Fotheringham, *Sport in Australian Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 25.

53 Poppy Fay, *Harold Williams: Australian Baritone* (BMus diss., University of Melbourne, 2003), 30–32.

54 For "Grand Prix" analogy, see Penelope Debelle, "Wagner Calling," *Age*, November 12, 2004. For "special effects," see Michael Shmith, "Oh Lord, It's The Ring," *Sunday Age*, November 14, 2004.

55 Sharifian, *Cultural Linguistics*, 3.

56 Wray Vamplew and Brian Stoddart, eds., *Sport in Australia: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 11.

purpose, stemming from John Ruskin's "moral aesthetic" that was influential in England and gained added urgency in a colonial context. Australia had emerged from a society where, according to one writer in 1835, "Drunkenness, prize-fighting … bush-ranging and outrages against aborigines were the order of the day."[57] As a female musician, a woman was doubly endowed to impart her wholesome influence over this dire situation. This created a dichotomy for women, which according to historian Anne Summers, placed women in the roles of either "dammed whores" (convicts) or "God's police" (moral redeemers).[58] This dichotomy was still evident in the pages of *The Bulletin* in the late 1800s and explains the extremes of view espoused there: woman as the downfall of the human race (in the cartoons), or sitting "prettily" in her nurturing or 'moral saviour' role (in music reviews). Arguably, the reviews and cartoons were mediums used to construct false identities, yet they were also a means to undermining the stereotypes. To shed further light on this, the discussion will now turn to Cultural Linguistics.

Cultural Linguistics: Identifying Underlying Concepts and Connections

"Cultural Linguistics" is defined by Farzad Sharifian as "[engaging] with the features of human languages that encode or instantiate culturally constructed conceptualisations."[59] Central to this is the idea of "Cultural Schemas," which encompass the underlying beliefs, norms, rules, and expectations in a given society. The Schemas give rise to Cultural Categories (attributes, events, emotions) and Cultural Metaphors (cross-domain conceptualisations), which in turn generate types of "Speech Acts". Speech Acts can be reduced down to specific utterances, named as 'Practs', which reinforce or potentially undermine the underlying schemas.

Table 2 below deconstructs two of the cartoons and two reviews discussed above. Section 1 of the table employs the methodology of Cultural Linguistics, based on Sharifian. Section 2 uses Critical Discourse Analysis based on Iro Sani's methodology (see table 1 above). The aim of my analysis in section 1 is to shed light on the origin of the vocabularies used in the reviews and cartoons, tracing the Practs back to their basis in Cultural Schemas. In section 2, Sani's method takes up where Sharifian's left off. Here, I dissect the speech acts into their components and examine their function. Although not intended to be used in this way, I argue that the two methodologies complement each other, with Sharifian's revealing the background dimensions and Sani's the foreground detail. Overall, the analysis in table 2 demonstrates how the seemingly unrelated media of cartoons and music

57 James Hall, "A History of Music in Australia: Early Period, New South Wales, 1788–1817," *The Canon: Australian Journal of Music* 1, no. 5 (1951): 10.

58 Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1994).

59 Sharifian, *Cultural Linguistics*, 2.

reviews are in fact related and it illustrates the sophisticated mechanisms through which they achieve their effect and wield their influence.

Table 2: Analysis and comparison of cartoons and reviews from the *Bulletin* and the *Australasian* drawing on Farzad Sharifian's interpretation of Cultural Linguistics and Iro Sani's explanation of Critical Discourse Analysis.

PRINT MEDIA	**CARTOON "A Drought-resisting Stock" (*The Bulletin,* 10 Dec 1903) fig.4a**	**CARTOON "The New Order" (*The Bulletin,* 18 Oct 1902) fig.7a**	**REVIEW Mark Hambourg (*The Bulletin,* 31 July 1897)**	**REVIEW Camilla Urso (*Australasian,* 6 Dec 1879)**
SECTION I: ANALYSIS BASED ON FARZAD SHARIFIAN (CULTURAL LINGUISTICS)				
CULTURAL SCHEMA	Notions of nationality	Antithesis of the "Eternal Feminine"	The "Eternal" Masculine" (ideal man))	The "Supernatural" Feminine (ideal woman)
PRAGMATIC CULTURAL SCHEMA[60]	"Australianness"	Australian notions of Femininity	Australian notions of Masculinity	women as bewitching and magical
CULTURAL CATEGORY	attributes of future Australians	attributes of future women	attributes of successful male musician	attributes of successful female musician
CULTURAL METAPHOR	Australians of the future = camels	the New Woman = a bike rider	playing the piano = a game of cricket	female musician = a sorceress
SPEECH ACT	caption in a cartoon	(i) caption in a cartoon (ii) recitation of poem	commentary in a music review	commentary in a music review
PRAGMEME[61]	offer opinion	offer opinion	make a judgement	make a judgement
PRACT[62]	Australians are a "drought-resisting stock."	"Mephistopheles today would give sweet Marguerite a bike."	Mark is "a great player."	Urso's playing is "a charm, a glamour, a spell."

60 "Pragmatic Schema" is defined as "cultural schemas that provide a basis for pragmatic meanings" (such as meanings of speech acts). An example of a Pragmatic Schema is "modesty." Sharifian, *Cultural Linguistics*, 52, 55.

61 "Pragmemes" are defined as "general situational prototypes of [pragmatic] acts that are capable of being executed in a particular situation or cluster of situations." An example of a Pragmeme belonging to the Pragmatic Schema of "modesty" is "apologise." Sharifian, *Cultural Linguistics*, 51, 55.

62 "Practs" are defined as "particular realisations or instantiations of Pragmemes." An example of a Pract belonging to the Pragmeme of "apologise" is "I am sorry." Sharifian, *Cultural Linguistics*, 51, 55.

SECTION II: ANALYSIS BASED ON IRO SANI *et al* (CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS)				
LEXICAL ITEMS	"A drought-resisting stock."	"The New Order"	"drives music to the off"	"charm," "spell," "glamour," "pure" "dream," "holy"
COINAGE AND LOAN WORDS	"A drought-resisting stock" (coinage for Australian man)	"The New Order" (coinage for Australian woman)	"slogger" (coinage for lacking finesse) "curliest deliveries" (coinage technically difficult)	"a glamour," "a spell" (coinage for a musician with great power over audience)
CLAUSE STRUCTURE	Caption: simple	Caption: simple Text: complex (poetic)	Text: complex	Text: complex
WORD CLASS	phrase, adjective, noun	phrase, adjective, noun	phrase, adjective, noun	adjective, noun
DENOTATION	Australian people	Australian women	Australian man	female performer
CONNOTATION	negative (devolved race of people)	negative (evil, immoral women)	positive (a good pianist)	positive (a wonderful violinist & ideal woman)

The fact we can use two very different avenues (cartoons about men and women and reviews about music) to trace back to the same underlying Cultural Schemas suggests how fundamental and deeply ingrained these schemas are. Although Sharifian's approach is tailored to speech/text alone, whereas Sani's examines text in cartoons (functioning multimodally), the two methodologies yield valuable insights into both media by making the underlying connections explicit. The cartoons use a form of negative reinforcement whereas the reviews use positive reinforcement, but both use similar lexical tools and have their roots in the same Cultural Metaphors, Categories, and Schemas. A striking characteristic of the cartoons and reviews in table 2 is the paramount importance of the adjective, as was observed in table 1. In table 2, this is evidenced in the "Pract" row of section 1 and the "Coinage" and "Word Class" rows of section 2. Sani's observation that the adjective is an important device used in creating social identity,[63] supports my argument in my PhD dissertation that the use of adjectives in music criticism is valuable for precisely the reasons that some theorists consider it to be problematic. Roland Barthes, for example, argues:

63 Sani *et al*, "Linguistic Analysis," 58.

> How then does language manage when it has to interpret music? Alas, very badly. If one looks at the normal practice of music criticism … it can readily be seen that a work (or its performance) is only ever translated into the poorest of linguistic categories: the adjective. Music, by natural bent, is that which at once receives the adjective.[64]

Despite describing it as the poorest of linguist categories, Barthes acknowledges that "the man who provides himself … with an adjective is now hurt now pleased, but always constituted."[65] My response to Barthes, as given in my dissertation, was:

> It is precisely the manner in which music receives the adjective … that makes it such a powerful conduit for the transmission of ideas about society … The lack of specificity in the language that describes music, the vagueness of the adjectives employed, and the abstract nature of music itself, creates space for other issues to intrude.[66]

Examples of these "other issues" and the manner in which they intrude is illustrated in part I of table 2. The "other issues" include social and cultural beliefs (e.g., about femininity) that ultimately manifest in Speech Acts and specific Practs. Part II of the table shows how power is imparted to these Speech Acts via mechanisms such as Coinage and Word Class. This is why the World Class of the 'adjective' can be seen as playing an important role.

The reviews and cartoons discussed here are examples of how cultural conceptualisations (e.g., relating to gender) may be "instantiated" through many aspects of people's lives including art, literature, and music. This is readily acknowledged by Sharifian.[67] These conceptualisations can form part of a "Complex Adaptive System" in which the relationship between parts gives rise to the collective behaviour of society as a whole.[68] I argue that music functions as a Complex Adaptive System in its own right. It achieves this through the diverse means in which it manifests (in performance and in many printed and audio formats) and acts to reinforce or conversely undermine the underlying cultural schemas. When a Cultural Schema is being projected under different guises (e.g., a serious music review, a humorous cartoon, or a general article), then the public may be unaware of the extent and power of influence that is being wielded over them. Therefore, they become more susceptible to it. Hence, newspapers like *The Bulletin* were able to achieve wide influence because they were using all these tools so effectively in combination.

---

64 Roland Barthes, "The Grain of the Voice," *Image, Music, Text*, essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana 1977), 179.

65 Ibid.

66 Selleck, *Notions of Identity* (Vol II), 3.

67 Sharifian, *Cultural Linguistics*, 6.

68 Sharifian, *Cultural Linguistics*, 4.

Humour, Metaphor, and the Cognitive Punch

Returning to the review of Mark Hambourg cited above, it is clear that the use of humour has a different role compared to a cartoon. In the latter, humour heightens the spontaneous message of the cartoon, but in the case of the review, it can be more ambiguous requiring extra clues to assist interpretation. In Hambourg's review, it would not be entirely clear if the reviewer was praising or criticising the performer except for the sentence "Mark returned to Australia a great player." In another review of the same performer a few months later, a similar style of language is used but the aim was clearly to criticise. In the mind of this critic, Hambourg's virtuosity has crossed a line into vulgarity:

> All admit that Mark plays quickly and loudly … a pure slogger. He is to the piano what John L. Sullivan was to the prize-ring and Lyons to cricket. No matter how curly the rhapsody, he biffs it right to the boundary … he thumps it in the ribs, bashes it over the heart and finally knock it out in three rounds with a fair punch on the point of the jaw. The music never gets a show. He claws with right and pounds with the left. The piano gets on its hind legs and howls with anguish … Still, the public loves a slashing fighter.[69]

It can be seen in the Hambourg reviews (and in table 2) that the use of metaphor has a major role to play in humorously getting a point of view across to the reader. Tony Veale describes metaphor and metonymy as the "cognitive trump cards of linguistic humour."[70] The line in Hambourg's review above, "the piano gets on its hind legs and howls with anguish," is a pertinent example of a metaphorical trump card. Citing Arthur Koestler, Veale argues that humour and metaphor are each "the result of a common psychological operation called bisociation that combines two or more conceptual structures that [are] in some key sense representationally orthogonal." This "orthogonal" operation is particularly evident in examples such as the man/camel cartoon (fig. 4a) and the piano/howling dog (Hambourg review). The semantic oppositions inherent in these examples are what Veale describes as "frame-switching" narratives.[71] These narratives can be seen as operating in both media, but most obviously in cartoons such as the "Melba Criticisms" (fig. 8), which describes a boxing match as though it was a Melba concert. But the same technique of "frame-switching" is also used, albeit much more subtly, in reviews such as that of Camilla Urso (analysed in table 2). This review is talking about a musical performance yet switches the frame suddenly between the worlds of the supernatural (a spell), morality (dispelling hatred), and religion (holy and pure). I argue that is in this critical moment of frame switching, that the possibil-

69 *The Bulletin*, September 11, 1897.

70 Tony Veale, "Hiding in Plain Sight: Figure Ground Reversals in Humour," in *Cognitive Poetics: Goals, Gains, and Gaps*, eds., G. Brône and J. Vandaele (Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), 2, accessed May 21, 2020, http://haddock.ucd.ie/Papers/Hiding%20in%20Plain%20Sight_2009.pdf.

71 Ibid.

ity for a different interpretation arises – even one that contradicts the stereotype. Linguist Villy Tsakona, in her discussion of the General Theory of Verbal Humour (as developed by Salvatore Attardo), refers to a similar technique to explain the way meaning and humour is produced through the two semiotic modes, visual and verbal, in cartoons. According to Tsakona, "humour results from the full or partial overlap of two different incompatible scripts in a single text," [72] and this opposition is brought about by specific "logical mechanisms" such as juxtaposition, exaggeration, contradiction, and metaphor. These "incompatible scripts" require some kind of "frame-switching" (in the mind of the reader) to understand the message. This is most obvious in cartoons such as "A drought-resisting stock" (fig. 4a), which is built on the opposing scripts of the man and the camel. It also occurs in music reviews that juxtapose feminine delicacy with virtuosic power. I argue that this mechanism of "frame switching" opens up another opportunity for the type of imaginative leap that can lead to new knowledge and break down of stereotypes.

But the idea of opposing scripts also calls into question the New Woman cartoons because in fact, they are not particularly funny (fig. 6a –7b). They do exhibit juxtaposition, exaggeration, and metaphor – intrinsic qualities of cartoons – but the opposing scripts are easier to understand, e.g., women in men's clothing, or in "The Last Man" (fig. 7b), the juxtaposition of the attractive women and the nasty-looking bird, which is actually a metaphor (and a pun) for the women. The lack of strong script opposition here appears to dampen the humorous but enhance the derogatory effect. The cartoons still succeed in their main task, which is to communicate an almost instantaneous yet complex message, but the minimising of the humorous element makes the message seem more serious, especially given the punch line "This bird is dangerous" in fig. 7b. The inset prose (figs 7a and b) also adds to the serious tone with the extended jab line, which delays the punch line. These cartoons require more work on the part of the reader. Another notable characteristic of the New Woman cartoons is the voicelessness of the women who are the subjects. In figures 6a, 6b, and 7a, the women are spoken to or spoken about, but they do not speak themselves, rendering them defenceless. In 'Skirtless Motherhood" (fig. 6a), her silent nonchalance and unbecoming appearance seems to reinforce the impression that she is in the wrong. In "The Last Man" (fig. 7b), the women speak, but in the punch line ("what the deuce are we to do about ancestors for posterity?"), the previous utterances are subverted in an act of what Veale calls "self-trumping." However, this is only funny in so far as it makes the women look stupid and exposes their guilt for all to see. The concept of opposing scripts also has strong parallels with the work of Perry Nodelman and his research into children's literature, in particular his book *Words About Pictures*. He argues that the critical attributes of children's literature that engage the child's imagination are the

72 Villy Tsakona, "Language and Image Interaction in Cartoons: Towards a Multimodal Theory of Humor," *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (2009): 1171, https://www.sciencedirect.com. Tsakona defines a "script" as "a cognitive structure involving the semantic information surrounding a lexical unit and representing the speaker's knowledge of the world" (p.1172).

qualities of ambiguity, contradiction, paradox, and irony.[73] These characteristics are types of opposing scripts, and Nodelman argues they are the distinguishing features of quality literature, bringing it into the realm of art. Building on Nodelman's ideas, I argued in a previous research paper that similar traits are observable in music composed for children and can possibly be extrapolated to creative processes generally.[74] In other words, these qualities of opposition and ambiguity act as triggers for creative thinking and may in fact be intrinsic to it. In trying to mentally solve the oppositions inherent with a script (whether text, image, or music), "frameshifting" skills must be employed, and this potentially encourages a flexibility of thinking that could translate to other thought processes, challenging us to question the fundamental schemas on which we base our opinions. The addition of humour to the mix of image and text heightens these effects and can be a powerful trigger for shifting our frame of reference, because as Tony Veale eloquently explains, "with humour, our end point is not a mild aesthetic fission, but an altogether more obvious and well-timed cognitive punch".[75]

Themes, Narratives, and Conclusions

Simon Sleight, in his article on construction of youth in Australian cartoons, observes that at the turn of the century, cartoons tended to depict Australia "in multiple guises at different ages, and either as male or female," whereas, "Britannia and John Bull are depicted fairly consistently …" Sleight goes on to say that these varying representations are evidence of a "crisis of political representation linked to broader *fin de siècle* confusion concerning masculine and feminine roles and difficulties in imagining the coming nation."[76] This "difficulty in imagining" is evident in the cartoons and reviews examined here and the discussion has aimed to shed light on the opposing narratives that battle within them. This essay began by situating the discussion within its historical context and then looked at how the search for an identifiable "Australian" culture was as a response to the colony's brutal origins. The desire to create a "civilised" society centred on ideas about gender, class, and nationality, and these ideas filtered through the cartoons and music reviews. Using methodologies based in Cultural Linguistics, the discussion used the cartoons and

73 Perry Nodelman, *Words About Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children's Picture Books* (University of Georgia Press, 1990), ProQuest Ebook Central, accessed May 22, 2018, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unimelb/detail.action?docID=1336648.

74 Johanna Selleck, *Australian Bush Songs as Multimodal Discourse: The Remarkable Collaboration of Ida Rentoul Outhwaite, Annie Rentoul, and Georgette Peterson* (paper presented at the 18th International Conference of Association Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale, Canterbury Christ Church University, Canterbury, UK, 9–12 July 2018).

75 Veale, "Hiding in Plain Sight," 2.

76 Simon Sleight, "Wavering Between Virtue and Vice: Constructions of Youth in Australian Cartoons of the Late-Victorian Era," in *Drawing the Line: Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence*, eds., Richard Scully and Marian Quartly (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2009), 199.

reviews to provide a window into nineteenth-century Australian society. Seven main conclusions can be drawn. The first is that the cartoons and music reviews examined here are fundamentally linked at a deep level by the Cultural Schemas that they share, and at a surface level by the types of lexical items they employ to get their message across. Second, the Cultural Schemas centre on conceptualisations that responded to the unique Australian context and focussed on issues of class (the rise of the working class and notions of egalitarianism), nationality (the search for a unique Australian identity that preserved notions of "civilised society" and was centred on white masculinism), and gender (re-imagining the separate spheres of men and women). Third, the cartoons and reviews have intrinsic artistic value and display the kinds of "opposing scripts" that are to be found in works of art – it is precisely this quality that enables them to engage meaningfully with and influence their readers. Fourth, the cartoons and reviews work very effectively in combination, strengthening their impact by the repetition of themes in different guises throughout the pages of the daily press. Fifth, the humorous element of cartoons (and occasionally reviews) is a main source of persuasive power and operates to reinforce stereotypes but can also lead to their breakdown. Sixth, music reviews are especially effective in subtly undermining stereotypes and pushing acceptable boundaries, particularly in relation to the "separate spheres." Finally, opposing scripts lie at the core of the cartoons and also the music reviews, forcing the reader's imagination to reconcile seemingly contradictory images or concepts. This engenders creative thinking and "frame shifting" – a mental flexibility that can potentially lead to changes in thinking across a broader range of social concepts. Hence, cartoons and music reviews are far more than passive representations of society, but can be seen as interactive, influential, artistic artefacts that contribute to social change. And from the perspective of the twenty-first century, they offer unique insight into a bygone era.

POLITICS AND MUSICAL CARICATURE: THE AFRICAN COLONIAL ISSUE IN *A PARÓDIA*

Maria Fernandes

The African Colonial issue was a transversal theme present in Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro's newspaper since *O António Maria* (1879), as highlighted by Luzia Rocha in her book *Opera and Caricature: S. Carlos Theatre in Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro's Work* (2010). In *O António Maria*, for instance, Rafael Bordalo made a pun that connected Richard Wagner's opera, *Lohengrin,* and the Zaire issue. In that caricature, Rafael Bordalo embodies Fontes Pereira de Melo, President of Council at that time, in the role of *Lohengrin* pulled by a horse-shaped swan, as a way "to criticize the renowned 'Zaire issue'."[1] Nevertheless, it was an effervescent subject in *A Paródia's* first years, due to the Sentence of Bern's Court on the Lourenço Marques railway, and the huge attention to the Portuguese colonies on the part of England, Germany, France, and Belgium and the alliances made.

On January 17, 1900, Rafael and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro (father and son) published *A Paródia*, a newspaper that put "the caricature at the service of the great public sadness," according to its creators. In other words, the topics covered in this periodical were of concern to all society and its vicissitudes, namely to the political and economic fluctuations. It was also addressed to everyday life in Lisbon, particularly the theatrical and musical rituals experienced by the Portuguese high culture.

Therefore, this periodical was mostly addressed to the Portuguese elite who could read and understand what was being satirised. The Bordalos tried to expand their publication to a new audience, an extra-familiar and even illiterate audience, who, by viewing the caricatures, would be able to understand the underlying message.[2] At that time, caricature had a superior power than literature, because it contained a huge amount of symbolic information accessible to all. Magalhães Lima, the founder of *O Século* newspaper, wrote that Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro caricatures

> [...] are worth more, by the power of suggestion, than our feature article. The simplistic people do not always catch up with the author's idea. However, [the people] understand the engraving, the image, which hurt their retina and seduce their eyes.[3]

1 Luzia Rocha, *Ópera & Caricatura: O Teatro de S. Carlos na obra de Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri e Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical, 2010), 107.

2 "Ficha histórica: A Paródia," Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa, accessed July 2, 2019, http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/FichasHistoricas/Parodia.pdf.

3 Magalhães Lima, *Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro: Moralizador político e social* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1925), 4.

Caricature art – is the "exaggeration of physiognomic features of the figure with the intention of amusing or criticizing."[4] Nevertheless, it should never lose its message so that the intended reading is assured. In their newspapers, Rafael and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro also draw on the text through "inscriptions, phrases, or short dialogues that specify the artist's intention"[5] and help to unveil the visible and invisible meanings present in the caricature. Despite caricature's subjectivity, which reflects the authors' point of view, Rafael and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro's work provides a signal system and a rhetoric structure, that are precious elements to understand cultural, social, and political discourses of Portuguese society and government.

This essay aims to analyse the method with which the musical metaphor suits the purpose of satire. Erwin Panofsky's iconographic method (1939) will be used in the analysis of caricatures and its meanings.

Finally, this essay will be structured in two sections: first, a brief introduction of the periodical *A Paródia* and its creators; and second, an introduction to the political system with an analysis of the caricatures. These will be examined through a narration of the events, resulting in an overview of the full story of the African Colonial issue, and the Sentence of Bern's Court, that was illustrated in the early issues of *A Paródia*.

A Paródia and Its Creators

Several Portuguese researchers have already studied *A Paródia* and its creators/caricaturists. Academics such José-Augusto França, Luzia Rocha, Maria Virgílio Lopes, and João Mário Mascarenhas have a large bibliography about this subject. In this essay, I sum up the main points.

A Paródia was published in the final stage of the Portuguese Monarchy, just before the fall of the Progressive Government. The first issue was published on January 17, 1900 and it remained a weekly publication until 1905. After Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro's death (January 23, 1905) it was sporadically published until 1907.

The newspaper was created by Rafael and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro with the purpose to put "the caricature at the service of the great public sadness", assuming themselves as "the dance of Bica in the Pleasures' cemetery" (fig. 1).[6]

In the editorial, they use a musical metaphor (dance) to portray the "dead" political system they had at their disposal. This new approach was a change from its predecessor, *O António Maria*, which had been "buried with Regeneration, Fontes, and the Public Ride."[7] *A Paródia* proclaimed itself as "something else" which con-

4 Luzia Rocha, "*O palco da ópera e o palco da vida: O Teatro de S. Carlos nas caricaturas de Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro*" (Master's diss., NOVA University, 2003), 107.

5 Ibid., 108.

6 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, "Editorial," *A Paródia* no. 1, January 17, 1900, 2.

7 "Ficha histórica: A Paródia," Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa, accessed July 2, 2019, http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/FichasHistoricas/Parodia.pdf.



A PARODIA

antonio maria

Os portuguezes são essencialmente conservadores. Por muito que esta opinião possa surprehender o nosso collega Magalhães Lima, não é menos certo que se nós mudamos com frequencia de fato, nos recusamos obstinadamente a mudar de idéas, o que faz com que em Portugal a fortuna sorria mais aos alfayates como o sr. Amieiro do que aos evangelistas como o sr. Theophilo Braga.

Se somos inquestionavelmente um paiz de janotas, estamos longe de ser um paiz de reformadores.

Assim, o nosso primeiro embaraço ao emprehender esta publicação é familiarisar o publico com a idéa de que já não se chama o *Antonio Maria* o jornal que tem agora na mão, por que o publico, conservador e rotineiro, quereria ver perpetuado no tempo e na galhofa, aquelle titulo que ficou pertencendo a uma epocha que desappareceu e que por isso fez o seu tempo.

Porquê — o que era o *Antonio Maria?*

O *Antonio Maria*, meus senhores, foi a Regeneração, o Fontes e a sua Agua Circassiana, o Avila e o seu *cachenez*, o Sampaio e os seus pamphletos, o Arrobas e os seus editaes, o Passeio Publico e o lyrismo do sr. Florencio Ferreira, a sr.ª Emilia das Neves, a «Judia» e os Recreios Whitoyne, mundo findo, mundo morto, de sombras, espectros, mumias, onde só poderiamos estar á vontade sob a condição de termos desapparecido com elle, o que não é evidentemente um facto.

Ficarmos dentro do *Antonio Maria* seria ficar dentro de um museu, na situação de um velho guarda mostrando á curiosidade do seu tempo os despojos de uma epocha passada.

A PARODIA é outra coisa, como o tempo é outro.

O *Antonio Maria* foi um homem. Quando muito, foi uma familia.

A PARODIA — dizemol-o sem receio de ser immodestos — somos nós todos.

A PARODIA é a caricatura ao serviço da grande tristeza publica. E' a Dança da Bica no cemiterio dos Prazeres.

Rafael Bordallo Pinheiro

Gustavo Bordallo Pinheiro

2

EXPEDIENTE

(Amigos, amigos, negocios á parte)

Apesar de ser uma coisa inteiramente differente, *A Paródia* está para o *Antonio Maria* como o Acto Addicional está para a Constituição. Uma e outro estão ligados por um cordão umbilical de interesses.

Os quaes são:

A Paródia e remettida aos assignantes do *Antonio Maria*, que pagaram as suas assignaturas além do ultimo numero publicado, o, como *A Paródia* vae custar 20 réis, emquanto que o *Antonio Maria* custava 40 réis noutros tempos outros costumes! o assignante que tinha direito, por exemplo, a dois numeros do *Antonio Maria*, receberá cinco numeros da *Paródia*.

Os amigos assignantes que desejarem receber *A Paródia* devorão participal-o a nossa administração — Rua da Barroca, 115, 1.º, Lisboa.

Annuncia-se para o dia 21 do corrente, na basilica da Estrella, o *Te-Deum* que o partido progressista manda celebrar em acção de graças por já não estar constipado o sr. presidente do conselho. E' officiante o sr. Arcebispo de Braga, pois como nós sabemos é dos tempos do Caldas Aulete, que, tratando-se do partido progressista, o sr. Arcebispo de Braga dá a propria cama. Os artistas de S. Carlos cantarão outra vez os *Pulhaços* durante a solemnidade, por ter sido a opera que de casa do sr. José Luciano tinham mandado cantar na recita de gala da abertura das camaras, mas á qual s. ex.ª não poude assistir, infelizmente. Como se sabe, foi o sr. Beirão quem n'essa noite, no impedimento e a pedido do sr. José Luciano, ouviu a opera e o burro por parte do governo.

Anniversarios:

Esqueceu-se hontem de fazer annos o sr. conselheiro Antonio de Serpa.

O sr. conselheiro Carrilho só faz agora annos economicos.

Partidas:

Estiveram hontem jogando uma partida de bilhar no Montanha os nossos presados amigos Cyriaco Cardoso e Cardoso do Gymnasio.

Partiu a sua magnifica bengala de sandalo o distincto critico theatral Collares Pereira, ha tempos retirado do seu campo favorito de acção.

Fig. 1: Manuel Gustavo & Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, "Editorial", *A Paródia* no. 1 (January 17, 1900), 2. With kind permission of Museu Bordalo Pinheiro / EGEAC.

cerned to "all of us," meaning the whole society, not just political agents. In contrast, *O António Maria* focused on national and international political life.

Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, born in 1946, was an internationally well-known Portuguese caricaturist and ceramist. He collaborated with foreign newspapers, such as *Illustrated London News*, and presented his ceramics work in foreign exhibitions, such as the Universal Exhibition in Paris (1889). Gifted with a critical soul, Rafael Bordalo was the founder of countless newspapers in which he depicted, under his pen, the "public sadness". Also "he was an extraordinary metamorphoser of the human mask, to the point to present the same creature under the most diverse aspects, recognizing itself in all of them."[8]

Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro (1867–1920) began to collaborate relatively early in his father's newspapers, especially since Rafael had devoted much of his time to the Ceramics Factory in Caldas da Rainha and needed someone to ensure the periodicity of the newspaper. Rafael Bordalo described Manuel Gustavo as the "presumptive heir of our glory and our dolls, the flesh of our flesh, the pencil of our pencil".[9] It is in *A Paródia* that Rafael's "heir" revealed himself, signing many of the caricatures of this newspaper.

In *A Paródia* some themes of national and international political life were approached and portrayed, highlighting the Lourenço Marques railway compensation paid by the Portuguese Government to the British and Americans, known as the famous Sentence of the Bern's Court. Nevertheless, many of these themes were portrayed using musical metaphors, demonstrating that music had a prominent role in the life of caricaturists, wherewith they did a lot of puns and parodies, as already proved by Luzia Rocha's study.

African Colonial Issue: Sentence of Bern's Court

A Paródia is a periodical that rose in the final phase of the Portuguese Monarchy, wherein the "*rotativismo*," the political system at that time, did not seem to solve any of the political nor economic problems of the country, much less take care of the colonies. Instead, the *rotativismo* bowed down to international interests. According to Rui Ramos,

> 'Rotativismo' was a pejorative term invented by João Franco, that had been voted out of the Regenerator Party, to insult the political system created by Hintze Ribeiro and José Luciano. This term referred to the established agreement between the two parties' chiefs with the purpose to temper the politic disruption caused by the Parties' fission.[10]

8 Julieta Ferrão, *Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro e a crítica: impressões, corrigendas, notas inéditas* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1924), 12.

9 João Mascarenhas, *Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro: o Cidadão e o Artista* (Lisbon: Humorgrafe, 2005), 24.

10 Rui Ramos, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2009), 249.

In other words, in Portugal, since the end of the nineteenth century, there were two major parties: The Progressive Party led by José Luciano de Castro and the Regenerator Party led by Ernesto Hintze Ribeiro. These two parties, arbitrated by the King, rose to power from time to time. Therefore, the Sentence of Bern's Court was managed by the two parties. After the Sentence was known, the Progressive Party fell and was replaced immediately by Regenerator Party.

In a nutshell, Andrade Corvo and Robert Morier signed the Treaty of Lourenço Marques to build the railway that would connect the port of Lourenço Marques (currently Maputo) to Transvaal, explored by England. The construction was undertaken by an English company and in 1889 Portugal decided to nationalise the railway. In consequence, the Portuguese government was promptly accused of expropriation by the British and Americans, who had also invested in the railway line.

Nevertheless, England and the United States requested compensation through international arbitration. The arbitration court was created in the Swiss capital, Bern, without requiring that Portugal delivered the railway. Because it was in England's interest that Portugal maintained its possession to ensure its dominance.

Between 1889 and 1900, the Portuguese Government waited for a sentence that forced them to pay a large amount of compensation to the capitalists who had invested in the line, knowing that they would have no money to pay. However, Portugal enjoyed a favourable position. First, they had the port of Lourenço Marques, which all countries wanted to own. Second, because of that, each country lent money to Portugal to pay its debts to other countries. Third, they had as a representative in Bern, Duarte Nogueira Soares, who coordinated the entire Portuguese strategy during and on Judgment Day despite the turnover of the Portugese parties.[11]

Therefore, the Swiss Arbitration Tribunal aimed to

> […] determine, how to consider more correct, the amount of compensation payable by Portugal due to the two countries, in the following of the concession termination of Lourenço Marques' railway and transition from this railway to the Portuguese Government.[12]

In other words, Portugal would have to pay the compensation and could keep the possession of Lourenço Marques's railway. Although Bern's Court had closed the process in early 1889, the sentence would only be known in the following year, on March 29, 1900.

The Progressive Party was in power, since 1889, and Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro portrayed them in *A Paródia* no. 16, published on May 2, 1900, about one month after the result of the sentence (fig. 2).

11 António Telo, *Lourenço Marques e a Política Externa Portuguesa 1875–1900* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1991).

12 Ibid., 118.



Fig. 2: Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, Choral Singing, *A Paródia* no. 16 (May 2, 1900), 124–125. With kind permission of Museu Bordalo Pinheiro / EGEAC.

In this caricature, Rafael portrayed the government in "A Rehearsal" of "Choral Singing," conducted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Francisco da Veiga Beirão, represented in prominence on stage. Veiga Beirão rehearses a wide chorus formed mostly by politicians, such as the current President of Council and the remaining ministers: José Luciano de Castro (President of Council), Manuel Afonso de Espregueira (Minister of Finance), José Maria de Alpoim (Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Justice), Eduardo Vilaça (Minister of Marine and Overseas), and Elvino de Brito (Minister of Public Works, Trade and Industry) are on the right side of the caricature, in the first two front rows. Close to Beirão's legs, on the right side, is Sebastião Teles (Minister of War).

Veiga Beirão rehearses the English Anthem "God Save the Queen," whose score is displayed on the stand – the utmost symbol of representation for a country. The first four bars were exceptionally copied in A major and triple metre.

On one hand, the maestro is bent, with the baton in his right hand pointed down and with the left-hand gesturing, he verbalises the dynamic "*pianissimo*." On the other hand, his chorus, with their mouths well open, would be singing quite high. However, Portugal could not be shown as keeping its old alliance with England, because the Portugese had yet to pay the compensation and they depended on other countries, such as Germany and France, to cover its debts. That is why Veiga Beirão had an important role in this caricature. As Minister of Foreign Affairs, he reminds the Government that they had to remain calm until the compensation was paid.[13]

Stepping back a little bit, on April 4, 1900, on the last page of *A Paródia* no. 12, a caricature referring to the "Compensation of Lourenço Marques' railway" was published, in which "The Bern's Court announces that the Guillaume Tell's famous coup is nearby"[14] (fig. 3). In this caricature, Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro appeals to the story of Guillaume Tell, the Swiss hero. Tell was well-known for his skill as an archer and for his heroic role in the national liberation of Switzerland from Austria's Habsburg Empire. According to the myth, the Austrian Governor, named Gessler, hung his hat on a pole and everyone who would pass had to acknowledge the hat.

> Tell and his son Jemmy arrive but Tell refuses to bow to the hat. Rodolphe arrests them and recognizes Tell as Leuthold's rescuer. […] But Gessler intercedes and, incensed by Tell's defiance, orders him to shoot an apple off Jemmy's head with his crossbow. If he refuses, both father and son will die. […] Tell shoots off the apple in a clean shot. Gessler discovers, however, a second arrow in Tell's quiver. The archer plainly admits that it was intended for Gessler himself, should he have missed the apple and hit Jemmy.[15]

13 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, "Choral Singing," *A Paródia* no. 16, May 2, 1900, 124–5.

14 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, "Compensation of Lourenço Marques's railway," *A Paródia* no. 12, April 4, 1900, 96.

15 "Synopsis: Guilherme Tell," The Metropolitan Opera, accessed July 19, 2019, https://www.metopera.org/user-information/synopses-archive/Guilherme-tell.

This is how the story is presented in Rossini's opera. Composed in 1829, it was performed several times at the S. Carlos Theatre that Rafael Bordalo attended regularly. Inspired by the scene presented above, he adapted it to Portuguese history.

Framed by the symbols of the Swiss flag (two white crosses with a red background, positioned at the corners of the drawing) and the trains of Lourenço Marques, the Bern's Court is depicted by a giant bear that has a bow in its hands and an arrow ready to shoot. The bear is dressed in medieval clothes, referring to the hero, Guillaume Tell, as written in its hat. The shorts are embroidered with the words "Bern's Court," so no doubts remained for those who did not know that, in German, "Bern" is bear.

Portugal is represented by the figure of Zé Povinho, small in stature, and with his hands close to his chest as if pleading to Bern's Court to hit with its arrow the locomotive/apple on the bald head of Afonso Espregueira, Minister of Finance, and former General Director of Railways. Espregueira appears dressed in a similar medieval costume, and with his arms crossed (instead of stuck in a tree). His hands and feet were tied because all he could do was to wait for the sentence. Unlike Guillaume Tell who took two arrows if the first failed, Bern's Court would only have one and it had to be accurate. Indeed, "Guillaume Tell's famous coup is nearby" and the Bern's Court hit the nail on the locomotive of Espregueira. The Sentence condemned Portugal to pay a third of what the English and the Americans asked for, as portrayed in *A Paródia* no. 13 (April 11). The caricature entitled "The judgment of the Bern Court" features the legend "Go, while you are lucky".[16]

In *A Paródia* no. 14 (April 18), Zé Povinho injured and crippled, sits down next to the Portuguese cabbage "The Nation," the two crutches next to him are wrapped in "taxes, stamps, tenths" decreed by the caterpillar "Sentence of Bern, Neutrality, Taxes, Plenipotentiary, Paris Exhibition, Embassy of Brazil, Stamps".[17] It strolls over the cabbage/Nation (fig. 4). On top of the caterpillar are members of the Progressive Party, like the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Veiga Beirão (dressed in women's clothing, showing his legs), Ressano Garcia and Manuel Afonso Espregueira, among others, dancing a brilliant can-can while a flock of birds carry the latest "72,000 bonds" that belonged to Portugal. Rafael Bordalo, as a way to express the position adopted by society in general, uses the common expression, "let it go – run the ivory!" from the vaudeville *La Dame de chez Maxim* by Georges Feydeau, translated into Portuguese as *Caterpillar.* This expression refers to the lassitude with which Portuguese people watched the events, such as Zé Povinho's stance of discouragement accompanied by a phrase of exasperation used to let off steam "-Whatever … poof! …".

16 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, "The Judgment of the Bern Court," *A Paródia* no. 13, April 11, 1900, 100–1.

17 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, "The caterpillar on cabbage," *A Paródia* no. 14, April 18, 1900, 112.



Fig. 3: Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, Compensation of Lourenço Marques's Railway, *A Paródia* no. 12 (April 4, 1900), 96. With kind permission of Museu Bordalo Pinheiro / EGEAC.



Fig. 4: Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, The Caterpillar on Cabbage, *A Paródia* no. 14 (April 11, 1900), 112. With kind permission of Museu Bordalo Pinheiro / EGEAC.

Although the borders of the colonies had been established in the 1890s,

> […] most territories, especially the largest (Mozambique, Angola, São Tomé e Príncipe), were not mapped, had no road networks or railways, nor a unified administration system, and the communications with the Metropolis were sporadic and dependent on English navigation […].[18]

The colonial situation continued to deteriorate as illustrated by Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro on the cover of *A Paródia* no. 23 (June 20), entitled "The Blacks of S. Jorge – Colonial… Funeral March."[19] (fig. 5). After the Sentence of Bern and the strengthened alliance with England, Portugal would have to pay the debt quickly to retain possession of the colonies. However, they were walking slowly towards "death," metaphorically suggested by the "Funeral March".

The use of 'The Blacks of S. Jorge' refers to the canvas painted by José Malhoa, in 1886. Malhoa portrayed a group of five dark-skinned musicians with thick lips, dressed in white pants and red coats that, since the Middle Ages, accompanied the Corpus Christi procession in Lisbon, playing trumpets, fife and drums. At the bottom of the caricature, Manuel Gustavo copied the beginning of a "funeral march" in D major and triple metre. Although a funeral march would normally be in a minor key, the composer of this march was not discovered to confirm the tonality.

The Government was going through multiple crises. The Sentence of Bern added to the deficit, and with an ailing President of Council, new threats to the colonies appeared. The Progressive Government was deposed by the King, who invited the Regenerator Party, led by Hintze Ribeiro, to form a new government. Elected on June 26, 1900, Rafael Bordalo portrayed the new government in *A Paródia* no. 25 (July 4) in an opera entitled "*Los Africanists* Zarzuella chichi – Presentation of Company" (fig. 6).[20] It is curious that Bordalo chose this Spanish lyrical-comic zarzuela, composed in 1894 by Caballero and Hermoso, precisely at the moment when the Government had to pay the railway compensation and address the instability of the colonies.

Ribeiro, the President of Council, holds the stage curtain, presenting the opera company. The singing-ministers consist of the Minister of War (Pimentel Pinto), the Minister of Finance (Anselmo de Andrade), and the Minister for Foreign Affairs (João Arroio). Andrade, dressing a skirt, took the main role of the loving trio. The remaining ministers, dressed in pastoral clothing and holding shepherd's hooks, watch the dance of the loving trio. From left to right, Minister of Marine and Overseas (António Teixeira de Sousa), Minister of Justice (Campos Henriques) and, in the background on the right side, the Minister of Public Works, Trade, and Industry (Pereira dos Santos).

---

18 Rui Ramos, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2009), 562.

19 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, "The Blacks of S. Jorge – Colonial… Funeral March," *A Paródia* no. 23, June 20, 1900, 177.

20 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, "Los Africanistas," *A Paródia* no. 25, July 4, 1900, 196–7.



Fig. 5: Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, The Blacks of S. Jorge, *A Paródia* no. 23 (June 20, 1900), 177. With kind permission of Museu Bordalo Pinheiro / EGEAC.



Fig. 6: Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, *Los Africanistas*, *A Paródia* no. 25 (July 4, 1900), 196–197. With kind permission of Museu Bordalo Pinheiro / EGEAC.

This zarzuela was only presented in Portugal in 1910, according to Mario Moreau.[21] However, *El duo de la Africana* (1894), a play that originated *Los Africanistas*, was presented on the stage of the S. Carlos Theatre on January 27, 1900, a few months before the Hintze Ribeiro government took the office. It is still unknown how Bordalo became aware of the existence of this zarzuela, but as a well-travelled man of the theatre, the information might have been easily accessed.

Finally, on the last page of *A Paródia* no. 25, Bordalo portrayed Hintze Ribeiro, new President of the Council, as a farmer who sees land, that had once produced great quantities of food, now completely arid and practically useless. To emphasise the difficulties that the country was enduring, Rafael draws a tombstone buried in the earth with the name "Government".[22]

21 Mário Moreau, *O Teatro de S. Carlos: dois séculos de História* (Lisbon: Hugin, 1999).

22 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro, "Los Africanistas," *A Paródia* no. 25, July 4, 1900, 200.

Conclusions

The appropriation of musical elements, such as operas, zarzuelas, vaudevilles, dances and funeral marches, to satirise the political and colonial situation was constant in Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro's newspapers, especially in *A Paródia*. Resorting to the opera *Guillaume Tell*, Rafael Bordalo portrayed an important moment of the Portuguese history: The Sentence of Bern's Court. And using musical elements, such as the can-can dance and funeral marches, he and his son showed how corrupt and rotten the political system was.

Therefore, the interest of the caricature lies precisely in the fact that it portrays a historical period, being as the mirror of society. It truthfully shows the cultural, social, and political discourses, and heightens the awareness of the Portuguese people. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Portuguese people continued to be like the character 'Zé Povinho', who is injured and crippled, but accepted and paid everything.

Finally, caricaturists used the musical metaphor in their illustrations to fulfil the purpose of satire and criticism of the political situation. And these caricatures bring historical value because they contain information about previous generations and the country's past. These histories were often repressed and hidden by national history. In so doing, these caricatures convey an iconic message that is polysemic and therefore rich in meanings for contemporary analysis.

HEARING FIRST NATIONS AUSTRALIA (ON SCREEN)

Johnny Milner

Throughout twentieth-century Australian cinema and television production, First Nation peoples have been represented in tokenistic and codified forms. Such representations typically take the shape of the primitive savage, the subordinate sidekick, or the fringe dweller living on the margins of society dependent on white policies and assistance. Early twentieth-century film productions featured non-indigenous actors performing in black face,[1] and lacking any real connection to First Nation customs, culture and peoples. Other films mythologised and fetishised First Nation peoples and the land they inhabit. Such representations have derived primarily from white Anglo perspectives and from people who, as one of Australia's leading Indigenous scholars Marcia Langton has pointed out, "have had little to no substantial first-hand contact with First Nation people."[2] While this tokenism has manifested in visual and narrative-based forms of cinematic representation, it is also present in the soundtracks of many Australian films that have acted as the cultural flagship of Australian identity.

This essay tracks musical representations of First Nation peoples and culture in a selection of prominent Australian feature films, showing a development from forms of othering, codification, and misappropriation to a more diverse set of representations. It examines key ways that othering and codification have occurred, such as the use of an exoticised orchestral music approach, the appropriation and homogenisation of specific First Nation instrumentation, and the deployment of world music which conveys a generically ethnic sound. The second part of this essay focuses on contemporary film music representations, looking specifically at films produced with the assistance of Indigenous cultural policy initiatives, making the argument that increased opportunities for self-representation facilitate more diverse sonic and musical representations. More broadly, it argues that while music and sound are generally less well understood and less conspicuous than other cinematic elements such as the narrative and pictorial messages, they can be more revealing of Australia's cultural unconscious, psyche, and sense of self-understanding, especially concerning the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia.

---

1 See, for instance, *Journey Out of Darkness* (James Trainor, 1967), featuring non-Indigenous actor Ed Devereaux in blackface playing a 'black tracker,' searching for an First Nation fugitive played by Kamahl, a Malaysian performer of Sri Lankan descent.

2 Marcia Langton, *Well I Heard It on the Radio and Saw It on the Television* (Sydney: Australian Film Commission, 1993), 24.

The Problematics of Representation

European fascination with the non-Western world involved a tight nexus of signification, appropriation, and construction of the other, and the discourse increased in complexity as it became entangled with more and more aspects of politics, religion, race, and colonialism. In his seminal publication, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*,[3] Edward W. Said opened up new paths for addressing this obsession with the other by situating it in imperialist attitudes, which he invariably defined as the "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[4] When artists attempt to evoke or represent another culture, issues of authenticity, stereotyping, ideological, and political biases, clichés, and prejudices are never divorced from their project. In a twentieth-century Australian cinematic context, white Australia has written its own definition of Aboriginality which is often at odds with the real-life experiences, stories, cultural practices, and histories of First Nation peoples. Constructions of melodrama and popular genre have trapped producers in spurious stereotyping and racial codification. One of the most enduring themes has been the way First Nations are placed at the nature end of the people-nature spectrum, portrayed as exotic, distant, and other. They are primitive savages, for instance, in *Uncivilised*,[5] and appear as antiquated archetypes such as the "noble savage" in *Walkabout*.[6] Some of these films correspond directly to broader assimilation projects and policies by the Commonwealth and state governments. For instance, while *Bitter Springs*[7] raises issues relating to Indigenous land ownership claims, its filmic message has been one of conflict followed by assimilation, that is, bringing Indigenous peoples out from a primitive, nomadic lifestyle, and assimilating them into a civilised white society.

Though the blatant racist representations of an assimilated and dying First Nation culture are far less common in a contemporary context, the stereotyping and othering of First Nation identity still operates within filmic texts. Such concerns have been articulated by some of the most prominent figures in the Australian film industry, including the Indigenous filmmaker Rachel Perkins:

> A great many film representations of Indigenous cultures are pastiches from a variety of Indigenous nations. Filmmakers do not conduct the proper research about the cultural content for Indigenous films, and often they simply extemporise. However, Indigenous culture is bound by a highly developed system of First Nation law and social organisation.[8]

3 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*: *Western Conceptions of the Orient* (Vintage Books, 1979), 3.
4 Ibid., 3
5 Charles Chauvel, dir., *Uncivilised*, 1936 (Kew, VIC: Umbrella Entertainment, Blue-ray Disc, 2013).
6 John Powell, dir., *Walkabout*, 1971 (Kew, VIC: Umbrella Entertainment, Blue-ray Disc, 2019).
7 Ralph Smart, dir., *Bitter Springs*, 1950 (Kew, VIC: Umbrella Entertainment, Blue-ray Disc, 2013).
8 Australian Film Commission, *Issues Paper: Towards a Protocol for Filmmakers Working with Indigenous Content and Indigenous Communities* (Australian Film Commission, 2003), 10.

Perkins expresses concerns about the dilution, homogenisation, and loss of First Nation culture to a few simplistic clichés despite a distinct plurality of Indigenous cultures that populate Australia.[9] This plurality of cultures also extends, as noted in Kibby and Neunfeldt's important study, to First Nation musical styles and traditions: the central desert style is primarily vocal, accompanied only by the beat and following a descending melody. Cape York First Nation groups use skin drums; the folded leaf whistle bone pipe accompanied undulating melodies in the Murray River area; the music of the Tiwi people includes handclapping and a falsetto trill. Each group has (or had) a number of distinct song styles, and each song style had a distinct vocal accompaniment – a breathy voice or a chant, or a change in pitch.[10]

Despite a great diversity of musical styles in First Nation cultures, Australian cinema typically relies on one instrument to take on the heavy semiotic load of standing in for First Nation cultures as a whole, specifically the didgeridoo. As noted by several filmmakers, academics and cultural institutions, the instrument's frequent use as a recognisable icon of Aboriginality raises questions regarding to what extent films should depict authenticity – whether the instrument should be used in its original contexts (that is, in its original location by the rightful players, for the rightful purpose of initiation ceremonies). It has been such a problem for some filmmakers they have chosen to avoid the instrument altogether, or at least use it more complex ways. As noted by the director and curator Romaine Moreton:

> I try to avoid using the didgeridoo in my work as … a filmmaker, unless it is relevant, because didgeridoo is not my instrument, it's not from my area of Country so I'm not going to whack it in, say 'I'm Aboriginal,' you know. So where people's first response is to say 'That would sound great with a didgeridoo' – well, I would say, 'No, it won't.[11]

This essay's intention is not to say what is or is not an authentic sonic representation. Authenticity is in of itself a questionable concept in the context of film. After all, sound effects and music always require some degree of processing, manipulation, and placement. We can also recognise the limitations of filmmakers presenting

9 The calls for more diversity and cultural specificity have been reinforced by cultural institutions and organisations such as Screen Australia, the Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and the Australian Film Commission. These organisations and institutions have developed specific protocols for filmmakers to follow when representing First Nations culture. The guidelines focus specifically on issues of authenticity, representation and cultural integrity, asking the filmmaker to consider what impact will this story have on the culture from which it is drawn? And whether the language, music and cultural items are used correctly? See, for instance, Terri Janke, *Pathways & Protocols: A Filmmaker's Guide to Working with Indigenous People, Culture and Concepts* (Screen Australia, 2009).

10 Marjorie Kibby and Karl Neuenfeldt, "Sound, Cinema and Aboriginality," in *Screen Scores: Studies in Contemporary Australian Film Music*, ed. Rebecca Coyle, (North Ryde: Australian Film, Television and Radio School, 1998), 66–78, here 73.

11 Cited in Anne Barnes, "The Soundtracks of Australian Transcultural Cinema: Re-sounding the Past," (PhD diss., University of New South Wales Australia, 2014), 83.

tropes of authenticity favouring an unbalanced emphasis on ethnographic or documentary-style realism. This is a concern raised by Indigenous artist and filmmaker Tracey Moffatt who speaks of a desire to step away from such limiting documentary approaches, opting to instead present urban First Nation experiences.[12]

Instead, the essay explores the various problematics of Indigenous representation through the prism of the film soundtrack, which, when compared to the visuals, is a far more subliminal mode of cinematic representation. I show how the circulation of a limited set of musical conventions and clichés are used as shorthand to convey a sense of First Nationity while glossing over the cultural complexity of contemporary First Nation cultures. This shorthand has developed over the years, from the orchestral othering established in Hollywood scoring practices, and then transposed to an Australian setting, to the appropriation of First Nation music, as well as Indigenous music from other parts of the world.

It then shows how Indigenous self-determination and self-representation, assisted by cultural policy initiatives, has developed the soundtrack into a far more complex and diverse medium. Rather than advocating musical authenticity as an appropriate measure of quality in representation, a better yardstick to measure representation is a kind of faithfulness to Indigenous stories, experiences and musical traditions, as well as a complexity in soundtrack that transcends mere stereotyping and othering.

How then have representations of First Nation peoples been conveyed through sound and score in Australian cinema?

Orchestral Other

Much of the typical musical othering identified in cinema throughout the twentieth century is rooted in musical frameworks developed in cinema and stage productions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and especially the proliferation of the "stock Indian music" which became standardised in the North American silent cinema of the 1910s. Such frameworks often relied upon what the musicologist Michael Pisani has labelled the "ready-made toolbox of exotica."[13] This codified orchestral approach is characterised by the use of atonality, sustained fifths, parallel fourths, static harmony, tritones, non-standard scales (such as pentatonic), and chromatic motions (such as tremolos). In addition, this music contains specific instrumentation, all to represent their exotic subjects and locations.[14]

12 See, for instance, Johnny Milner, "Tracey Moffatt: A Celebrated Urban Storyteller", National Film and Sound Archive of Australia, 2020, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.nfsa.gov.au/latest/artist-and-filmmaker-tracey-moffatt.

13 Michael V. Pisani, "'I'm an Indian Too': Creating Native American Identities in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Music," in *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: North-Eastern University Press, 1998), 218–57.

14 Ibid.

In representing the other in Western cinemas, the "toolbox of exotica" has frequently been deemed necessary, despite the geographical or cultural location of the film. Or, in other words, regardless of the cultural lineage, the same music may be applied interchangeably to cultures as geographically and ethnically diverse as those of Europe, Polynesia, South Asia, the Indian subcontinent, North America, and West Africa. Common examples include the use of tom tom drums to broadly signify the Pan-American Indian in countless Westerns of the 1950s, or the clichéd Hollywood scoring approach employing fourths, gongs, and xylophones to represent China or indeed anywhere in Asia.[15]

In an Australian cinematic context, elements of that "toolbox of exotica" and its intrinsic codified implications are evident in iconic feature-length productions. An example of this can be found in Charles Chauvel's *Jedda*[16] which deals specifically with the theme of cultural assimilation and contains First Nation characters at the very centre of the narrative. In this film, the nomadic figure Marbuck (Robert Tudawali) is foreshadowed by ambiguous instrumentation and melodic structure. For instance, the sinister bassoon motif in Marbuck's march scene, and the atonal orchestral music in the cave scene where Jedda is hysterical and Marbuck loses his mind. In these sequences the music renders Marbuck as primeval, mysterious, and other.

Alternate examples can be found in films such as *Bitter Springs*[17]and *Uncivilised*.[18] Both films use chromaticism and pentatonic scales[19] to represent the Indigenous characters, but also specific instrumentation such as the timpani. The infamous corrobboree sequence in *Uncivilised*, for instance, employs long pedal points of bare fifths and regular drum pulses played on timpani combined with more conventional tonal melodies and harmonies, before Mara (the White Chief played by Dennis Hoey) bursts into full baritone song while the First Nation tribe chant, dance, and beat drums around a campfire.[20] The timpani is used in this scene both sonically and visually. It complements the film's central theme and the colonising forces at play, namely, representing First Nation peoples as primitive or as the title of the film suggests, uncivilised.

More so than the almost total absence of membranophones in traditional First Nation music, the problem with the timpani is that it reinforces the association of the elements of drumming and dancing with the raw, unbridled aspects of savagery

15 Earle Hagen, *Scoring for Films: A Complete Text*, vol. 1. (EDJ Music; sole selling agent: Criterion Music Corp., New York, 1971), 164–65.

16 Chauvel, *Uncivilised*, 1936.

17 Powell, *Walkabout*, 1971.

18 Smart, *Bitter Springs*, 1950.

19 Pentatonicism is a commonly deployed approach when scoring the Other. It is frequently used as a symbol of black people in American cinema or Orientalist operas to suggest "Easternness". See, for example, Ralph P. Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's Samson et Dalila," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3, no. 3 (1991): 263.

20 Rhoderick J. McNeill, "Symphonies of the Bush: Indigenous Encounters in Australian Symphonies," in *Encounters: Meetings in Australian Music: Essays, Images, Interviews*, ed. Vincent Plush, Huib Schippers and Jocelyn Wolf (Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre, 2005), 2.

found in much literature, film, and art of the time. Clear connections can be made to the Tarzan film series and "Indian on the War Motif" found in many American Westerns of the same period. The opening scene to *Broken Arrow*,[21] for instance, signals the native American Apache tribe using the typical tom tom drum rhythm played forte by the tympani drums, as well as horns which play a repetitive phrase in tritones.[22] The timpani in *Broken Arrow* as with *Uncivilised* recurs throughout the narrative and often precedes or occurs during the battle sequences. In these films, Indians and First Nation people serve as the faceless antagonists, often signalled by music alone.

Instrumentation, Appropriation

In many Australian films featuring Indigenous peoples and culture, elements of the above-mentioned orchestral approach have frequently been used in combination with First Nation instrumentation, namely the bullroarer, the didgeridoo, clap sticks, and singing in various First Nation dialects. Examples can be found in films range in style and genre. Baz Luhrmann's blockbuster epic *Australia,*[23] for example, features ethereal and mysterious clap sticks, didgeridoo, and a synthesised string motif, combined with the tribal and ceremonial chants of King George (David Gulpilil) resonating across the vast outback plains from a hilltop.[24] Whereas the camp road movie, *The Adventures of Pricilla, Queen of the Desert*,[25] includes a scene where the queens mime the Afro/American classic "I will Survive" around a campfire to an accompanying didgeridoo. Here, the frocks and the didgeridoo are used as symbols that highlight the clash of different cultures in a humorous fashion.

Looking a little further back, however, the appropriation of First Nation instruments is particularly obvious in the highly lucrative *Crocodile Dundee* franchise. In these films, instruments such as clap sticks, the bullroarer and the didgeridoo are not linked to the Indigenous characters, but rather support the mythical nature of the white protagonist, Mick Dundee (Paul Hogan). One of many examples of such tokenism occurs in a scene within the second *Crocodile Dundee* film,[26] where

21 Delmer Daves, dir., *Broken Arrow*, 1950 (Kew, VIC: Umbrella Entertainment, DVD, 1080p HD, 2005).

22 Claudia Gorbman, "Scoring the Indian: Music in the Liberal Western," in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, ed. Georgia Born and David Hesmondhalgh (University of California Press, 2000), 241.

23 Baz Luhrmann, dir., *Australia*, 2008 (Los Angeles, CA: 20th Century Fox, Blue-Ray, 2009).

24 Johnny Milner, "Hearing Nostalgia in Australian Cinema and *Australia*," in *Diversity in Australia's Music: Themes, Past, Present and Future*, ed. Dorottya Fabian and John Napier (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2018), 223–244.

25 Stephan Elliott, dir., *The Adventures of Priscilla Queen of the Desert*, 1994 (Los Angeles, CAL: Paramount Home Entertainment, DVD, 2020).

26 John Cornell, dir., *Crocodile Dundee 2*, 1988 (Los Angeles, CAL: Paramount Home Entertainment, DVD, 2002).

we are presented with a silhouette of Mick Dundee swinging a bullroarer, looking out across the vast vista of the Australian outback. In every image within this scene the sound of the bullroarer permeates: a kangaroo hears it, a water buffalo hears it, the rocky landscape hears it, the South American gangsters who are pursuing Mick hear it, and importantly, Sue (Linda Kozlowski) also hears it back at the campsite. This all-consuming sound, combined with the sunset image of Mick Dundee, is given a romanticised and ethereal quality through reverberation filtering. As identified by Kibby & Neuenfeldt, however, this usage also raises a "major cultural misrepresentation issue, namely, that Dundee uses the bullroarer, an First Nation man's initiation tool used in burials and to ward off evil spirits and, whose sound should never be heard by First Nation women, as a gimmicky bush telephone."[27] While films from the *Crocodile Dundee* franchise in no way claim ethnographic accuracy, and are in many ways self-satirical, the blatant trivialisation of the instrument magnifies the priorities of Australian film music practices of that period, namely the preferencing of commercial imperatives over a sensitivity towards cultural representation. [28]

Bring Out the Didge!

More so than any other instrument the didgeridoo, which traditionally belongs to First Nation groups in the far-north of Australia, has come to broadly represent First Nation peoples and culture in Australian cinema, irrespective of where a film is set and regardless of which First Nation culture it may represent. This delocalisation of the digeridoo can be found in non-diegetic dramatic scores, often in combination with larger ensembles, such as Philip Kaufman's *The Right Stuff*.[29] That film contains a scene that takes place near Muchea in the traditional lands of the Noongar clan of Australia's south-west coast.[30] It can also be found in diegetic forms of score, such as that of *Mad Dog Morgan*,[31] which is set in the southern non-didgeridoo regions of Australia in the 1880s. The film features didgeridoo performances by Morgan's First Nation sidekick Billy (David Gulpilil).

One possible reason for the widespread use of the instrument is that it can instantaneously capture a kind of idealised best of Indigenous culture. The same way the gong has come to generically represent the oriental, the didgeridoo has come to

27 Kibby and Neuenfeldt, "Sound, Cinema and Aboriginality," 73.

28 Other notable uses include John Antill's famous orchestral suite 'Corroboree' and the sixth studio album, 'Diesel and Dust' by the influential Australian rock group Midnight Oil, which uses also uses an imitation of the bullroarer.

29 Philip Kaufman, dir., *The Right Stuff*, 1983 (Los Angeles, CA: Warner Home Video, Blue-Ray, 2013).

30 Philip Hayward, "Numinous Ambience: Spirituality, Dreamtimes and Fantastic Aboriginality," *Screen Sound Journal* 1 (2010): 21–34, http://www.screensoundjournal.org/issues/n1/06.%20SSJ%20n1%20Hayward.pdf.

31 Philippe Mora, dir., *Mad Dog Morgan,*1976 (Kew, VIC: Umbrella Entertainment, DVD, 2009).

function as the dominant sonic signifier of a pan-First Nationity in the Australian film scorer's palette of sound. Of course, however, this becomes problematic because, as mentioned earlier, Langton rightly points out First Nation culture is "extremely diverse and pluralistic. There is no one kind of Indigenous person or community."[32] If we extend this observation, there is no one kind of First Nation music.

Complicating the equation further is that while the digeridoo has come to develop as a defining cultural artefact of a pan-Australian First Nationity, it can also function as a signifier stripped of First Nation culture altogether. Think of, for instance, its use over the black opening image in *Young Einstein*,[33] the Warner Brothers logo in *Reckless Kelly*,[34] and over imagery of Uluru in the opening scene to *Evil Angels*.[35] In all these examples, the mysterious drone of the didgeridoo is introduced early and functions as a cue to location that reinforces the exoticism of the bush and contributes to a sense of nationhood, clearly stating: "this is Australia." In these examples, Indigenous culture is otherwise absent. However, using the instrument as a sound bite where the film, the filmmaker, and indeed the filmgoer never even encounter Indigenous culture, makes the instrument more open to being exploited.[36] These issues of cultural appropriation are of primary concern for Australia's Indigenous peoples, who as mentioned earlier, have time and again raised concerns about Australia's long history of cultural appropriation, homogenisation, and exoticism, from black-face make up to the mass production of central Australian dot art paintings, from the bullroarer to the didgeridoo.

The counter argument to such claims regarding First Nation instrumentation in Australian cinema is found, however, in the context in which the films were produced. Film producers and composers may not have known of non-didgeridoo locations in Australia, or of the problems associated with appropriating the instrument. So, what chance did Hollywood audiences have, probably being the "ideal audience" when financing films such as *The Right Stuff*[37] or the Dundee franchise? At the same time, in cinema it is commonplace for instruments to be taken out of contexts – film soundtracks do this all the time. Is it fair for fictional films, which rely on symbolism for storytelling, to be judged by standards of absolute, documentary type realism? Can only French people play the trombone, for instance?

As suggested in the earlier parts of this essay, it is not my intention to make a judgement on questions of musical authenticity and whether it is right or wrong to use a specific instrument,[38] but to rather point out the way a few musical signifiers have contributed to a dilution and homogenisation of First Nation cultures. This

32 Langton, *Well I Heard It on the Radio*, 11.
33 Yahoo Serious, dir., *Young Einstein*, 1988 (Los Angeles, CA: Warner Home Video, DVD, 2005).
34 Yahoo Serious, dir., *Reckless Kelly*, 1993 (Prahran, VIC: Roadshow Entertainment, VHS, 1993).
35 Fred Schepisi, dir., *Evil Angels*, 1998 (Los Angeles, CA: Warner Home Video, DVD, 1999).
36 Philip Brophy, 2009, cited in Barnes, "The Soundtracks of Australian Transcultural Cinema," 83.
37 Kaufman, *The Right Stuff*, 1983.
38 Here, we should mention that instruments such as the didgeridoo have also been used by Indigenous filmmakers to help empower and reinforce their own sense of indigeneity.

study expands upon the many concerns (usually directed towards cinema's narrative and visual elements) raised by the film community and arts establishment regarding the reduction and homogenisation of Indigenous cultures.

Fast-tracking to a contemporary filmmaking context, there seems to be far greater general awareness regarding musical appropriation. Films directed by non-Indigenous Australians (although, as I will discuss, have their own problems) by and large seem to engage with Indigenous musical culture on a deeper level. *Rabbit-Proof Fence,*[39] *The Proposition,*[40] and *Australia*,[41] for instance, all consulted Indigenous elders and experts on this issue of representation, including musical representation.

World Music Approach

A key approach to a musical representation of First Nation culture in the past few decades has been the world music approach. Elements of world music are evident in films such as *Picnic at Hanging Rock*,[42] which does not explicitly reference First Nation culture but uses Romanian panpipes to evoke through their resonance what Marjorie Kibby and Karl Neuenfeldt label a sense of "primitive spirituality [in] an exotic landscape,"[43] thus echoing the didgeridoo. More contemporary examples include Paul Kelly and Dan Luscombe's soundtrack for *Jindabyne,*[44] which adopts an eclectic range of ethnic instruments and musical styles, including female singing that operates within Arabic-style scales, as well as instrumentation suggestive of an Eastern European influence, all of which correspond to the mysterious nature of the landscape and the tension between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples.

Perhaps the most well-known and relevant example of world music occurs in Peter Gabriel's score for *Rabbit-Proof Fence*,[45] a film that responds to the history of the Stolen Generation and the *Bringing Them Home* report,[46] playing a major role in bringing the issue to public attention by creating empathy for the protagonists and a nuanced account of the film's central themes.

---

39 Philip Noyce, dir., *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 2002 (Burbank, CA: Buena Vista International, DVD, 2003).

40 John Hillcoat, dir., *The Proposition*, 2005 (North Sydney, NSW: Sony Pictures Home Entertainment, DVD, 2006).

41 Baz Luhrmann, dir., *Australia*, 2008 (Los Angeles, CA: 20th Century Fox, Blue-Ray, 2009).

42 Peter Weir, dir., *Picnic at Hanging Rock*, 1975 (Kew, VIC: Umbrella Entertainment, DVD, 2010).

43 Kibby and Neuenfeldt, "Sound, Cinema and Aboriginality," 73.

44 Ray Lawrence, dir., *Jindabyne*, 2002 (Los Angeles, CA: Sony Pictures Entertainment, DVD, 2007).

45 Noyce, *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 2002.

46 The *Bringing Them Home* report was a national inquiry that was released in 1997 and investigated the forcible removal of First Nation children (i.e. the stolen generation) from their parents under the Australian Government's assimilation policy, which occurred between the 1930s and 1970s. See Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, "Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families," https://humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.pdf.

The soundtrack includes a heavily abstracted, manipulated and reverberant sound-effects track which tries to evoke a mythical connection of belonging between human and terrain, and with a world music score. The soundtrack's musical themes have origins in folklore of First Nation cultures and several other Indigenous cultures. This includes gospel vocals by The Blind Boys of Alabama, a mysterious didgeridoo by Ganga Giri, African tribal drums by Babacar Faye, and over fifty other artists and instrumentation from various musical lineages.

How then are we to interpret the ways in which various Indigenous music and instruments, which rarely have specific referents, are used to evoke First Nationity in a film such as *Rabbit-Proof Fence*?[47] How do the timpani drums in early Australian films such as *Uncivilised*[48] differ from African tribal drums in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*?[49] And does the world music score help to humanise First Nation people and transcend stereotypes, or does it simply expand the 'tool box of exotica'?

A key intent of the film was that it should help audiences empathise with the Indigenous characters and engage with the story. The film therefore, as noted by director Philip Noyce and composer Peter Gabriel, needed to employ a universalising cinematic language.[50] The transnational dimension of a world music score could serve such a purpose with its fusion of different Indigenous cultures, and global media commodification and consumption by Western markets. Emerging in the 1980s, the world music soundtrack began to stand for a style in and of itself, defining the film audience as much as the film.[51]

John Connell and Chris Gibson perhaps shed some light on the hidden meanings and connotations of world music within films like *Rabbit-Proof Fence*.[52] They relate world music to "the timeless, the ancient, the primal, the pure, the chthonic," suggesting that this aspect of world music is what listeners are concerned with, this is what they want to buy "since their own world is often conceived as ephemeral, new, artificial, and corrupt."[53] In her essay on the same film's soundtrack, Marjorie Kibby takes a similar tone, commenting that "the instruments and vocal styles used may not be instantly recognisable as belonging to particular contemporary locations or areas but instead might be understood to evoke a time-less space for a Western viewer."[54] Thus, the increasing use of the world music score perhaps relates to its ability to allow for a more immediate social identification for a contemporary audience than other approaches such as the orchestral approach

47 Ibid.

48 Chauvel, *Uncivilised*, 1936.

49 Noyce, *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 2002.

50 See the documentary film *Following the Rabbit-Proof Fence,* directed by Darlene Johnson, 2002.

51 Gorbman, "Scoring the Indian," 250.

52 Ibid.

53 John Connell and Chris Gibson, "World Music: Deterritorializing Place and Identity," *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 3 (2004): 341–61.

54 Marjorie Kibby, "Sounds of Australia in Rabbit-Proof Fence," in *Reel Tracks: Australian Feature Film Music and Cultural Identities,* ed. Rebecca Coyle (Eastleigh, UK: John Libbey Publishing, 2005), 147–158, here 156.

mentioned earlier. But the emphasis on the Westerner under the pretence of a universal cinematic language, as well as the fusing and dilution of various Indigenous musical traditions, problematises the calls by the Australian film establishment for more cultural specificity. It perhaps also shares some unfortunate parallels with the film's central theme, namely, that of cultural assimilation.

In thinking about the context of world music in films such as *Rabbit-Proof Fence*,[55] it is helpful to consider a film such as *Ten Canoes*[56] (directed by the non-Indigenous Rolf de Heer, but written and narrated by David Gulpilil), which places a far greater emphasis on what could be described as cultural specificity. The film showcases entirely First Nation languages and includes didgeridoo non-diegetic cues that culturally and geographically correspond with the region where the narrative takes place and where the film was shot. Rather than being fused into a generically ethnic sound, the didgeridoo here connects directly with the characters in the film, being either diegetically controlled and played by the First Nation characters or non-diegetically associated with the ancient First Nation history the story communicates. Nor does the music draw from the orchestral approaches and devices associated with the "toolbox of exotica" as discussed earlier. Like any film, *Ten Canoes* cannot avoid essentialism, but its musical components amplify more of a sense of the Indigenous from within rather than on recreating an outsider's point of view. This focus on the Indigenous from within is also a characteristic feature in the extraordinary wave of contemporary films produced by Indigenous practitioners. Rather than using sonic signs as simple bearers of meaning whose overring drive is to carry narrative and emotive meanings with hyper explicit clarity, these filmmakers engage with music and sound in more complex and innovative ways.

Self-Representation and Reshaping Film Music

The reshaping of Indigenous representation can be attributed to several factors, such as the self-determination of Indigenous filmmakers who have sought to change the status quo of Australian cinematic culture and the gradual reframing of Indigenous rights and acknowledgement within the Australian legal system and Australian society more broadly.

Assisting these pushes for Indigenous filmmakers to take control of their own stories, has been the development of several Australian government policy initiatives. These include the establishment of Screen Australia's Indigenous program in 1998, as well as the efforts of other cultural/educational institutions (e.g. the Special Broadcasting Service, the Australian Film, Television and Radio School, the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association, the Australian Broadcasting Service, National Indigenous Television Network and Blackfella Films). Key

55 Ibid.

56 Rolf De Heer, dir., *Ten Canoes*, 2002 (East Melbourne, VIC: Madman Entertainment, DVD, 2006).

policy initiatives incorporate putting Indigenous peoples in control of their own stories, increasing investment in film productions, promoting greater representation and diversity of characters, actors and film personnel and genuine consultation navigating issues such as intellectual property rights.[57]

Emerging out of this environment are prominent First Nation filmmakers such as Rachel Perkins, Wayne Blaire, Warwick Thornton and Ivan Sen, all of whom are noted for their diverse and empowering stories, the foregrounding of Indigenous issues and achieving box office success and critical acclaim. Importantly, these filmmakers also use music and sound in more sophisticated ways, including drawing upon traditional and current First Nation music. Take, for instance, *Top End Wedding*[58] and *Bran Nue Day*:[59] both box-office successes that adopt contemporary, and often lesser known, Indigenous music and artists. Such approaches place an importance on self-representation, rather than relying upon typical Australian film music conventions and production value, including othering orchestral devices or a limiting set of musical signifiers controlled by non-Indigenous filmmakers and which stand in for Indigenous culture as a whole.

Other films draw on music (for instance, reggae, hip-hop and Motown) that is not only popular in First Nation communities but has political dimensions that resonate with the struggle felt by First Nation people in Australia. Such music can be used as a way of conveying cultural persistence and resistance. *The Sapphires,*[60] for instance, uses the uplifting soul music of Motown to comment on issues such as racial discrimination, cultural persistence, and resistance. Travelling across national and cultural borders, the empowering music draws a connection between the social restrictions and struggles of African American people and First Nation Australians during the 1960s. This theme manifests through the musical journey undertaken by the First Nation protagonists. They begin their musical careers by playing country and Western songs – which as the film makes clear is the music of the white colonisers. Soon they discover, however, a form of music that resonates and relates on a deeper level – the protest songs of Black Soul.[61] The choice of songs becomes a kind of declaration of Indigenous sovereignty. Moreover, a parallel is also implied between the United States situation the late 1960s, and an Australian situation now. The United States setting is about a decade into the civil rights movement, and the present Australian situation is some time on from Mabo, and is a period when Indigenous artists (singers and filmmakers) are able to make an important statement.

57 See, for instance, 'Celebrating 25 years of Indigenous Screen Stories,' *Screen Australia* media release, 2018.

58 Wayne Blaire, dir., *Top End Wedding*, 2019 (Sydney, NSW: Universal Pictures Australia, Theatrical, 2019).

59 Rachel Perkins, dir., *Bran Nue Dae*, 2009 (Sydney, NSW: Roadshow Entertainment, Theatrical, 2009).

60 Wayne Blaire, dir., *The Sapphires*, 2012 (Chippindale, NSW: Hopscotch Films, Theatrical, 2012).

61 David Bruno Starrs, "Sovereignty, Song and 'The Sapphires'," *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues* 12, no. 2 (2014): 43.

Although the film's transnational approach to soundtrack includes music dislocated from its origins and does not necessarily avoid the "exotic," it does develop a positive and self-empowering depiction of a racial and political minority, and in this sense brings the First Nation characters out from the "exotic" and into the world as an active minority. In terms of intent and perspective, this approach differs from the world music approach which creates a generically ethnic sound or indeed the typical use of a digeridoo discussed earlier. That music is most often created by non-Indigenous filmmakers and targets consumption and reception of Western audiences.

Another key feature of recent Indigenous film music representation is how it negotiates different perspectives on issues of colonialism and reconciliation. *One Night the Moon*[62] for instance, utilises musical signifiers of First Nation culture and white Australian culture to explore two musical perspectives, the First Nation and white, on the issue of land ownership. These perspectives are signified both through instrumentation – including the use of First Nation instruments such as the didgeridoo and instruments that have come to signify colonialism including the violin – and through the words of the film's central songs. As identified in Fiona Probyn,[63] this happens most prominently in the song, "This Land is Mine/ This Land is Me," sung by the two protagonists – the farmer, Jim Ryan (Paul Kelly), and the First Nation tracker, Albert Yang (Kelton Pell). The farmer's lyrics invoke the experience of arduous work on a piece of mortgaged land to earn a living. The words also suggest an understanding of land ownership, defined by a clear geographic demarcation as well as written legal documentation:

> This land is mine
> All the way to the old fence line
> Every break of day
> I'm working hard just to make it pay

By contrast, the First Nation tracker's words communicate the sense of being part of the land, rather than owning the land:

> This land is me
> Rock, water, animal, tree
> They are my song, My being's here where I belong
> This land owns me
> From generations past to infinity

The musical dialogue between farmer and tracker, expressing contrasting relationships to land, is juxtaposed with a chorus, sung by both characters together, in harmony. The lyrics of that chorus, "They won't take it away, They won't take it

62 Rachel Perkins, dir., *One Night The Moon*, 2001 (Melbourne, VIC: Siren Visual Entertainment, DVD, 2002).

63 Fiona Probyn, "This Land is Mine/This Land is Me." *Senses of Cinema* 19 (2002), http://sensesofcinema.com/2002/australian-cinema-and-culture/this_land/.

away, They won't take it away from me," convey poignantly a joint anxiety regarding the dispossession of land. The words importantly also express this reconciling notion. Thus, in addition to its narrative and visual message, this film contains a powerful soundtrack which sharpens an understanding of what is at stake in the issues of native title and reconciliation. Furthermore, the treatment of the didgeridoo here differs from the films discussed earlier. Rather than simply evoking a sense of Aboriginality or the Australian landscape through iconography, it is more self-representative. It functions as a signifier that connects the Indigenous protagonist to his country. Thus, this soundtrack achieves a dimensional depth and complexity more profound than that of soundtracks produced in the past – before Mabo, *Bringing them Home*, but also before the significant cultural policy initiatives of Screen Australia and so on.

The Power of Sound and Music

While this discussion has focussed primarily on film music one must also acknowledge the broader role of film sound in contemporary Indigenous representations and filmmaking. Real innovations have been made regarding the use of sound and its interaction with music, dialogue, imagery and narrative. In this final discussion, I focus on the directors Ivan Sen and Warwick Thornton, whose films demonstrate how sound and music can function beyond simply materialising specific actions or enhancing emotion within a scene. I show how such films can function on various spatial, temporal and psychological levels and provide far greater complexity, diversity and depth to the depiction of First Nation culture and peoples, therefore avoiding the othering, stereotyping and exoticism found in soundtracks of many prior films.

Ivan Sen's breakout film *Beneath Clouds*[64] for instance, speaks to such strength in sonic vision. The film follows the story of two Indigenous teenagers journeying across the Australian landscape and explores issues of identity, race and disconnection to culture. The film features a raw, still, and unsettling score that negotiates key and familiar binaries in Australian cinema such as nature versus culture[65] and the eroding of Indigenous culture through colonisation. Evidence of such qualities is apparent in the film's opening credits, which, as one reviewer notes:

> ... the decreasing rhythm of a pendulum ... reminds us how far removed contemporary Aboriginal Australia is from any kind of 'natural' existence. Natural sounds, rural atmospheres, country spaces and the sonic imprints of wildlife are periodically obliterated by the 'unnatural' ... passing cars, thunderous trucks, thudding beats from a boom-box.[66]

64 Ivan Sen, dir., *Beneath Clouds*, 2002 (Netflix, https://www.netflix.com/title/70142465).

65 For a discussion on this topic see Johnny Milner, "Australian Gothic Soundscapes: The Proposition," *Media International Australia* 148, no. 1 (2013): 94–106.

66 Megan Spencer, "Film Review: Beneath Clouds." *Triple J, ABC*, May 21, 2002, accessed July 31, 2014, http://www.abc.net.au/triplej/review/film/s560610.htm.

It is significant that this approach to sound echoes earlier films such as *Walkabout*.[67] The score for that film uses signifiers of Western culture: namely, the lush and heavily orchestrated, European style score and the diegetic sound emanating from a transistor radio that accompanies the children on their journey through the outback gradually outweigh in importance the signifiers of nature (e.g. the animal sounds) and First Nation culture (e. g. the didgeridoo music).[68]

Films like *One Night the Moon*[69] and *Beneath Clouds,*[70] discussed earlier, use sound to reflect a particularly Indigenous perspective of dispossession. This occurs near the end of *Beneath Clouds*[71] where Lena and Vaughn pass under an imposing cliff, and reflect the location in relation to Australia's painful colonial history. The beauty of the cliff contrasts with the story Vaughn recounts of a massacre that took place when people were forced to the edge of the cliff and shot at before falling to their deaths.[72]

Notably, in this scene there is no music. All we hear is the dialogue of Vaughn recalling the horrific events that took place and the sounds of the natural environment such as birds singing and the odd insect. These natural sounds, which were dry and un-manipulated through production, provide the required emotional balance for the sequence, perhaps more so than the prescriptive harmonies, textures, rhythms, and instrumentation of any orchestra or indeed a reverberant world music. In this scene, the stillness and silence of the natural environment resonate with the silencing of First Nation peoples and culture through the colonisation process and the notion that the Australian landscape is haunted country, filled with ghosts. While the effect corresponds with the aural and epistemological traits of many previous Australian films which silenced First Nation culture, it must be acknowledged that in this instance, this approach carries more weight as it is being expressed by an Indigenous storyteller.

A final example demonstrating how sophisticated, multi-layered, and powerful film music/sound have become when representing Indigenous peoples, cultures, and stories in Australian cinema is the opening scene of *Samson and Delilah*.[73] The film's story takes place in an isolated community in the Central Australian Desert near Alice Springs and follows the day-to-day struggle and boredom of two First Nation teenagers Samson (Rowan McNamara) and Delilah (Marissa Gibson). The film's poignancy lies in director Thornton's strong sense of veracity and his inti-

67 Powell, *Walkabout*, 1971.

68 Michael O'Shaughnessy, "Walkabout's Music: European Nostalgia in the Australian Outback," *Metro Magazine: Media and Education Magazine* 140 (2004): 82.

69 Rachel Perkins, dir., *One Night The Moon*, 2001 (Melbourne, VIC: Siren Visual Entertainment, DVD, 2002).

70 Sen, *Beneath Clouds*, 2002.

71 Ibid.

72 Rebecca Harkins-Cross, "Bloody Horizons: Ivan Sen's Mystery Road," *theliftedbrow.com*, 2014, http://theliftedbrow.com/post/72697679708/bloody-horizons-ivan-sens-mystery-road-by

73 Warwick Thornton, dir., *Samson and Delilah*, 2009 (East Melbourne, VIC: Madman Entertainment, DVD, 2009).

mate, powerful, and holistic approach to filmmaking. Not only did he write the screenplay, but he also directed and shot the film, compiled its score, and played a crucial role in the film's sound design as the following close analysis of the film's opening scene suggests.

In the title sequence, credits roll over black. There is nothing visually suggestive, representational, or referential in the sequence. The foregrounding of sound could not be more effective. After the text 'Screen Australia' fades in, we hear the sound of an off-axis magpie lark, followed by a buzzing blowfly, making use of the full spatial panorama. These are followed by a barking dog, the ring of a phone, and a diesel engine. Now a slower and more substantial flying insect manifests, possibly a dragonfly. These spot effects are laid over a combination of diffuse chattering in Warlpiri (the language of the community) as well as a cacophony of distant cicadas. The synthesis of off-screen sounds, be they spot effects or continuous atmospheres, render a mood, as well as a setting, a location and a spatial understanding of the mise en scène, and we are just twenty seconds into the film. It is not just the atmospheric sounds that are of importance in this scene. Suddenly someone is tuning a radio, settling on the country classic "Sunshiny Day," an appropriate genre choice considering the popularity of country music in First Nation communities. While this occurs, all of the diegetic sound effects and atmospheres fade out. There is a shift in the clarity and the proximity of the radio music. No longer crackled, muffled and low fidelity, it is now outside the world of the film. Although the music appears to have a source within the film (that is, diegetic sound), its clarity and presence make it function more like a non-diegetic dramatic score. The shift poignantly enables an emotional response and renders the image both stylised and timeless.

The image then fades into a disheveled Samson awakening. He ruffles his hair, puts on his shirt, and reaches for a can of petrol to sniff. The lyrics "Every day is going to be a sunshiny day" ironically contradict the dire but seemingly perpetual situation in which Samson finds himself. Once high on fumes, Samson waves his hand up and down as though holding a drumstick, keeping rhythm with the song. This drumming gesture works insidiously as it sets up a web of rhythmic, temporal, and cyclic patterns that recur throughout the film and directly relate to the film's central themes. When Samson rises from his bed the soundtrack cleverly shifts perspective. Instead of sounding out what the viewer ought to be hearing, it functions as Samson's aurally subjective impression of the events taking place. Samson gets up and walks outside, finding his brother's reggae band jamming on the porch. Although we can see the band members, we cannot hear their music. "Sunshiny Day" still reigns supreme. As Samson reaches for an electric guitar resting on an amplifier, a wall of feedback noise occurs and Samson screams "Yeah!" He jumps up and strums the guitar, and "Sunshiny Day" miraculously attenuates. Frustrated by the disturbance, his brother snatches the guitar from him, and more feedback occurs. These sounds do not realistically coincide with the events taking place, but are instead disorientated, symbolising Samson's petrol-induced mental

disarray. From here the feedback triggers the audibility of the band's reggae music. Their three-chord, off-beat progression, appears. It is an important motif in the film and is featured in more than ten scenes throughout. It sonically symbolises the cyclic and monotonous existence of the characters, as well as the town and landscape in which they live. Samson longs to play in his brother's band, but his style of free-form rock that seeks to break free from the shackles of syncopated reggae minimalism is ultimately too rebellious. The repetitive jamming of this music becomes so unbearable for Samson that sniffing petrol provides the only escape because it filters and dulls the noise.

This remarkable scene is followed by Delilah waking on the other side of town. We know that this happens simultaneously to the previous events as we can hear the same reggae music, though it is now distant and less coherent. This distance gives the viewer a spatial understanding of the topographical features of the community. So as we can already appreciate, this very complex sound design not only establishes the overall mood and tone, but it also anticipates the story to come, initiating a series of ideas and issues relating to the effects of colonialism and the contemporary realities for Indigenous Australians living in remote communities. This is accomplished before the powers of image and dialogue manifest.[74]

Conclusion

Film and video, as noted by Marcia Langton, can make invisible the tokenistic and racist import of the cultural material they represent.[75] This observation, as I hope is demonstrated throughout this essay, can extend to typical styles and constructions of film music and soundtrack. Film music is a cultural practice that has historically trapped filmmakers and producers in conventional othering, stereotyping, and racial codification, and often correlates, be it on a more a subconscious level, with broader colonialist constructions of the "native" in cinema history. Key musical features outlined in this essay include the othering orchestral approach employing specific musical traits and instrumentation developed in American cinema and stage productions, the appropriation of First Nation music, instruments and sonic culture, and musical approaches associated with the world music genre.

However, as previously argued, the beginning of the twenty-first century, marks a significant shift in film music representation. Through creative control being placed in the hands of Indigenous filmmakers assisted by policy initiatives, as well as landmark legal and cultural events such as Mabo and Bringing Them Home, and general awareness regarding colonisation and Indigenous issues, Aus-

74 Johnny Milner, "Sounds of Love and Monotony: Telling Stories Without Speech in Samson and Delilah," *Screen Education* 66 (2012): 99–104.

75 Marcia Langton, "Aboriginal Art and Film: The Politics of Representation," in *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, ed. Michele Grossman (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003), 123.

tralian cinema soundtracks are now demonstrating greater diversity and complexity. Many contemporary soundtracks explore how First Nation characters face everyday concerns, as well as the issues defined through their Aboriginality.

Recent films draw on traditional and contemporary First Nation music, and music popular in First Nation communities to assist in a film's dramatic elements, helping the films entertain and achieve critical and box-office success. In addition, these films also provide a platform for constructive debate and dialogue. Such film music and sound cannot entirely avoid essentialism, but it certainly moves away from those codified, clichéd, and exoticised approaches of earlier periods.

This, of course, is a meaningful development, considering that film is one of the most critical vehicles for informing non-Indigenous Australia about Indigenous Australia. Thus, continuing to examine these different approaches can provide information on a film's construction and intention, and can help us understand how film music can affect the way a filmgoer receives and perceives a film and its ideologies. Film music can also tell us something about the society in which we live and the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia.

MUSICIANS AND WILD MEN: SIGNS OF IDENTITY IN A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY HEBREW MANUSCRIPT

Suzanne Wijsman

The Oppenheimer Siddur is a richly illuminated fifteenth-century Hebrew prayer book in the collection of the Oxford Bodleian Library (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 776). Musical iconography is one of the defining features of its decoration program, and it contains the largest number of illustrations of musicians of any surviving medieval Hebrew illuminated manuscript, with a musical theme interwoven throughout the book from beginning to end (fol. 2r, fig. 1 and fol. 89r, fig. 2). This manuscript was completed in 1471 by a scribe, Asher ben Yitzḥaq, for his own family's use, as testified by the manuscript's colophon:[1]

> I finished this prayer on the first day of the fourth month in the 231st year in the sixth millennium, according to the Creation era [1 Tammuz, 5231/28 June, 1471]. I am Asher ben Rabbi Yitzḥaq who requests this. It is my wish that my sons and the sons of my sons will pray to God with it. And my soul desires and watches for the coming of the Redeemer. Make us powerful and strong in the building of the Temple. Grant peace, make fruitful and be pleased with all your servants. And show the rest of my brothers, your people Israel, peace.

While the artists of many Hebrew illuminated manuscripts are unknown, previous codicological, artwork and scientific imaging analysis of this manuscript confirms that Asher ben Yitzḥaq was the artist as well as the scribe of this manuscript.[2] No other information about this Jewish scribe-artist survives but this manuscript's images reflect his personal perspective, making it a fascinating expression of his late fifteenth-century worldview.

Cantillation and musical delivery of prayer is integral to the Jewish liturgy. In addition to biblical references to music and instruments used in the Temple, prayer

---

1 Hebrew colophon transcription (courtesy of Malachi Beit-Arié, Director of The Hebrew Palaeography Project, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities):
סימתי זאת התפילה באחד לחודש הרביעי רל"א לפרט באלף הששי שבח לא'. אני אשר ב"ר יצחק השוא'. יהי רצון שיתפללו בה בניי ובני בניי לאל. ונפשי תאיבה ומצפה לביאת גואל. חזקינו ואמצינו בבינין אריאל. סלול השלו' פרו על עבדיך הואל. והראיני בשלום שאר אחי את עמך ישראל. סליק סליק:

2 Suzanne Wijsman, "The Oppenheimer Siddur: Artist and Scribe in a Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Prayer Book," in *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as the Meeting-Place of Cultures*, eds. Piet van Boxel and Sabine Arndt (Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2009): 69–84; Suzanne Wijsman, Sarah Neate, Sotiria Kogou, Haida Liang, "Uncovering the Oppenheimer Siddur: Using Scientific Analysis to Reveal the Production Process of a Medieval Illuminated Hebrew Manuscript," *Heritage Science* (2018) 6, no. 15, https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-018-0179-0.



Fig. 1: The Oppenheimer Siddur, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Opp. 776, 1471, fol. 2r. Photo: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.



Fig. 2: The Oppenheimer Siddur, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Opp. 776, 1471, fol. 89r. Photo: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.



Fig. 3: The Oppenheimer Siddur, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Opp. 776, 1471, fol. 6v. Photo: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

chant and addition of melodies in Jewish ritual practice, such as *piyyutim* (sung liturgical poems), is an ancient custom.[3] Many references to singing, music, and musical instruments are found in later Jewish literature, and music is mentioned often in liturgical texts, such as in the Western Ashkenazic rite of the Rhine Region contained in this prayer book.[4] In the decoration program of the Oppenheimer Siddur, illustrations of musicians appear in panels alongside texts that mention music-making and those that do not. For example, the blessings that precede the Verses of Song (*Pesukei dezimra)*, part of the morning prayers, make allusions to speech, sound and song, as many of the texts are drawn from the Book of Psalms, which also mentions musical instruments or music-making. Here, we find hybrid figures playing the lute and fiddle in the bottom corners of the initial word panel marking these texts (fol. 6v, fig. 3).

3 On the musical characteristics of different Jewish prayer modes and types see Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *On Jewish Music* (1929. Reprint, New York: Henry Holt, 1992) and *Jewish Liturgy and its Development* (New York: Henry Holt, 1932). For a deeply insightful ethnographic discussion of the music of Eastern European Ashkenazi prayer chant see Judit Frigyesi, "Gestures of the Soul: The Prayer Chant of the East-European Jews," *Studia Musicologica* 60, nos. 1–4 (2019): 327–347.

4 For a detailed discussion of archaeological evidence for music in ancient Israel, see Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine* (Grand Rapids, USA, Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2002).

Yet, equally, some of the most striking musical images in this manuscript occur in association with penitential prayers where music is not mentioned directly, such as those said during the high holidays on *Yom Kippur* and *Sukkot*, or for the long *Tahanun*, said on Mondays and Thursdays. While it is common to see the *shofar* in illustrations marking the prayers for *Rosh Hashanah* or *Yom Kippur* in Hebrew manuscripts due to its ritual use for these holidays, or David and his harp in association with the Book of Psalms, the array of performing instrumentalists represented in this prayer book is unprecedented among surviving medieval illuminated Hebrew manuscripts.[5]

However, musical iconography is not the only unusual feature in the artwork of the Oppenheimer Siddur. Two striking illustrations of the medieval wild man also occur. In the first (fol. 24v, fig. 4), nine wild men are engaged with one another in battle in the main illuminated panel, and they surround the initial word at the beginning of the long *Taḥanun* prayers, *ve-hu'* (וְהוּא). Some ride the animals that are commonly associated with wild men, such as the stag and the unicorn. Others brandish clubs as weapons, following traditional representations of wild men, while another group uses contemporary medieval weaponry. Below the main panel, in the right-hand margin, a smiling young woman consorts suggestively with a fool, who is dressed in an all-yellow, hooded garment and plays the bagpipe. She embraces him with her left arm and places her right hand on his knee. The woman's braided blond hair is visible and she is not wearing a wimple, the white head covering with which married women are often depicted in the medieval period.[6] Below the wild men, in the bottom of the illuminated space surrounding the main texts, are two colourful human musicians playing the fiddle (R) and shawm (L). They are perched on plinths at the bottom of a golden architectural motif that frames the whole composition.

A second occurrence (fol. 54v, fig. 5) shows three similarly rendered, grey-brown, frowning wild men who are symmetrically positioned and holding the initial word panel in the form of a wide linenfold banner that contains the initial word of the texts that follow, *Akavya* (עֲקַבְיָא), marking the opening of Chapter 3 of *Pirkei Avot* (*Sayings of the Fathers*). Here, however, they do not have clubs. The wild man on the right holds and looks down on a ridged, roundish object in his left hand. His right hand supports the banner with the initial word, alongside the other two wild men.

5 For a discussion of the musical iconography and its purpose in the Oppenheimer Siddur, see Suzanne Wijsman, "Silent Sounds: Musical Iconography in a Fifteenth-Century Jewish prayer book," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music and Sound*, eds. Diane Reilly and Susan Boynton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 313–333.

6 In the Middle Ages, the wimple was often worn by married women. For example, the woman depicted on fol. 12v in the Oppenheimer Siddur wears a white wimple, her head covering probably indicating that she is married. See also: the First Darmstadt Haggadah: Darmstadt Hessiche Landes – und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Or. 8, fol. 37v, showing both women with wimples and women without, possibly designating their marital status. http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Cod-Or-8/0076, accessed May 23, 2023.



Fig. 4: The Oppenheimer Siddur, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Opp. 776, 1471, fol. 24v. Photo: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.



Fig. 5: The Oppenheimer Siddur, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Opp. 776, 1471, fol. 54v. Photo: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

These two illustrations are unusual, both in terms of their pictorial subject matter and its contextualisation in this Jewish prayer book. They pose a dramatic contrast to other, more characteristic elements in the iconography in this manuscript, including numerous images of beautiful flowers, foliage, animals, birds, praying figures, and musicians. What might explain the presence of the wild man motif in this Hebrew prayer book, and how do wild men relate to the musical theme that is so prominent in its imagery?

"Wildness," a concept antithetical in its essence to "civilization," has a long history. The wild man as a *topos* in literature and art occurs across a time span encompassing not just centuries, but millennia and across a wide geographical area. Roger Bartra traces the wild man's origins from the Bible and Near Eastern literary traditions up to, and including, modern European ethno-centric notions of civilisation and culture.[7] As Barta observes, "the man we recognize as civilized has been unable to take a single step without the shadow of the wild man at his heel."[8] Indeed, Bartra argues that the wild man myth has continued to influence later European literature, ethnography, politics, art, and science well into modern times.[9]

In medieval art, wild men or women usually are identifiable by their "natural" look: the tell-tale, full coat of body hair or leafy garb that is often the only cover-

7 Roger Bartra, *Wild Men in the Looking-Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*, trans. Carl T. Berrisford (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994).

8 Ibid., 3–8.

9 Ibid., 203–208.

ing for their nakedness. Their appearance provides evidence of an existence that is uncivilised and close to nature: wild men often appear as furry men with long unkempt hair and scraggly beards, such as those we see in the Oppenheimer Siddur.[10] In the words of Bartra, "civility in the form of clothing is an expression of identity, and identity is lost without rules that govern the clothing of man's natural nudity."[11] The psychosocial connotations of this mythical figure and his behaviour, implicit and explicit, in European art and literature have received generous scholarly attention since the 1950s, though images of wild men in Jewish sources have been largely absent from this discussion.[12] In fifteenth-century art, although there are numerous depictions of fighting wild men, their most common adversaries are knights or animals, such as the illumination of Alexander's Battle with Wild Men from the British Library's 15th-century *Romance of Alexander*.[13] However, there are only a few examples of a large group of wild men fighting amongst themselves and none in other extant Hebrew illuminated manuscripts.[14]

Yet there are many variations on the wild man theme; indeed, as Gregory Mobley puts it, his image signifies a veritable "spectrum of characters"[15] that also includes wild women.[16] In Christian art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the image of the wild man carried a variety of symbolic meanings, and his presence thus can carry positive or negative connotations. These are determined primarily on contextual grounds. For example, a wild appearance is considered an attribute for some saints in Christian religious art, such as the stained-glass portrait of St.

10 For example, images on engraved playing cards and model sheets by Master E.S. and Israhel van Meckenem, a Swiss tapestry, and a carved wood coffret. See Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), Figures 67, 75 and 109–111.

11 Bartra, *Wild Men*, 146.

12 For discussions of the wild man in art and literature see Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952/R1970); Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak, *The Wild Man Within* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972); Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man*; Larry Silver, "Forest Primeval: Albrecht Altdorfer and the German Wilderness Landscape," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 13, no. 1 (1983): 4–43; Roger Bartra, *Wild Men*; Gregory Mobley, "The Wild Man in the Bible and Ancient Near East," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 116, no. 2 (1997): 217–33; and Stephanie Leitch, "The Wild Man, Charlemagne and the German Body," *Art History* 31, no. 1 (2008): 283–302.

13 *Le Vraye histoire du bon roy Alexandre* (1420–c1425). British Library Royal MS 20 B XX, fol. 51r. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_20_B_XX, accessed 20 March, 2021.

14 For examples, see Husband, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, Figs. 43–44, 93 and 128; F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1955), vol. XII, 108; and Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Geschichte für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 2015), Band 3, 100, No. 262, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.27564#0018, accessed May 23, 2023.

15 Mobley, "The Wild Man in the Bible and Ancient Near East," 224.

16 Michelle Moseley-Christian, "From Page to Print: The Transformation of the 'Wild Woman' in Early Modern Northern Engravings," *Word & Image* 27, no. 4 (2011): 429–442, https://doi.org/10.1080/02666286.2011.611381, accessed May 23, 2023.

Onuphrius as a wild man in the Regensburg Cathedral (fig. 6). According to legend, St. Onuphrius acquired his wild look through self-deprivation in the wilderness, and wildness here is thus a sign of virtue reflecting his extreme penitential and ascetic behaviour.[17]

Particular female saints are often depicted as wild women, such as St. Mary of Egypt and St. Mary Magdalene.[18] Heraldic art of the late Middle Ages frequently contains the wild man depicted as a supporting strongman as they began to appear as a symbol of power by the end of the fifteenth century. In this emblematic form, the wild man occurs on the escutcheons of over two hundred European noble families, a convention that persists to the present day, an example being the Danish royal coat of arms.[19] In this mode, the wild man is usually shown in a protective but passive pose, supporting central symbols, such as shields, badges or seals, like the wild men protecting the coat of arms of the Velasco family on the late fifteenth-century Constable Chapel of the Burgos Cathedral in Spain (fig. 7). The heraldic form of the wild man was used in other contexts; for example, Tina Asmussen has shown that it became an emblem of the mining industry in Germany, appearing on silver coins minted in the sixteenth century by Heinrich the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in Oberharz, and Asmussen argues that this emblem was chosen in part because it was deeply rooted in local mythology.[20]

The wild man also appears as a decorative, sometimes humorous motif in illuminated manuscripts of the late Middle Ages, where his figure can been seen nestling among acanthus leaves or climbing vegetal *rinceaux* that surround the main illustration, such as the engraving by Israhel van Meckenem, Ornament Panel with Two Lovers (fig. 8). Engravings that proliferated from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, such as works by the Master of the Playing Cards (active c.1430–50), Master E.S. (active c. 1450–67) and Israhel van Meckenem (active c. 1445–1503), feature wild men and women both as a main subject and as a playful, decorative motif.[21]

17 For a discussion of hirsute Christian female saints, see Kimberley Knight, "Hair in the Middle Ages," *Internet Archaeology* 42 (2016), http://dx.doi.org/10.11141/ia.42.6.10, accessed May 15, 2023. See also Husband, *The Wild Man*, 100, Pl. VII, showing Mary Magdalene as a wild woman, and 102–9, Figs. 62–64, for images of St. John Chrysostom depicted as a wild man.

18 See also Husband, *The Wild Man*, 100, Pl. VII, showing Mary Magdalene as a wild woman, and 102–9, Figs. 62–64, for images of St. John Chrysostom depicted as a wild man.

19 Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages,* 177. Two wild men still flank the coat of arms of the Danish royal family today, a motif that dates back five and a half centuries to the seal of Christian I of Oldenburg, the mid-fifteenth-century progenitor of this long-reigning European family. For further discussion, see Minna Heimbürger, "Er det danske kongevå bens vildmænd vilde mænd? Om vildmændenes oprindelse og betydning i kongevå benet," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 83, no. 4 (2014): 303–318.

20 Tina Asmussen, "Wild Men in Braunschweig – Economies of Hope and Fear in Early Modern Mining," *Renaissance Studies* 34, no. 1 (2019): 31–56.

21 See, for example, Master E.S., *Ornament with Wild Folk*, ca. 1460/65, engraving, Washington D.C., The National Gallery of Art, accessed February 8, 2021, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.8748.html; Master of the Playing Cards, *Five of Wild Men*, ca. 1435–55, engraving, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, accessed May 23, 2023, http://www.zeno.org/Kunstwerke/B/



Fig. 6: St. Onuphrius as a Wild Man, stained glass window, 15th c., Evangelische Stadtkirche, Ravensburg. Photo: Andreas Praefcke. Image in the public domain.

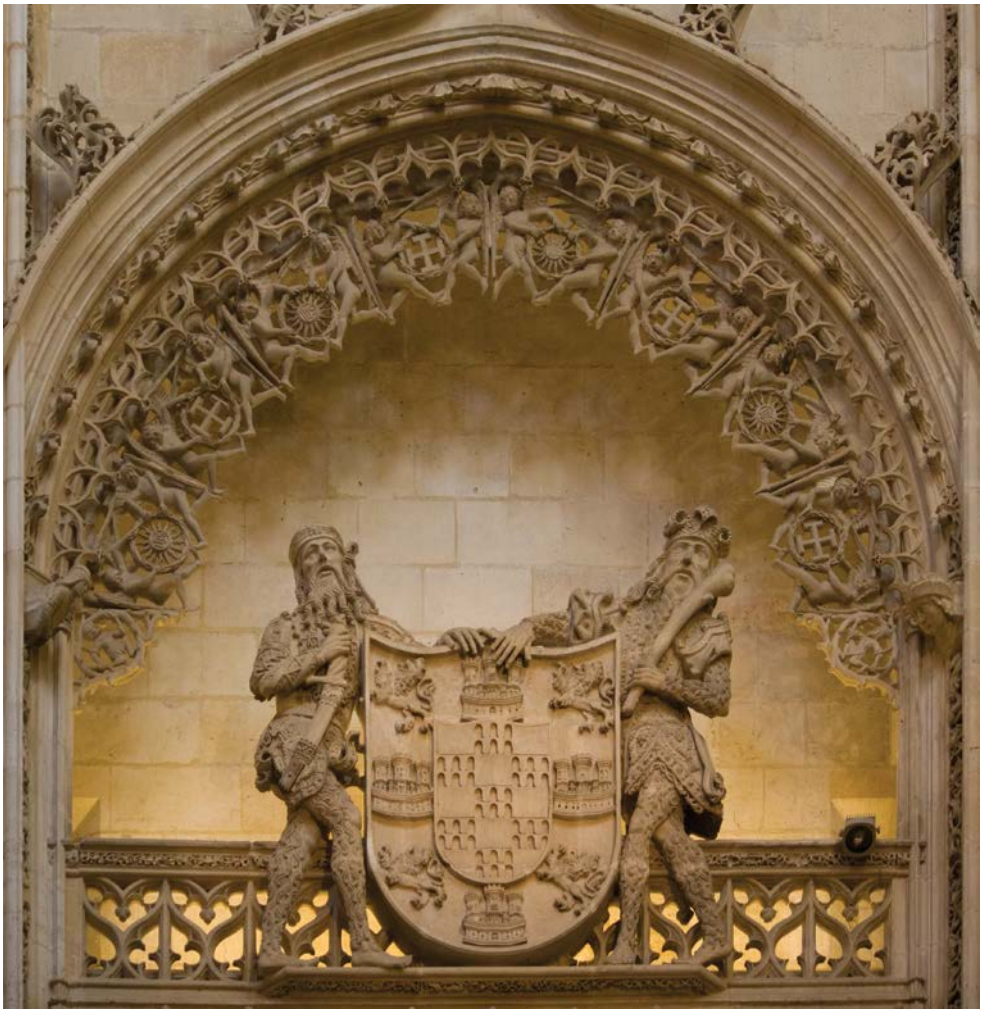


Fig. 7: Wild Men, Velasco Arms, Constable Chapel, 15th c., stone carving, Burgos, Santa Iglesia Catedral Basílica Metropolitana de Santa María. Photo: Fr. Lawrence Lew. O.P. https://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/3986273165.
Used under a CC non-commercial license 2.0.

On the other hand, the medieval wild man is also portrayed in a negative light, as an anti-social figure. The Lutheran depiction of the Pope as a wild man-devil by Melchior Lorck (1545), where his words are represented as vermin spewing forth from his mouth, is clearly intended to be anything but a flattering portrait (fig. 9).

Meister+der+Spielkarten%3A+Kartenspiel%3A+Wilden-F%C3%BCnf?hl=meister+spielkarten; and Israhel van Meckenem, *Ornament with Flower and Eight Wild Folk*, ca. 1445–1503, engraving, Washington D.C., The National Gallery of Art, accessed February 8, 2021, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.3385.html.



Fig. 8: Israhel van Meckenem (c. 1445–1503), Ornament Panel with Two Lovers, engraving on paper, Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art. Photo: National Gallery of Art. Image in the public domain.

As super-sized "anti-model,"[22] the wild man's bestiality also conveys an otherness that is signified by his appearance and terrifying aspects. His super-human power and strength means he is capable of uprooting an entire tree, which he then uses as a weapon in combat with knights, as depicted in Hans Burgkmair's *Fight in the Forest* (fig. 10).[23] He is a symbol of the mortal perils of base desire, appearing in abduction scenes.[24] He lives among the animals, riding wild beasts,[25] or emulates them by crawling on all fours, such as the portrayal of a wild man in the British Library's

22 On opposing concepts of "model" and "anti-model" in medieval manuscript art, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 26. On the wild man as the epitome of "noncivilization" and artistic representation of "otherness" as a physical state, see also Husband, *The Wild Man*, 5.

23 For examples of other depictions of wild men in battle with knights, see Husband, *The Wild Man*, 23, Pl. III, 51–53, Figs. 24, 25 and 69–70, Figs. 35 and 36.

24 Husband, *The Wild Man*, 110–112, Figs. 65, 66, and 196, Fig. 130.

25 See for example the stag-riding wild man in the letter "D," at the beginning of Exodus in a Bible (Old Testament) produced in the workshop of Diebold Lauber, c. 1441–49. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, MS Cod. Pal. germ. 19–23, fol. 83r, accessed May 23, 2023, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2030#0175.



Fig. 9: Melchior Lorck (1527–1626), The Pope as a Wild Man,1545, engraving on paper. Alamy stock photo.

Luttrell Psalter.[26] In such depictions, the wild man is often portrayed as degraded, malevolent or violent, the ideal of civilised behaviour expressed through his active manifestation of its opposite.[27] Asmussen notes that the sixteenth-century Swiss

26 The Luttrell Psalter, ca. 1325–1340, London, British Library MS Add. 42130, fol. 70r.

27 As argued by Husband, *The Wild Man*, 4–5.



Fig. 10: Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), Fight in the Forest (c. 1500–1503), pen and ink on paper, Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art. Photo: National Gallery of Art. Image in the public domain.

physician and philosopher, Paracelsus, described the wild man as being made of flesh and blood like humans, but having no soul and therefore no knowledge of God, another sign of his sub-human status.[28]

The wild man's portrayal on fol. 24v (fig. 4) in the Oppenheimer Siddur resonates with these latter, negative traits of the wild man, since in this scene he is depicted as violent, menacing, and ugly. The colours used in this illustration highlight its subject: the brown-grey wild men attack and struggle with one another among scrolling, fleshy green foliage, and their colouring matches that of animals they ride, another sign of their bestiality. They have long unkempt hair and wear frowning expressions. The violence of the scene is heightened by the background colour of the main panel: a blood-red hue that visually emphasises the wild men's brutality and aggression.

Other elements in the full-page illumination on fol. 24v contrast and counterbalance the brutality of the wild men here. Below and to the right of the main word panel, the implied harmony and sweet expressions on the faces of the performing

28 Asmussen, "Wild Men in Braunschweig," 40.

musicians, as well as their colourful attire, distinguish them from the wild men by their demeanour and behaviour. In the right-hand border, the enigmatic picture of the young woman's smiling visage and amorous gesture engages the reader's attention, especially because its placement means that it occurs first in the reading process in Hebrew, which is read from right to left. This vignette strongly recalls scenes in the art of the period with sexual connotations that depict consorting couples, notably those in mid-fifteenth century engravings, where fools playing bagpipes (a well-known medieval visual metaphor for male genitalia) also sometimes appear, a pictorial allegory for the folly of love.[29] As is the case in many other fifteenth-century artworks, there is evidence that the scribe-artist of the Oppenheimer Siddur was familiar with engraved models that were in circulation at the time.[30] Indeed, numerous motifs in this manuscript, such as birds, animals and wild men, show a strong resemblance to prints attributed to the Master of the Playing Cards and other fifteenth-century engravers, as has been shown for some other medieval Hebrew illuminated manuscripts.[31] While we do not know to which engraved models Asher ben Yitzḥaq had access for the wild men in the Oppenheimer Siddur, it is clear from these details that this composition was influenced by motifs and conventions that were also prevalent in Christian art of his time.

To understand the meaning of this tripartite composition, it is important to examine its contextualisation in relation to the prayer texts that begin at this point in the *siddur*. In medieval Latin manuscripts, historiated or rubricated initials serve to project a text's meaning as well as marking divisions of the text. Similarly, the scribes and artists of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts often highlighted sections of a manuscript and its textual contents by enlarging, colouring or decorating the initial word of new text and the space around it. Sometimes, this process included adding figural art that makes a pictorial allusion or commentary on the text. The generous number of illuminated initial word panels in the Oppenheimer Siddur makes clear Asher ben Yitzḥaq's intention to deploy such devices in the visual programming of his prayer book.

The long *Taḥanun* begins on fol. 24v, and comprises penitential prayers asking for God's protection and forgiveness from sin:

---

29 For example, *Der kleine Liebesgarten* by Master E.S. in Max Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1924), Pl. 34, and the engraved printer's mark in the book of hours of Philippe de Pigouchet (1498), which has a wild man and woman on either side with a bagpiper and men and women in the surrounding margins, in: Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages,* Fig. 48. See also Keith P. Moxey, "Master E.S. and the Folly of Love," *Simolius: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 11, no. 3–4 (1980): 125–48.

30 For discussion of the use of engravings as models in the fifteenth century, see Anne H. van Buren and Sheila Edmunds, "Playing Cards and Manuscripts: Some Widely Disseminated Fifteenth-Century Model Sheets," *The Art Bulletin* 56, no. 1 (1974): 12–30.

31 Wijsman, "The Oppenheimer Siddur," 76–77. On the use of engraved models in illuminated Hebrew manuscripts, see Sheila Edmunds, "The Kennicott Bible and the Use of Prints in Hebrew Manuscripts," in *Le stampe e la diffusione delle immagini e degli stili: Atti del XXIV Congresso*, C.I.H.A., 1979, ed. Henri Zerner (Bologna: Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art, 1980), 8:23–29.

> And He, being merciful, forgives iniquity and destroys not: many times he turns his anger away, and does not stir up all His wrath. Withhold You not your tender mercies from us, O Lord: let Your loving-kindness and Your truth continually preserve us. Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from amongst the nations, to give thanks unto Your holy name, and to triumph in Your praise.[32]

Further on, the *Taḥanun* asks God to spare "Your people" (Hebrew: *'amcha*, עַמְּךָ) from reproach by the "nations" or (Hebrew: *goyim*, גוֹיִם):

> O Lord, according to all Your righteous acts, let Your anger and Your fury, I pray to You, be turned away from Your city Jerusalem, Your holy mountain; because for our sins and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem Your people are become a reproach to all that are round about us. Now therefore hear, O our God, to the prayer of Your servant and his supplications and cause your countenance to shine on Your sanctuary that is desolate for the sake of the Lord. Incline Your ear, O my God and hear. Open Your eyes and behold our desolations and the city which is called by Your name, for we do not lay our supplications before You because of our righteous acts but because of Your abundant mercies ….[33] Spare Your people, O Lord, and do not give Your inheritance over to reproach, for the nations to scorn. Wherefore should they say among the peoples 'Where is their God?'[34]

Finally, this section of the *Taḥanun* ends with the following prayers:

> Forsake us not O Lord our God, be not far from us for our soul is shrunken by reason of the sword, captivity, pestilence and plague, and of every trouble and sorrow. Deliver us, for we hope in You; put us not to shame O Lord our God, make Your countenance shine upon us, remember to us the covenant of our fathers and save us for Your Name's sake. Look on our troubles and hear the voice of our prayer, for You hear the prayer of every mouth.[35]

---

32 Ps. 78:38, Ps. 40:12 and Ps. 106:47. Hebrew:
וְהוּא רַחוּם יְכַפֵּר עָוֹן וְלֹא יַשְׁחִית: וְהִרְבָּה לְהָשִׁיב אַפּוֹ וְלֹא יָעִיר כָּל חֲמָתוֹ: אַתָּה ה׳ לֹא תִכְלָא רַחֲמֶיךָ מִמֶּנּוּ: חַסְדְּךָ וַאֲמִתְּךָ תָּמִיד יִצְּרוּנוּ: הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ ה׳ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְקַבְּצֵנוּ מִן הַגּוֹיִם לְהוֹדוֹת לְשֵׁם קָדְשֶׁךָ לְהִשְׁתַּבֵּחַ בִּתְהִלָּתֶךָ:

33 Dan. 9:15–17. Hebrew:
אֲדֹנָי כְּכָל צִדְקוֹתֶיךָ יָשָׁב נָא אַפְּךָ וַחֲמָתְךָ מֵעִירְךָ יְרוּשָׁלַיִם הַר קָדְשֶׁךָ: כִּי בַחֲטָאֵינוּ וּבַעֲוֹנוֹת אֲבֹתֵינוּ יְרוּשָׁלַיִם וְעַמְּךָ לְחֶרְפָּה לְכָל סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ: וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶל תְּפִלַּת עַבְדְּךָ וְאֶל תַּחֲנוּנָיו וְהָאֵר פָּנֶיךָ עַל מִקְדָּשְׁךָ הַשָּׁמֵם. לְמַעַן אֲדֹנָי: הַטֵּה אֱלֹהַי אָזְנְךָ וּשְׁמָע פְּקַח עֵינֶיךָ וּרְאֵה שֹׁמְמוֹתֵינוּ וְהָעִיר אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שִׁמְךָ עָלֶיהָ: כִּי לֹא עַל צִדְקוֹתֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ מַפִּילִים תַּחֲנוּנֵינוּ לְפָנֶיךָ כִּי עַל רַחֲמֶיךָ הָרַבִּים:

34 Joel 2:17. The Hebrew here is מָשָׁל which can be translated alternatively as "reproach" or "mocking-song." Hebrew:
הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ צוּרֵנוּ מַלְכֵּנוּ וְגוֹאֲלֵנוּ: חוּסָה ה׳ עַל עַמֶּךָ וְאַל תִּתֵּן נַחֲלָתְךָ לְחֶרְפָּה לִמְשָׁל בָּם גּוֹיִם לָמָּה יֹאמְרוּ בָעַמִּים אַיֵּה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם:

35 Hebrew (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Opp. 776 contains a slightly variant version as indicated by brackets, [ ]):
אַל תַּעַזְבֵנוּ ה׳ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אַל תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי נַפְשֵׁנוּ קְצָרָה מֵחֶרֶב וּמִשְּׁבִי וּמִדֶּבֶר וּמִמַּגֵּפָה וּמִכָּל צָרָה וְיָגוֹן הַצֵּילֵנוּ כִּי לְךָ קִוִּינוּ וְאַל תַּכְלִימֵנוּ ה׳ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְהָאֵר פָּנֶיךָ בָּנוּ וּזְכֹר לָנוּ אֶת בְּרִית אֲבוֹתֵינוּ וְהוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ. רְאֵה בְצָרוֹתֵינוּ וּשְׁמַע [ב]קוֹל תְּפִלָּתֵנוּ כִּי אַתָּה שׁוֹמֵעַ תְּפִלַּת כָּל פֶּה:

Several elements in these prayer texts warrant closer examination. First, two Hebrew words used in these passages, *'amcha* (עַמְּךָ) and *goyim* (גוֹיִם), and the distinction between their meanings, is important to note. While the former in the singular is usually translated as "people" in English, in Jewish writings the possessive form is often understood as a special designation for the Jews, as God's chosen people, such as we see here. *Goyim*, on the other hand, though usually translated in English Bibles as "nations", when it appears in the plural form, is always understood to mean non-Israelite, other nations in biblical Hebrew, or non-Jews in later times.[36] In these texts, there is a clear distinction made between the collective "us" mentioned in these prayers – the Jewish people, *'amcha* (עַמְּךָ) – and "them," those who oppose or harm "us," the *goyim* (גוֹיִם).

Second, there are numerous references in the *Taḥanun* to God's hearing and listening ("inclining His ear") in response to prayer, as well as to the sound or voice, *qol* (קוֹל), of prayer. Early in the *Taḥanun* texts, God's listening and hearing is articulated as a prerequisite to His salvation of the Jewish people: "Our Lord, Our God, hear the voice of our supplications and remember unto us the covenant of our fathers and save us for Your Name's sake,"[37] beseeching God to "show a sign for good and gather our scattered ones from the four corners of the earth."[38] The supplicant asks:

> Let Your anger and Your fury be turned away from Your city, Jerusalem, the holy mountain, because for our sins and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and Your people are become a reproach to all that are round about us. Now therefore, hear O our God, the prayer of Your servant and to his supplications and cause Your face to shine on Your sanctuary [Temple] that is desolate.[39]

When read in conjunction with these supplicatory prayers, references to "hearing" and "listening" may help to explain the presence of implied sonic elements in the illustration on fol. 24v. The musical performance depicted below the main word panel supports and augments textual allusions to sound, with the scene of instrumental music-making reiterating the musical theme that is present from beginning to end of this prayer book.[40] It is also important to note that these performing musicians sit at the bottom and outside the borders of a gilded architectural motif,

---

36 Koehler explains that in biblical Hebrew "frequently גּוֹיִם means the other heathen nations in contrast to Israel" and that the singular form was not used in the Hebrew Bible in this manner, only adopting this meaning in later, post-biblical periods. See Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958), 174.

37 Hebrew:

אֲדוֹנֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ שְׁמַע קוֹל תַּחֲנוּנֵינוּ וּזְכָר לָנוּ אֶת בְּרִית אֲבוֹתֵינוּ וְהוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ׃

38 Hebrew:

אָבִינוּ הָאָב הָרַחֲמָן הַרְאֵנוּ אוֹת לְטוֹבָה וְקַבֵּץ נְפוּצוֹתֵינוּ מֵאַרְבַּע כַּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ.

39 Hebrew:

אֲדָנָי כָּכָל צִדְקוֹתֶיךָ יָשָׁב נָא אַפְּךָ וַחֲמָתְךָ מֵעִירְךָ יְרוּשָׁלַיִם הַר קָדְשֶׁךָ כִּי בַחֲטָאֵינוּ וּבַעֲוֹנוֹת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ יְרוּשָׁלַיִם וְעַמְּךָ לְחֶרְפָּה לְכָל סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ׃ וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶל תְּפִלַּת עַבְדְּךָ וְאֶל תַּחֲנוּנָיו וְהָאֵר פָּנֶיךָ עַל מִקְדָּשְׁךָ הַשָּׁמֵם לְמַעַן אֲדָנָי׃

40 For a more detailed exposition of this hypothesis see Wijsman, "Silent Sounds".

though much of the original gold paint has flaked off over time. The wild men and vignette of the young woman embracing the bagpiper are inside the illustration border. The reference in the *Taḥanun* texts to the Exile, the destruction of Temple and fall of Jerusalem may relate to the content of this composition. Jerusalem in Jewish and biblical literature is also sometimes personified as a woman,[41] and there is close identification of *'amcha* (עַמְּךָ), the Jewish people, with Jerusalem in the *Taḥanun* texts that are quoted above, suggesting potential symbolism for these marginal elements in the composition.

It may be significant that there is no hint in this illustration of the ritual gesture of prostration closely associated with the penitential prayers of the *Taḥanun*, also known as the *nefilat 'appayim* (literally, "falling on the face"), where the supplicant covers his face with the left arm in a bowed-down position. It is a custom that has its roots in practices dating back to ancient times, and is mentioned already in ninth- and tenth-century Jewish sources.[42] This gesture is also mentioned in the later *Sefer Maharil* of Jacob Mölin (ca. 1365–1427), who was influential in establishing the prayer customs among German Ashkenazim from the fifteenth century onwards. The adoption of this custom means that we can be fairly certain it was part of ritual practice by the late fifteenth century in Ashkenaz, when Asher ben Yitzḥaq and his family lived.[43] This reinforces the impression that the visual programming of the Oppenheimer Siddur is metaphorical, rather than illustrative.

The spatial arrangement of this composition reverses the placement of human and non-human or grotesque figures that we often see in Christian illuminated manuscripts, where wild men are more typically situated in the margins, such as the image cited above in the Luttrell Psalter. Such reversals in the relative positions of motifs between the centre of an illumination and the margins occur in other Hebrew manuscript illuminations, as has convincingly been argued by Sarit Shalev-Eyni, following earlier work of Michael Camille, the latter who states that in medieval art "every model had its opposite, inverse anti-model."[44] Shalev-Eyni argues that promoting figures normally appearing in the margins in Christian art, such as grotesque *jongleurs*, to a position of centrality in Jewish manuscript illuminations was a deliberate choice intended to give such marginal figures meaningful prominence in the centre of illuminated initial word panels.[45] The full-page il-

41 For example: Ezekiel 23.

42 For example, responsa by Amram ben Sura and Saadia Gaon. The origins of this custom is discussed in: Richard S. Saranson, "The Persistence and Trajectories of Penitential Prayer in Rabbinic Judaism," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 3: The Impact of Penitential Prayer beyond Second Temple Judaism*, eds. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 1–38; and Lawrence Fine, "Penitential Practices in a Kabbalistic Mode," in *Seeking the Favor of God*, 16–17.

43 Wilfred Wolfson, "The Laws of Prayer for the Year from Sefer Maharil: Translation and Commentary," *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 16, no. 1 (1993): 37.

44 Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 26.

45 Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Obvious and Ambiguous in Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from France and Germany," *Materia giudaica* VII/2 (2002): 249–71. Following Camille's study of marginal mo-

lumination on fol. 24v in the Oppenheimer Siddur displays a similar process: the image in the centre – the battle of the wild men – depicts the adversary, the non-Jewish "anti-model" *other*, portrayed here as wild men. By implication, the pretty, smiling musicians in the margins, on the other hand, clearly oppose the image of the wild men, expressing a contrasting ideal: that of "model," or Jewish *self*.

I have argued in a previous paper that the purpose of the pervasive and dominant musical theme in the iconography of the Oppenheimer Siddur is neither simple, direct text illustration nor mere decoration, but a visual metaphor for Jewish prayer that contributes to the complex interplay of text, image and implied sound for the reader.[46] The images of performing musicians in the margins of this illustrated page reflect, and recall, those seen elsewhere throughout this manuscript, achieving a collective resonance and reinforcing their relationship to the Jewish prayer texts where they occur. The position of these human figures on fol. 24v and, in particular, the placement of the fiddler and shawm player on the outside of the gilded architectural motif that may refer to the Jewish Exile, as discussed above, strengthens the impression of Jewish identification with the musicians.[47]

That the scribe-artist intended the elements in this enigmatic composition to express the textual content of these penitential prayers symbolically, by means of metaphorical visualisation, seems certain. I suggest, therefore, that the opposing, interconnected iconographical elements in this full page illumination – fighting, violent wild men and the implied sound of the performing musicians – are meant to be seen and heard together in relation to the texts that follow. Their spatial arrangement reflects the conceptual opposition expressed in the prayer texts, with the violence of the wild men in the central panel contrasting the image and implied sound of the colourful, sweet-faced human musicians in the margins. The spatial separation and displacement of these components on the page highlight their symbolic role. Viewed in conjunction with the content of the penitential *Taḥanun* prayers, this positive vs. negative polarity between musicians and wild men serves to mark identity: Jewish "self" is made distinct from non-Jewish "other" in a vision that emphasises the Jewish Exile, the bestial nature and behaviour of the *goyim*, and the power of the sound of supplicatory Jewish prayer directed towards God, whose "hearing" and "listening" will lead to Jewish redemption.[48]

---

tifs, Shalev-Eyni discusses the opposition between model and anti-model in the *Tripartite Mahzor*, a fourteenth-century Ashkenazic prayer book produced in the Lake Constance region of Germany. See also Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 116–117.

46 Wijsman, "Silent Sounds."

47 Suzanne Wijsman, "Material Object and Immaterial Imagination: Expressions of 'Self' and 'Other' in a Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Illuminated Prayer Book," in *The Challenge of the Object / Die Herausforderung des Objekts*, eds. G. Ulrich Großmann and Petra Krutisch, Congress of the International Committee on the History of Art 2012 Proceedings (Nuremberg: Germanische Nationalmuseum, 2013), 3:182–184.

48 The connection between the musical iconography in the Oppenheimer Siddur and experience of prayer is discussed in greater detail in Wijsman, "Silent Sounds."

Even though the second image of wild men on fol. 54v contains no images of musicians, the repetition of this motif recalls the earlier occurrence on fol. 24v, where musicians oppose the wild men and where the wild man's prior identification as "anti-model" *other* has already been established. Here, however, the wild men are positioned supporting a banner that contains the initial word for the text that follows, a formal aspect of the composition that recalls similar, emblematic representations of wild men supporting heraldic motifs in Christian art, as discussed above. Yet, unlike those images, where only one or two wild men normally support a central object or symbol, here three wild men are seen holding a linenfold banner containing the initial word of the text that follows, marking the beginning of Chapter 3 of the *Sayings of the Fathers* (*Pirkei Avot*) and reference to Rabbi Akavya **(**עֲקַבְיָא**)**:

> R. Akabya ben Mahalalel said: reflect upon three things, and you will not come within the power of sin: know from where you came, where you are going and before whom you will in future have to give an account and reckoning. From where you came: from a putrefying drop, where you are going: to a place of dust, worms and maggots; and before whom you will in future have to give account and reckoning: before the Supreme King of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.[49] (*Sayings of the Fathers*, 3:1)

The wild men serve here initially as a mnemonic for the number three, reminding the reader that the third chapter of this work begins here as well as the beginning of this text that mentions "three things." Yet, there are also other, meaningful allusions to the number three in the texts that follow:

> R. Simeon said: if three have eaten at a table and have spoken there no words of Torah, it is as if they had eaten of sacrifices of the dead, of whom it is said, "For all their tables are full of filthy vomit without God."[50] But if three have eaten at a table and have spoken there words of Torah, it is as if they had eaten at the table of God, as it is said: "And he said unto me, this is the table that is before the Lord."[51] (*Sayings of the Fathers*, 3:4).[52]

---

49 Hebrew:
עֲקַבְיָא בֶן מַהֲלַלְאֵל אוֹמֵר: הִסְתַּכֵּל בִּשְׁלֹשָׁה דְּבָרִים, וְאֵין אַתָּה בָא לִידֵי עֲבֵרָה: דַּע מֵאַיִן בָּאתָ, וּלְאָן אַתָּה הוֹלֵךְ, וְלִפְנֵי מִי אַתָּה עָתִיד לִתֵּן דִּין וְחֶשְׁבּוֹן: מֵאַיִן בָּאתָ: מִטִּפָּה סְרוּחָה. וּלְאָן אַתָּה הוֹלֵךְ: לִמְקוֹם עָפָר רִמָּה וְתוֹלַעָה: וְלִפְנֵי מִי אַתָּה עָתִיד לִתֵּן דִּין וְחֶשְׁבּוֹן: לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ הוּא:

50 Isaiah 28:8.

51 Hebrew:
רַבִּי שִׁמְעוֹן אוֹמֵר: שְׁלֹשָׁה שֶׁאָכְלוּ עַל שֻׁלְחָן אֶחָד, וְלֹא אָמְרוּ עָלָיו דִּבְרֵי תוֹרָה, כְּאִלּוּ אָכְלוּ מִזִּבְחֵי מֵתִים, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: כִּי כָּל שֻׁלְחָנוֹת מָלְאוּ קִיא צוֹאָה בְּלִי מָקוֹם: אֲבָל שְׁלשָׁה שֶׁאָכְלוּ עַל שֻׁלְחָן אֶחָד וְאָמְרוּ עָלָיו דִּבְרֵי תוֹרָה, כְּאִלּוּ אָכְלוּ מִשֻּׁלְחָנוֹ שֶׁל מָקוֹם, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: וַיְדַבֵּר אֵלַי, זֶה הַשֻּׁלְחָן אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵי יְיָ:

52 Author's own translations based on *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, transl. R. S. Singer, revised by Rabbi J.H. Hertz (London, 1935), 191–92, and *Pirke Aboth-The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers*, ed. and transl. R. Travers Herford (New York, 1962), 63–67.

The reader in this text is thus offered two contrasting visions: the unclean and unobservant, with references to "putrefying drop," "place of dust, worms and maggots," and "tables full of vomit and filthiness," and the clean and observant, with the "table of the All-present" and "the table that is before the Lord." The second, graphic passage says that those who "speak no words of Torah" have "eaten dead sacrifices," (כְּאִלּוּ אָכְלוּ מִזִּבְחֵי מֵתִים)and that "all tables are full of filthy vomit, when God is not present" (כִּי כָּל שֻׁלְחָנוֹת מָלְאוּ קִיא צוֹאָה בְּלִי מָקוֹם) (Is. 28:8).

In their original context, these passages in the *Sayings of the Fathers* were directed within the Jewish community rather than without, and they represent moral teachings from rabbis dating back to Greco-Roman times.[53] The reference to "dead sacrifices" here (v. 3:4) is not part of the original biblical verse, and is attributed to Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai, who lived among the Romans in the second century and whose hostility towards them and gentiles in general is well known.[54] It is considered a reference to the abhorrent and unclean practices of gentile populations among whom he lived. The way the three wild men on fol. 54v have been portrayed in association with these texts, read in conjunction with the earlier depiction of wild men on fol. 24v, strongly suggests an implied association between their bestiality, what the wild man is eating and references to such practices. This image graphically depicts the place where "God is not present," the "anti-model," reinforcing the sense of identification of the wild men with *goyim*, or non-Jews, in the Oppenheimer Siddur.

David Shyovitz's study of medieval Ashkenazic conceptions and perceptions of natural and supernatural phenomena provides evidence that suggests that the opposition between wild men and humans portrayed in the Oppenheimer Siddur may have its roots in the writings of the earlier twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ashkenazic Pietists (*Ḥasidei Ashkenaz*).[55] As argued by Shyovitz, the bodily metamorphosis of hybrids, demons, and other monstrous beings was a focus of interest for the Pietists, contrasted by their aspiration for cleanliness and stability in the human body, considered a sign of spiritual purity.[56]

Although wild men are not mentioned specifically by the Pietists, the werewolf – another hairy and half-human, half-animal creature – is featured in their writings. For example, Eleazar of Worms (c. 1176–1238), writes that, unlike humans, werewolves are among the beings whose "bodies were not created" by God, and they are "men who turn into wolves, and eat people."[57] I have discussed elsewhere other details in the iconography and texts of the Oppenheimer Siddur that suggest

53 *Pirke Aboth*, ed. and transl. Travers Herford, 67.

54 Kaufmann Kohler and M. Seligsohn, "Simeon bar Yoḥai," *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1906), accessed February 8, 2021, https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13723-simeon-ben-yohai#anchor6.

55 David Shyovitz, *A Remembrance of His Wonders: Nature and the Supernatural in Medieval Ashkenaz* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 131–157.

56 Ibid., 114–130.

57 As quoted by Shyovitz: *A Remembrance of His Wonders*, 154–155.

it has links with the Pietists.[58] It may be no coincidence, then, that we see faint red lines on the ridged object held by wild man on the right fol. 54v, suggesting traces of blood and that the object has just been bitten by the wild man. Read in tandem with the text from the *Sayings of the Fathers* Ch. 3, this image may portray an act that would have been particularly repulsive to its readers, especially considering prohibition of the consumption of blood in Jewish law.[59] The reader's attention is drawn to this detail of the object by the wild man's downwards gaze. In contrast, the gaze of musicians appearing in the Oppenheimer Siddur is often directed upwards or outwards, another feature highlighting the opposition between the figures in this composition.[60]

The image on fol. 54v thus serves not only as a reading device marking the opening of this chapter, but also as a vivid, visual commentary on the text. The image of three wild men here, therefore, does not merely represent references to the number "three" in the texts that follow, but it also reflects their content: the "three who have eaten at a table and have spoken there no words of Torah" and their abhorrent meal habits. Here, then, like the recapitulation of musical performers throughout the manuscript, we see reiteration of the metaphorical portrait of the *other*: the wild men seen first on fol. 24v appear once again on fol. 54v, reinforcing their image for the reader as anti-social, bestial "anti-model."

All of this reinforces the impression that, by referring to this *topos* and its attendant connotations in German Christian art, Asher ben Yitzḥaq uses the opposing images of wild men and musicians to create an ironic and polemical characterisation. It brings into focus a striking visual opposition: Jewish "model" (symbolised by the beautiful and colourful musicians) versus non-Jewish "anti-model" *other* (the grey, ugly, violent, and debased wild men). This sets apart the wild men from the musicians and other figures with human features, and calls the reader's attention to their anti-social behaviour.

We know for whom the manuscript's artist-scribe copied and illustrated the text: the colophon of the manuscript tells us that it was intended to be used by Asher ben Yitzḥaq's sons and their sons in prayer. Jewish daily prayers are recited three times a day and showing the structure and content of daily prayer is the *raison-d'être* of illuminations in a *siddur*. Frequent, daily re-reading would result in repeated seeing of these two motifs in context, resulting in reflexive visual play between them that would remind the reader of their meanings. Thus, there can be little doubt that this graphic opposition of musicians and wild men was a deliberate

58 Wijsman, "Silent Sounds," 325–328.

59 Consumption of human blood is strictly prohibited under Jewish law and the laws of *kashrut* govern how an animal may be slaughtered, including the draining of its blood prior to meat being prepared to be eaten.

60 As discussed in Wijsman, "Silent Sounds," 326. This feature may be related to a medieval Ashkenazic custom of praying with the eyes looking up, as discussed by Ivan G. Marcus, "Prayer Gestures in German Hasidism," in *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism,* eds. Karl Erich Grötzinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 44–59.

decision in the iconographic programming and choice of motifs, with their symbolism, on the part of Asher ben Yitzḥaq for his manuscript, and that they were intended to visualise Jewish "self" and non-Jewish "other".

Conclusion

Ivan Marcus makes a compelling argument for a process of acculturation and internalisation of "genres, motifs, terms, institutions, or rituals of the majority Christian culture in a polemical, parodic, or neutralized manner" by medieval Ashkenazi Jews.[61] The idea that artwork in medieval Jewish books bears witness to this process of acculturation, and the reinterpretation of meanings of such Christian motifs in medieval Hebrew illuminated manuscripts – including those used for the purpose of polemical expression – is not new. There are numerous examples discussed in the literature, particularly, but not exclusively, those found in Ashkenazic manuscripts made in Germany, as discussed by Evelyn Cohen, Sarit Shalev-Eyni, Marc Epstein, Katrin Kogman-Appel, Sarah Offenberg and others.[62]

What is striking about the Oppenheimer Siddur and its visual programming is the strong identification of Jewishness with performing musicians. Instrumental performance was banned in the synagogue as a sign of mourning following the destruction of the Second Temple, and its use in secular Jewish society was carefully regulated in medieval Jewish life.[63] Thus, given the liturgical context in which they appear, at first glance the many performing musicians in the artwork of the Oppenheimer Siddur might seem to be a paradox. Yet, as I have argued elsewhere, they serve as a visual metaphor rather than illustrating actual musi-

61 Ivan Marcus, "Jews and Christians Imagining the Other in Medieval Europe," *Prooftexts* 15 (1995): 210.

62 For additional discussion of motifs from Christian sources appearing in Ashkenazic Hebrew manuscript illuminations, see Evelyn M. Cohen, "The Teacher, the Father, and the Virgin Mary in the Leipzig Maḥzor," in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division D, *Art, Folklore and Music* (Jerusalem, 1990), 2:71–76; Marc M. Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997) and *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative, and Religious Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Coping with Christian Pictorial Sources: What Did Jewish Miniaturists Not Paint?," *Speculum* 75, no. 4 (2000): 816–858, "Jewish Art and Cultural Exchange: Theoretical Perspectives," Medieval Encounters 17 (2011): 1–26 and *A Mahzor from Worms: Art and Religion in a Medieval Jewish Community* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Obvious and Ambiguous in Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from France and Germany," *Materia giudaica* VII (2002): 249–71 and *Jews Among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Sara Offenberg, "Staging the Blindfold Bride: Between Medieval Drama and Piyyut Illumination in the Levy Mahzor," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music and Sound*, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 281–294.

63 Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 9, 96–97 and 206, 456. See also Albert Wolf, "Fahrende Leute bei den Juden," *Mitteilungenzur jüdischen Volkskunde* 27 (1908): 3:89–90.

cal practice.[64] The appearance of the performing musical figures in the margins on fol. 24v interacts with, and reflects on, the meanings implied in the image and actions of the fighting wild men in the central panel illumination. This forms an intriguing, enigmatic opposition – a visual dialogue that separates these two motifs: conceptually, chromatically and spatially. This opposition is then recalled and further extended in the portrait of wild men on fol. 54v, where, despite the absence of musicians, the interplay of image and text reinforces the identity of the wild man as "anti-model" *other*, contrasting this figure of the wild man with the many musicians populating this manuscript's illuminated pages.

Because of the duality of his nature, in every case where the wild man appears – whether in this Hebrew manuscript or in artworks of medieval Christian cultures – the connotations of his image are subject to contextual interpretation. This figure is well-known in Christian art and literature but rarely seen in Jewish visual art of the period, and in no other Jewish source known to this author is he portrayed in such a negative light.[65] As discussed above, this portrayal of the wild man incorporates both the form and ideation of the wild man as "anti-model" *other* found in medieval Christian visual cultures. Asher ben Yitzḥaq, it seems, sought to blend the many faces of the wild man in his portrayal of a character whose specific connotations would be understood by the family readers of his prayer book. It may be no coincidence that this manuscript was made in an era of persecution directed towards Jewish communities in Germany. That oppression ultimately resulted in the decline of Germany's urban Jewish populations in the early sixteenth century and the migration of many Ashkenazi Jews to other regions.[66] This scribe-artist used models and motifs that were in wide circulation in both Jewish and Christian art at the time. Clearly, he knew well their multivalent meanings in the artworks of his time. Asher ben Yitzhaq's understanding and vision of *self* and *other* is therefore reflected in these images of musicians and wild men, a vision that was intended to communicate specific, personal, and, perhaps, polemical meanings about identity to his private, family audience.

64 Wijsman, "Silent Sounds," 318.

65 Other examples where the wild man appears in Hebrew manuscript art include: London, British Library MS Add. 14761, fol. 49v; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Library, MS 8972, fol. 58v and MS 8892, fols. 2v and 4r; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ms. or. fol. 14, fols. 5b, 22a and 32a; and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 3, fol. 49v.

66 On the history of the decline of Jewish communities in Germany during the Middle Ages and diaspora, see Michael Toch, "The Formation of a Diaspora: the Settlement of Jews in the Medieval German *Reich*," *Aschkenas* 7 (1997), 1:55–78 and *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter von der Nordsee bis zu den Südalpen*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Hanover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 2002).

"MAD TOM O' BEDLAM AND THE MEDIEVAL WILD MAN"

Joseph Nelson

The second volume of the *Grandes chronique de France* (late fifteenth century) includes a description by Sir Jean Froissart of a dance performed after a dinner celebrating Charles VI on January 28, 1392.[1] The account describes a "great supper" that included an entertainment of dancers wearing six coats "made of linen clothe, covered with pitch, and thereon flax like hair."[2] A vivid image accompanying the account shows these costumed dancers, portraying "wild wodewoses, full of hair from the top of their head to the soles of the foot," along with their spectating audience and a small group of musicians playing shawms on a balcony to one side. Froissart describes how the costumes entranced the audience and, when curious onlookers came close to inspect them, their torches set the costumes ablaze and killed the dancers. The animalistic description of the costumes and the dance movements evokes other wild and disorderly dance and music-making, such as the jig and the Morris dance.

Such displays of bodily disorder appeared in different media during the Renaissance and Early Modern periods, occurring throughout Europe for courtly audiences and at rural festivals. Froissart's account specifically cites the woodwose, or wild man, a folkloric figure whose origins stretched back to ancient times and manifested in texts and images well into the seventeenth century. As Timothy Husband demonstrates, the ubiquitous figure of the wild man appears across various sites and in different forms of media, such that aristocrats, urban artisans, and rural peasants all had familiarity with some form of his legend.[3] One of the unifying characteristics of this crypto-zoological man was his personification of wild nature and its dangers. Hayden White describes this figure as follows:

> The myth of the Wild Man served a twofold function in the late Middle Ages. As Bernheimer has shown, in the Middle Ages the notion of wildness is consistently projected in images of desire released from the trammels of all convention and at the same time images of the punishment which submission to desire brings down upon us. The Wild Man myth is what the medieval imagination conceives life

1 Sir Jean Froissart, recounting performance of a *ludus* for Charles VI, January 28, 1392, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and Portugal…*, trans. John Bourchier (London, 1523), II., 589 f.

2 Ibid.

3 Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980).

> would be like *if* men gave direct expression to libidinal impulses, both in terms of their pleasures that such a liberation might afford and in terms of the pain that might result from it.[4]

The wild man's origins in Classical myth and the Middle Ages links him to such phenomena as the cult of Orcus and Maia, ogres, and bugbears in fairytales. This fusion of sex, nature, and death, and the annihilation of the rational mind and breakdown of civil society, as represented by the wild man, made him emblematic of an early modern taste for discovery and a cautionary tale of the dangers of the passions. His appearance in art, music, and literature provides a wide field of interpretation that touches on aesthetics, scientific philosophies, and political theory. He serves as a rich site for investigating the interrelationship between art and politics and early modern political and social commentaries.

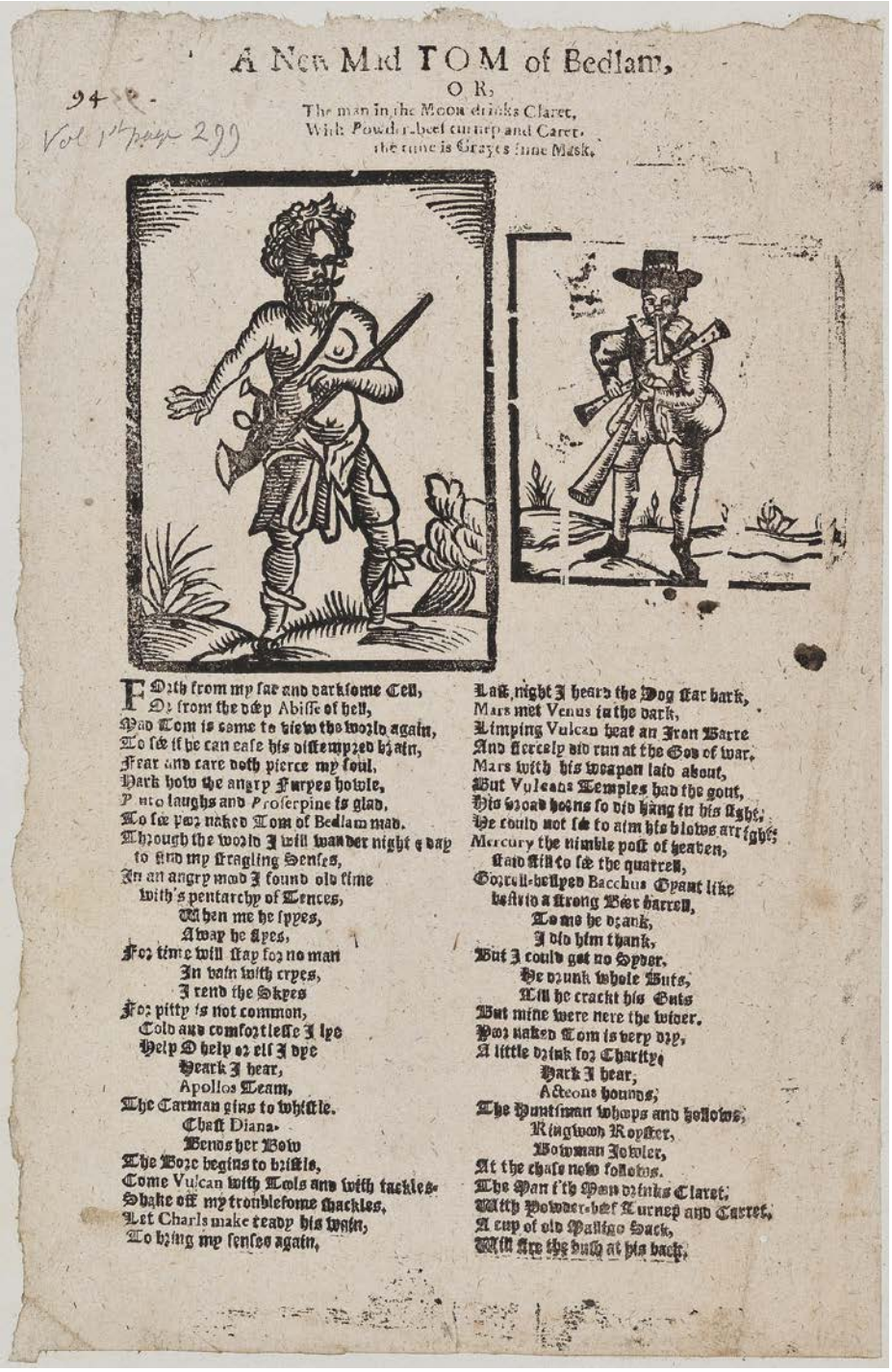
The medieval wild man's brutal, animalistic nature ran parallel to another network of discourses around madness, disease, and poverty. No figure of the seventeenth century represented these things as much as Poor Tom o' Bedlam, or Mad Tom. That quixotic figure stood as the archetype of male madness in England, appearing in sixteenth-century travel literature by John Awdeley and Thomas Harman, and evolving into a comical and disorderly figure by the late seventeenth century.[5] He appeared most famously in William Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606), though his most ubiquitous appearances came in the form of broadside ballads such as "A New Mad Tom; Or, The Man in the Moon Drinks Claret" (c. 1658–1664) (fig. 1). Much like the medieval wild man, Mad Tom served as a cautionary tale, an object of pity, and a comical fool. He was emblematic of bedlamite beggars – residents of Bethlem Hospital released during the day to beg for alms – and he came to represent most vagabonds and beggars. While his sixteenth-century descriptions stress his suspicious nature, Tom's appearance in *King Lear* gave him a pathos and decrepitude epitomised by his famous aside, "Poor Tom's a-cold."[6]

Mad Tom o' Bedlam and the wild man share much in the way of physical and sonic characteristics. Perhaps the most striking link between these two figures is the woodcut image that appeared on multiple prints of the broadside ballad "A New Mad Tom" and the Hans Holbein print *The Wild Man* (c. 1528) (fig. 2). While Tom's appearance follows the descriptions provided by Awdeley, Harman, Dekker, and Shakespeare, the resemblance to the wild man directly connects Tom's dishevelment to nature and wildness. That dishevelment thus links the seemingly distinct concepts of bodily disorder and disease on the one hand and the untamed power and

4 Hayden White, "The Forms of Wildness: Archeology of an Idea," in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 30–31.

5 See both the Awdeley and Harman in *Awdeley's Fraterintie of Vacabondes, Harman's Caveat, Haben's Sermon, &c.* (London: Early English Text Society, 1869); Thomas Dekker, *The Guls Hornbook and the Belman of London,* The Temple Classics (1st pub. 1608; London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1936).

6 Act 3, Scene 4, Line 55 in William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear,* The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. Jay L. Halio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005), 186.



A New Mad TOM of Bedlam,

OR,

The man in the Moon drinks Claret,
With Powder-beef turnep and Caret.
the tune is Grayes inne Mask.

94 [illegible]
Vol 1st page 299

FOrth from my sad and darksome Cell,
Or from the deep Abisse of hell,
Mad Tom is come to view the world again,
To see if he can ease his distempred brain,
Fear and care doth pierce my soul,
Hark how the angry Furyes howle,
Pluto laughs and Proserpine is glad,
To see poor naked Tom of Bedlam mad.
Through the world I will wander night & day
to find my straggling Senses,
In an angry mood I found old time
with's pentarchy of Tences,
When me he spyes,
Away he flyes,
For time will stay for no man
In vain with cryes,
I rend the Skyes
For pitty is not common,
Cold and comfortless I lye
Help O help or else I dye
Heark I hear,
Apollos Team,
The Carman gins to whistle.
Chast Diana
Bends her Bow
The Boar begins to bristle,
Come Vulcan with Coals and with tackles
Shake off my troublesome shackles,
Let Charls make ready his wain,
To bring my senses again,
Last night I heard the Dog star bark,
Mars met Venus in the dark,
Limping Vulcan beat an Iron Barre
And fiercely did run at the God of war,
Mars with his weapon laid about,
But Vulcans Temples had the gout,
His broad horns so did hang in his light,
He could not see to aim his blows aright
Mercury the nimble post of heaven,
Had fill to see the quarrell,
Goggle-bullyed Bacchus Gyant like
bestrid a strong Beer barrell,
To me he drank,
I did him thank,
But I could get no Syder.
He drunk whole Buts,
Till he crackt his Guts
But mine were nere the wiser.
Poor naked Tom is very dry,
A little drink for Charity,
Hark I hear,
Acteons hounds,
The Huntsman whoops and hollows,
Ringwood Royster,
Bowman Jowler,
At the chase now follows.
The Man i'th Moon drinks Claret,
With Powder-beef Turnep and Carret,
A cup of old Malligo Sack,
Will fire the bush at his back.

Fig. 1: *A New Mad Tom of Bedlam*, University of Glasgow Library Euing Ballads 248 (c. 1658–1664). By permission of the University of Glasgow Library, Archives & Special Collections.



Fig. 2: Hans Holbein the Younger, *A Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk*, c. 1528. By permission of the British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

danger of the wilderness on the other. However, both evoke a fear of the unknown and unknowable that lay beyond the reasoned mind. In an age of Restoration and Augustan sensibilities, situated in both the daily experience of human frailty and civil unrest and the prevalent hunger for scientific treatises and encyclopaedias of the natural world, such an unreasoned mind and irrationality seemed anathema. It symbolised the abyss of annihilation through human and moral frailty, just as it represented the dissolution of the bonds of social and communal life.

The musical elements of these two prints appear in the horn worn by Mad Tom and the proscenium-like framing of Holbein's wild man. The horn in the broadside woodcut connects Tom to traditions of "rough music" (discussed below) that evoke the pastoral, natural, and uncivilised. The framing of the wild man, specifically with the stage-like pedestal or ledge on which he stands, ties him to theatrical performances such as masques and, later, opera, as well as frontispieces for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical scores and albums. The tension between his wildness and dishevelled body along with the orderly Classical arch and frame place him on display in a controlled environment foregrounded from the natural landscape behind him. The broken and uprooted tree, for instance, is placed in front of one edge of the framing proscenium, and he appears to cast a shadow onto the image of nature behind him. That landscape looks flat and resembles a painted theatrical backdrop rather than three-dimensional backgrounded scenery. Mad Tom also stands within a frame, though surrounded by a far more sparse landscape.

The following essay examines the visual, musical, and political dimensions in the relationship between Mad Tom and the medieval wild man. Part of that connection lies in the sonic elements of those two central prints, the Hans Holbein and the broadside ballad "A New Mad Tom." In this context, the term "sonic" applies to both literal and metaphoric elements. It refers to sonic information such as the presence of the hunting horn Tom carries on his belt, the pastoral sonic environment around the figure in the image, the visual "noise" of crowding flora, and roughness in the lines of Tom's body as markers of a hypertextual relationship to or metadiscourse on disorderly sound. This essay will include some discussion of musical madness and conventions for representing madness in music and speech, and an exploration of successors to Mad Tom's wildness in the eighteenth-century prints that also demonstrate this fusion of sonic disorder and wildness, such as the series *A Rake's Progress* (1735) by William Hogarth. The conclusion will include some thoughts on the repercussions of this metadiscourse on sonic disorder.

On Wildness and the Body

Wildness and madness share similar characteristics of physical dishevelment and disorderly bodies and behaviour. These elements appear in depictions of disorderly characters in music, literature, and visual art. The significance of such characters emerges most readily in the histories of dance. Günter Berhaus, in his study of

influential Renaissance dance manuals, wrote that European courtly dance traditions saw such movement as a physical embodiment of the principles of harmony (from the Classical concept of *harmonia*), the ordering of the world that emerged from Antiquity as a dominant paradigm in Renaissance politics and aesthetics.[7] The centrality of harmony in dance manuals stressed the concordance between mind and body in which physical movement paralleled musical order and embodied such principles as virtue and goodness through controlled body positions and elegant gestures. Such erudite forms of dance contrasted with the "irrational, ugly and obscene dances of uneducated country folk."[8] Françoise Syson Carter argues that the Classical sources on dance overlapped with Christian doctrines of celestial harmony and order. This amalgamation created a relationship between physical and spiritual perfection that also pervaded dance discourses in Renaissance England. Carter cited a passage from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) in which the dancing Graces "embody in dance the unending process by which divine gifts are freely circulated: the giving, receiving and returning with love, grace and joy, the unifying force that binds men together in harmony."[9]

Skiles Howard similarly discussed the importance of celestial harmony on dance in Renaissance England, writing that, "In an era of rapid change, courtly dancing served to naturalize and stabilize the hierarchical social structure."[10] He discusses the connection between dance and power, with dance forming a part of a young gentleman's education and playing a pivotal role in formal court events. Howard cites Elyot Thomas, writing in 1531, that dance was an essential form of "self-mastery that rendered [it] an indispensable element of courtly self-fashioning."[11] Such courtly dance stressed bodily control and the mastery of self that imitated "the perfect order of the cosmos."[12] Douglas Lanier went further, stressing the erotic implication of dance in the courtly revels of Stuart England. Dance played such a role in Stuart court masques, which made it central to expressions of royal power. As a royal voyeur, King James participated in such events as a spectator, enjoying both the re-enactment of his role as an absolute sovereign while enjoying the sight of his young male favourites performing feats of physical prowess.[13]

---

7 Günter Berghaus, "Neoplatonic and Pythagorean Notions of World Harmony and Unity and their Influence on Renaissance Dance Theory," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 10, no. 2 (Autumn, 1992): 59.

8 Here, Berghaus is quoting from a dance manual by Guglielmo Ebreo, or Giovanni Ambrosio, from the late fifteenth century; Ibid.

9 Françoise Syson Carter, "Celestial Dance: A Search for Perfection," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 5, no. 2 (Autumn, 1987): 13.

10 Skiles Howard, "Hands, Feet, and Bottoms: Decentering the Cosmic Dance in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (Autumn, 1993): 329.

11 Howard, "Rival Discourses of Dancing in Early Modern England," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 36, no. 1, The English Renaissance (Winter, 1996): 31.

12 Howard, "Rival Discourses of Dancing in Early Modern England," 32.

13 Douglas Lanier, "Fertile Visions: Jacobean Revels and the Erotics of Occasion," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 39, no. 2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring, 1999): 329.

Lanier writes that Elizabethans and Jacobeans seemed aware of the potential of masques in "prompting sodomitical desires."[14] Thus, the court masque employed dance both to enact and enforce on participants and audience members the cosmic, social, and political order through bodily movement and character hierarchies in the drama, while retaining the dangerous erotic potential of dance that enlivened the passions, especially in a court known for its debauched revels.

The Stuart court masque bears particular relevance here as a historical midpoint between the Holbein print and the mid seventeenth-century broadside ballad "A New Mad Tom." The masque involved two contrasting styles of bodily vocabulary. First, professional dancers in the antimasque proceeding the masque proper performed disharmony, often as witches and rustics whose movements symbolised the wildness of the uncivilised world such as manic gesticulation and jagged body positions, especially with bending at the waist and lifted knees. Afterward, in the masque proper, came courtly dancing that involved those principles of order and mastery of movement, including upright torsos and straightened legs. Such antimasque performances drew heavily on the traditions of court fools, misrule, and embodied what Thomas Hobbes described as a "state of nature."[15] That state comprised a "war of all against all," in which people lived "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" lives. According to Hobbes:

> In such a condition, there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and consequently, no culture of the earth, no navigation, nor building, no instruments of moving and removing such things as required much force, no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, and no society, and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death.[16]

Richard Ashcraft ties Hobbes directly to the wild man and highlights the danger posed by such figures. He writes that "In effect, through Hobbes, the Wild Man and the anarchist became synonymous labels to be applied to any enemy of the order and 'civilization' of English society."[17] This configuration of wild man and anarchist tied political dissidence to evil in sermons by religious writers and doubtlessly resonated with seventeenth-century English people who experienced cycles of civil strife. It also held racial implications as the rhetoric of wildness and naturalness drew from accounts of native people in the Americas.[18] That same concept of wildness applied to other marginalised people – including the Irish,

14 Lanier, 332–333.

15 See Edwin Curley, "Introduction," in Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathaan*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Co., 1994), xxi.

16 Hobbes, "Chapter XIII: Of the Natural Condition of Mankind, as Concerning Their Felicity, and Misery," in *Leviathan*, 76.

17 Richard Ashcroft, "Leviathan Triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Wild Men," in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 142.

18 Ibid., 147.

Welsh, and Scottish peoples – and those "others" outside Europe, particularly in Africa and West Asia.

The confluence of wildness and madness similarly has a history in European art and literature. Jane Kromm writes on the evolving depictions of different forms of madness. She describes a shift occurring in the early modern period in which fury or rage, once associated with heroic characters such as Achilles and Hercules, came to define dangerous and disordered behaviours.[19] She describes fury or frenzy as related to, but often distinct from, other forms of madness such as melancholia, religious furore, and love-melancholy. While such states of mental health still had associations with demonic possessions, especially in devout faith communities, the popularity and circulation of medical literature increasingly made mania and other forms of madness the property of science. Kromm writes that artists used frenzy and mania to describe various characters that included out of work "ex-soldiers, vagrants and masterless men, Toms of Bedlams, assertive patrician women, witches, scolds, and the possessed."[20] Their mania "continued to be regarded as a protean problem whose various forms were unified in the way they posed a threat to public order and social decorum."[21]

In the context of this essay, the term "wildness" incorporates more than just frenzy. Instead, this study proceeds on the idea that madness related to a broader sense of wildness and takes the form of an assemblage, which Drew Daniels describes as "a site of theoretical crosstalk in which two signals modulate each other."[22] Daniels's concept of assemblage provides an intellectual space appropriate for the varied and shifting definitions of the different forms of madness, most of which had distinct associations with class, gender, and race. Such a construction of wildness and madness as a conceptual network or assemblage also accounts for the varied representations and uses of wild men and madmen in music, literature, and art. Madness came to represent a broad range of traits and ideas, from subversive folk heroes to pathetic fools. Madmen were thus emblems of convenience useful in communicating political messages and critiquing popular culture.

Music, Wildness, and Mad Songs

Just as wildness lurked in the shadows of discourses on courtly dance and lingered in seventeenth-century popular song, its most prominent musical depiction came in the form of mad scenes in Italian opera. Ellen Rosand's article on the lament aria, precursor to the mad scene, theorised that composers used the descending tet-

19 Jane Kromm, *The Art of Frenzy: Public Madness in the Visual Culture of Europe, 1500–1850* (London and New York: Continuum. 2002), 39.

20 Ibid., 91.

21 Ibid., 90.

22 Drew Daniels, *The Melancholy Assemblage*: *Affect and Epistemology in the English Renaissance* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 12.

rachord and its accompanying chromatic and dissonant potential to symbolise irrationality and madness.[23] The multi-sectional structure of lament arias juxtaposed contrasting emotional states and musical elements, often rapid cycling through five or more sections.[24] Such *lamenti* served as vehicles for singing-actresses to display both vocal and acting virtuosity.[25] However, other musical practices demonstrated wildness, particularly those collectively grouped as "rough music," a term heavily associated with wind and percussion instruments and the noise of public celebrations such as skimmingtons and *charivari*.[26] While lament arias came from Italian opera and, thus, aristocratic and bourgeois musical culture, rough music was rooted in rural and lower-class entertainments. Yet, these forms of musical wildness seem consistent with other depictions of wildness in their breakdown of behavioural norms and social hierarchies, such as bawdy women and lovelorn men upturning gender expectations.

E. P. Thompson wrote that "rough music" served multiple purposes in early modern England, including community celebration and ritual shaming. He described it as "raucous, ear-shattering noise, unpitying laughter, and the mimicking of obscenities."[27] According to Thomas Hardy's 1884 description of such community rituals, they included "the din of cleavers, tongs, tambourines, kits, crouds, humstrums, serpents, ram's horns, and other historical kinds of music."[28] Many of those rituals categorised as rough music used grotesquery in displays of Bakhtinian *carnivalesque* and satire. By doing so, skimmingtons and other types of rough music acted as forms of popular justice, much like street literature, broadside ballads, and street sermons.[29] Such kinds of public noisemaking, much like Richard Leppert has theorised, "[demarcated] sound as one means by which society constructs itself."[30]

The music of madmen and madwomen became a staple of seventeenth-century operatic and theatrical stages. Conventions for such disorderly and wild behaviour developed early in the seventeenth century. Ophelia from *Hamlet* (1609) and the Jailor's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1614), for example, depicted women's

23 Ellen Rosand, "The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament," *The Musical Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (July 1979): 346–359.

24 Rosand, "*Il lament*: The Fusion of Music and Drama," in *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 361–386.

25 Diana Solomon, "From Infamy to Intimacy: Anne Bracegirdle's Mad Songs," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 35, no. 1 (Spring, 2011): 1–20.

26 Norman Stanfield, "Rough Music, Rough Dance, Rough play: Misrule and Morris Dance" (PhD diss.; The University of British Columbia, 2008).

27 E. P. Thompson, "Rough Music Reconsidered," *Folklore* 103, no. 1 (1992), 3.

28 Ibid. The phrase "historical kinds of music" seems refer to notions of primitive music and performance traditions labeled primitive or ancient such as traditional or folk musics.

29 Adam Fox, "Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England," *Past & Present* 145 (1994): 47–83; Andrew McRae, "The Literary Culture of Early Stuart Libeling," *Modern Philology* 97, no. 3 (2000): 364–392.

30 Richard Leppert, "Music, Representation, and Social Order in Early-Modern Europe," *Cultural Critique* 12 (1989): 27.

madness through dishevelled appearances and broken speech.[31] By Cavalli's time, Italian operas contained multiple lament arias, including for male characters. Later in the seventeenth century, composers such as Henry Purcell wrote mad songs that bridged the gap between popular theatre and the Italian opera tradition.[32] His song "From Silent Shades and Elysian Groves (Bess of Bedlam)" (1683) possesses the multi-sectional lament aria form, while his "I'll Sail Upon the Dog-Star," written for Thomas d'Urfey's comedy *A Fool's Preferrment* (1688), used the simpler structure of many popular ballads. This second song included the wild exaggeration that came to emulate lines from the ballad "A New Mad Tom." Purcell's songs demonstrate a common difference between songs for madmen and madwomen. Women's madness often had different consequences than men's, with women's mad songs frequently portraying them living in confinement and meant to evoke pathos.[33] However, "I'll Sail Upon the Dog-Star" follows the archetype of Mad Tom, portraying a young man fantasising on similar themes to the wandering vagabond and bedlamite beggar enacting his madness in public.

Mad Tom and Tom Rakewell

Prints of "A New Mad Tom" included other woodcuts, some with musical content such as the piper included in the Euing print displayed above, others including drinking and smoking. A clear inheritor of Mad Tom's reputation as a vagabond appears in William Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* (1732–34 [paintings], and 1735 [engravings]). That series, one of several by Hogarth on "modern moral subjects,"[34] depicts the satirical plot of a young Oxford-educated man who squanders several fortunes and ends up in Bedlam. Hogarth painted the original images at a time

31 See Carolyn Bialo, "Popular Performance, the Broadside Ballad, and Ophelia's Madness," *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 53, no. 2 (Spring, 2013): 293–309; Caroll Camden, "On Ophelia's Madness," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (Spring, 1964): 247–255; Carol Thomas Neely, "'Documents in Madness': Reading Madness and Gender in Shakespeare's Tragedies and Early Modern Culture," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (Autumn, 1991): 315–338.

32 See Amanda Eubanks Winkler, "Society and Disorder," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. Rebecca Herissone (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 269–302. See also, Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *Oh Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006).

33 See Dolly MacKinnon, "'Poor Senseless Bess, Clothed in her Rags and Folly': Early Modern Women, Madness, and Song in Seventeenth-Century England," *Parergon* 18, no. 3 (2001): 119–151; Joy Wiltenburg, "Madness and Society in the Street Ballads of Early Modern England," *Journal of Popular Culture* 21, no. 4 (1988): 101–127; Craig Timberlake, "Practica Musicae: Mad Songs and Englishmen," *Journal of Singing – The Official Journal of the National Association of Teachers of Singing* 52, no. 3 (January-February, 1996): 53–58; Diana Solomon, "From Infamy to Intimacy: Anne Bracegirdle's Mad Songs," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 35, no. 1 (Spring, 2011): 1–20.

34 "William Hogarth: A Rake's Progress (plate 1) 1735," *Tate*, The Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery, accessed August 15, 2020, https://rb.gy/x2at2h.

when rakes were a popular subject. He completed the work and published the engraved images not long after *The Rake Reform'd* (1717), *The Rake's Progress, or Templar's Exit* (1732), and an English edition of Moliere's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1732).[35]

Hogarth produced *A Rake's Progress* after *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), with *Rake's* paintings printed between 1732 and 1734 and the prints derived from the paintings published in 1735.[36] While *Harlot* depicts a young country woman coming to London for work, getting pulled into a life of sex work, and eventually dying of disease, *Rake* shows a young country gentleman whose sexual appetites and libertinism leads him to Fleet Prison for debtors and, finally, Bedlam. Some scholars have explored the gender dynamic between these works, yet Mark Hallett provides some important context for Hogarth's *Rake*. He writes that:

> Contemporary texts on the rake could also define him as a kind of urban antihero, the object of grudging admiration for his voracious sexual appetite, his extravagant gregariousness, his daring at the gambling table, his gargantuan drinking habits, and his utter disregard for accepted forms of civil, political, and religious authority.[37]

He goes on to say that the rake became "dramatized as the last surviving representative of an older, aristocratic libertinism, someone who colourfully resisted and criticized the social conventions of moral codes of an increasingly polite and commercial society."[38]

Hogarth's Tom Rakewell satirised the libertine lifestyle of an emergent bourgeois class seeking to buy gentility.[39] This appropriation of class status included adopting the trappings of aristocratic life, such as fencing and dancing lessons, and the false veneer of civility in such circuits of manly sociability. The Rose Tavern as the setting for the third plate in the series,[40] for example, contrasts sharply with the more polite depiction of a rake in Peter Angellis's *Conversation Piece* (c. 1720).[41] After leaving Oxford and his father's death, Hogarth's Tom uses his inheritance allowed him to indulge in London's pleasures without restraint. Thus, he falls into the trap of overindulgence and the spiralling consequences of removing the strictures of polite sociability, thus giving in to the libidinal impulses of Hayden White's description of the wild man.

---

35 Mark Hallet, *Hogarth* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 2000), 114–117.

36 Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 3rd edition (London: The Print Room, 1989), 132–139.

37 Hallett, "Manly Satire in *A Rake's Progress*," in *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*, ed. Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 145.

38 Ibid.

39 Hallett, *Hogarth*, 116.

40 The Rose Tavern appears in the engraved words on the large platter held by a servant, see Sean Shesgreen, ed., *Engravings by Hogarth* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973), image 30.

41 Hallet, *The Other Hogarth*, 149–153.



Fig. 3: Hogarth, William, *A Rake's Progress*, Plate II, 1735. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Creative Commons License, www.metmuseum.org.

Music and sound appear in several prints in *A Rake's Progress*. The second print (fig. 3) shows Tom Rakewell surrounded by tradespeople offering their services, including a fencing master, a dancing master holding a violin, and a harpsichordist or music master, possibly George Frideric Handel.[42] The title page of the musical score on the harpsichord reads "The Rape of the Sabines. A New Opera," while the long list of cast and characters draped over the back of the player's chair includes Farinelli and Senesino. The discrepancy between the clothes and comportment of the dancing master and keyboard player and that of the hunting master blowing a horn seems indicative of the long-used trope of stringed instruments as mechanisms of harmony and order while horns evoked the pastoral, wildness, and noise or rough music. The chaotic atmosphere, one representing prosperity in the series' plot, evokes a sense of bustling industry and the noise of the crowded interior

42 Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, image 29.



Fig. 4: Hogarth, William, *A Rake's Progress*, Plate III, 1735. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Creative Commons License, www.metmuseum.org.

space. The characters' social hierarchy appears in the prominent placement of the dancing master, whose foreign Frenchness and his extended, ballet-like foot position contrast with the rougher appearance of the men standing just behind him. The Handelian keyboard player occupies a place of liminality, yet dominates the image given the amount of space he occupies with his instrument and the noise his playing would contribute to the room's sonic environment.

The third print, set at the brothel and restaurant called the Rose Tavern,[43] depicts Tom with his jacket undone and a woman with her hand inside his shirt (fig. 4). In the background, a harpist and a trumpeter play in a shadowed corner partially blocked from view by the open door. The odd pairing of instruments in the Rose Tavern seems to mirror that of the harpsichord and violin with the hunting horn

43 "Hogarth: Hogarth's Modern Moral Series. The Rake's Progress," *Tate*, The Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery, accessed August 15, 2020, https://rb.gy/yq4vnt.

in the second print. Here, the harp, with its implications of order and harmony, contrasts with the pastoral hunting connotation of the trumpet. The presence of the trumpet, especially one that projects straight out from the player and from the harp in an upward angle, implies male sexual power. However, the two instruments in the Rose Tavern image denote different sounds than the earlier print. Whereas the harpsichord and violin both have vibrant timbres, the dulcet harp would have difficulty balancing with or competing against a trumpet's sound. Additionally, using such a horn inside a confined space would produce an intense amount of noise without some dampening mechanism. The trumpet's impracticality in that regard supports its emblematic nature and the overall sexual theme of the scene.

The final print of the series depicts Tom in Bedlam (fig. 5). Here, Tom lies mostly naked and in a state of delusion, surrounded by male figures embodying different forms of madness that include religious zeal, manic intellectualism, and a mad violinist or fiddler. Hogarth uses similar features for Tom as the Caius Gabriel Cibber sculptures *Melancholy* and *Raving Madness* (1680) that stood over the gates into Bethlem Hospital at Moorfields. Jane Kromm writes that the Cibber statues and Tom's positions echo the tradition of depicting religious supplicants and those seeking redemption.[44] The corporeal vocabulary of Tom's body position, which in the print version includes a chain around his ankle, portrays wildness and mania in a different light than the images of frenzied warriors such as Don Quixote and Orlando. Even in depictions such as that of Merlin brought before Arthur in *l'Ystoire dur Saint Graal et dur Merlin* (early fifteenth century), he remains in an upright position, rather than Tom, who lays in repose and subordinate to a woman.[45]

The image also includes a violinist who, while playing a small role in the image's menagerie, is tied to other musicians in Hogarth's works. Hogarth distinguishes different classes of musicians, particularly string players.[46] Among his most well-known works, *The Enraged Musician* (1741) puts the professional violinist in conflict with players on the street below him using wind and percussion instruments. The professional violinist is attired in a frock coat and wig and exhibiting a disciplined musical practice as he rehearses with music on a stand. In contrasts, a decrepit street fiddler lingers at the margin of the scene in the print "Chairing the Member" from the series *The Humours of an Election* (1755).[47] The Bedlam violinist's image shows some of the trappings of Hogarth's professional musician, except that his bushy wig has none of the orderly coif of the other. Music lies open on the Bedlam violinist's head, as he plays with the bow's arc. He also wears a pained grin similar to that of the street fiddler in "Charing the Member" and Cibber's *Raving Madness*.

The Bedlam violinist also presents a mental and sonic disorder that echoes other descriptions of street fiddlers. Emily Cockayne writes that "common fiddlers were

44 Kromm, *The Art of Frenzy*, 90.

45 Husband, *The Wild Man*, 59–61.

46 See Jeremy Barlow, *The Enraged Musician: Hogarth's Musical Imagery* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2005).

47 For a side-by-side comparison of these figures, see Barlow, *The Enraged* Musician, 112–113.



Fig. 5: Hogarth, William, *A Rake's Progress*, Plate VIII, 1735. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Creative Commons License, www.metmuseum.org.

plentiful in town," their "cacophony" derived in part from damaged, ill-tuned, or homemade instruments.[48] Other accounts of the time described such street music as "scratching," "scraping," "grating," and "twanging."[49] John Wood, writing in 1749, recalled that the fiddlers in Bath made noise on "squeaking catguts" that sounded "worse than the gout."[50] Music cannot be separated from the other sounds in that din of the Bedlam print's soundscape, a print that Allan Ingram describes as appearing surprisingly accurate to the asylum's reality.[51] The sonic environment represented

48 Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise & Stench in England, 1600–1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 122.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., 124.

51 Allan Ingram, "'The Image of Our Mind': Seeing and Being Seen," in *Cultural Constructions of Madness in Eighteenth-Century Writing: Representing the Insane,* by Allan Ingram with Michelle Faubert, 170–201 (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 177.

in the print also resembles Ned Ward's description from *The London Spy* (c. 1700) that included rattling chains and howling residents who created a cacophony that reminded him of the vision of hell by Spanish Renaissance poet Don Quevedo.[52] Eliza Haywood, in a fictional novella of 1726, described the soundscape inside a fictional madhouse as:

> The rattling of chains, the Shrieks of those severely treated by their barbarous keepers, mingled with Curses, Oaths, and the most blasphemous Imprecations, did from one quarter of the House shock her tormented ears; while from another, Howlings like that of Dogs, Shoutings, Roarings, Prayers, Preaching, Curses, Singing, Crying, promiscuously join'd to make a Chaos of the most horrible Confusion …[53]

Haywood likely borrowed parts of her description from Ward. However, singing and musical activity appeared in Thomas Harman's pamphlet *A Caveat or Warning for Common Cursitors, Vulgarly Called Vagabonds* (1567). He described wandering, disorderly madmen who would dance and sing and present a "fierce countenance" to scare maidens into giving them money or food.[54] Thus, such bedlamites as Tom Rakewell, the mad violinist, and Mad Tom embodied physical disorder while also performing sonic disorder through musical grotesquery.

Conclusions

The Hogarth prints sit within a broader discourse on madness and politics that mirror those of earlier broadside ballads about Mad Tom and the use of wild men and wildness as a metaphor for personal and social devolution. As Jane Kromm writes, in Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*, the artist "aligned the now familiar notion of Bethlem as the country's mirror image with the condemnation of selfish, passion-driven pursuits that, in England, were associated with the behavior of rakes."[55] Those masterless men – ex-soldiers without employment or unemployed youths not in apprenticeships – and bourgeois libertines shared the reputation for lives not directed toward socially acceptable or productive behaviours and, thus, exhibiting wildness. For the emerging eighteenth-century bourgeois and aristocratic classes who balanced consumption and accumulation of the trappings of higher-class status with the vital importance of routines of health and industry, such wildness did not reside in an abstract space. Disciplining the mind and body meant productivity, social standing, and long-term survival.[56]

52 Ned Ward, *The London Spy Compleat, in Eighteen Parts*, (1st pub. in London, 1699; London: The Casanova Society, 1924), 63.

53 Eliza Haywood, *The Distress'd Orphan, or Love in a Mad-House*, Third Edition (London, 1726), 41–43.

54 Thomas Harman, "A Abraham Man," in *A Caveat Or Warening, for Common Cursetors Vulgarely Called Vagabones* (London, 1567; Ann Arbor: Text Creation Partnership, 2011), Cap. 9, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A02657.0001.001

55 Kromm, *The Art of Frenzy*, 112.

56 Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason*, (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 2003), 232.

That fetish for control and discipline, as components of social order translated into musical life, manifest in both musical aesthetics and domestic music-making. Much as the body was an object of suspicion, a site of conflict, it also acted as a sonic object. Bodies, whether wild and disorderly or highly ordered and domesticated, are noisy. They make music. They aurally receive music and experience pleasure. Bodies act as mechanisms that make music through other objects, instrumentalising limbs and fingers that might also participate in grotesque displays of dance or sexuality to make sound from the otherwise inert forms of violins, keyboards, and harps. The controlled nature of the stringed and plucked instruments as part of domestic music-making gave them respectability and made them metaphors of orderly bodies and minds. The rough music that evoked the pastoral, the calls of animals, or the display of grotesque body functions such as blowing air through puffed-up cheeks and lungs, could only have limited socially acceptable use. The horn calls in processional fanfares, for example, acted as displays of clarion power, lending a martial aura to otherwise gilded affairs and imposing the presence of a sovereign over the vast sonic horizon. It also implied a martial discipline over instrumentalised sounds, music utilised to exercise political power.

Mad Tom and the wild man stalk at the limits of social order and demonstrate the libidinal and "passion-driven" mentality of urban classes revelling in new-found wealth and prestige. They stand in contrast to portraits of domestic music-making constitutive of the intimate and protected heart of a family's social life.[57] Such prints as the Mad Tom broadside ballads and the metanarrative of disorderly behaviour leading to social breakdown demonstrate Roy Porter's statement, "We don't think our thoughts, they think us; we are but the bearers of discourses, our selves are discursive constructs."[58] The heuristic images of libidinal and wild men, however much they embodied strength and power, was rejected in favour of polite civility and controlled citizens.

57 See Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 4. See also the excurses on silence as musical in Richard Leppert, "Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music (The Politics of Sound in the Policing of Gender Construction)," in *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 64–77.

58 Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason*, 15.

FROM COTTON FIELD TO CONCERT STAGE: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF LATE-NINETEENTH- AND EARLY-TWENTIETH-CENTURY AFRICAN AMERICAN CONCERT ARTISTS' JOURNEY TOWARD PARITY

Maurice B. Wheeler

When soprano Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield, a freed slave, made her New York performance debut in 1853 (fig. 1), she could not have imagined the significance of that appearance on African American musical artists' struggle to wrestle their identity and representation from the clutches of white supremacy. Having made her official debut as a concert singer only two years earlier in Buffalo, New York, her performance before an all-white audience at the Metropolitan Hall, one of New York City's premier performance venues,[1] would be a bellwether for changes to come regarding identity, representation and reception of African American performers of European art music (commonly referred to as classical music). Frequently compared to the world-famous Swedish soprano, Jenny Lind, Greenfield was celebrated as the "Black Swan," a soubriquet affixed by a newspaperman early in her career. Her early appeal to audiences was a complicated mix of part acknowledgment of incredible talent and part spectacle curiosity.[2] She performed on tours through Canada and the northern part of the United States, eventually traveling to England, and in 1854, singing a command performance for Queen Victoria. Greenfield and her performances embodied the contradictions of African Americans' efforts to assimilate into mainstream society against the backdrop of slavery and its racial stereotypes, perceptions, and limitations. Although not perceived with such meaning at the time, her persona stood center stage at the Metropolitan Hall as a challenge to the status quo and a symbol of African Americans' shifting identities and expanding boundaries of class, culture, and self-determination.

As a result of the tremendous efforts of libraries, archives, and museums to digitise collections during the past 25–30 years, a trove of digital images is now accessible online, enabling increased research possibilities. These online digital treasures make possible the exploration of interplay between images and represen-

1 Thomas Allston Brown, *A History of the New York Stage From the First Performance in 1732 to 1901,* vol. 1 (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1902), 424.

2 Julia J. Chybowski, "Becoming the 'Black Swan' in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America: Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield's Early Life and Debut Concert Tour," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no. 1. (Spring 2014): 125–165.

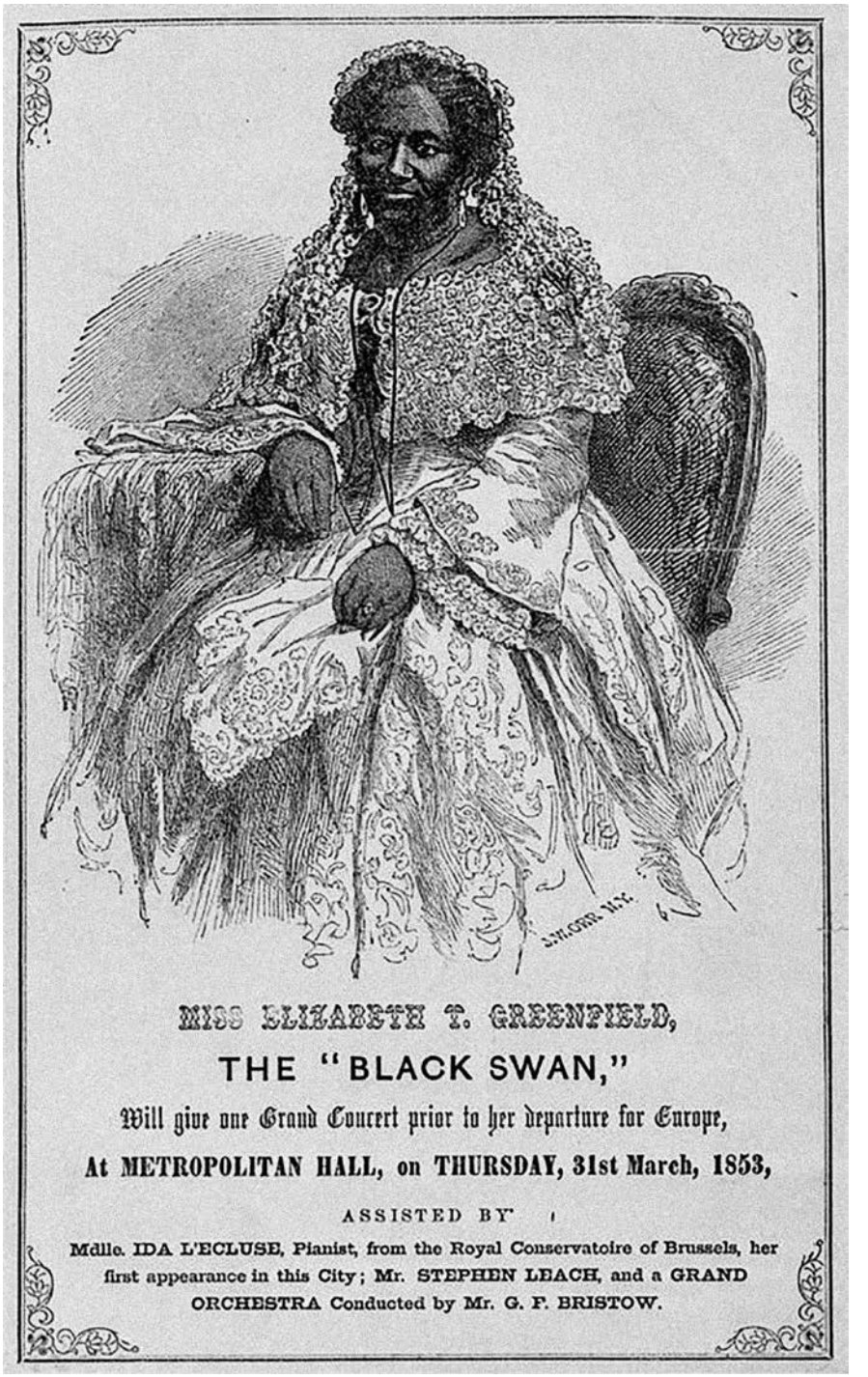


Fig. 1: Playbill for Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield's concert at Metropolitan Hall, New York City, March 31, 1853. Courtesy of the Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

tation in cultural and identity formation that would not have been possible earlier.[3] This essay will explore the formation and development of racial identities and the significance of iconographical shifts representing social status, identity and culture of African Americans from the mid 1800s through the turn of the 20th century, highlighting the lives and careers of several prominent classical musicians.

Iconology has been described as "the description, classification, or analysis of meaning or symbolism in the visual arts that takes into account the tradition of pictorial motifs and their historical, cultural, and social meaning."[4] The most significant influence on the contemporary study of cultural iconography is the work of Charles Sanders Peirce, in what he labeled as semiotics.[5] Semiotics, the study of signs, seeks to convey meaning and intent through a system of communicative conventions and cultural codes, such as images, gestures, attire, and words.

In this context semiotics reveals the meaning through codes and conventions conveyed by the images associated with African Americans who were shackled by the stereotypical representation of African Americans, regardless of their status as slaves, former slaves, or free. The pioneering work of Alan Trachtenberg in "reading" photographs[6] inspired continued examination of how African American musicians used image and presentation in attempts to transcend the constraints of race. Highlighting the significance of context, this review explores how and why the images were created and circulated, and what cultural meanings are evident.

Freed, Free, and Negro

Although the presence of free blacks in the pre-Civil War South is a historical fact, there is limited collective knowledge or discussion about their lives and culture, particularly the ways in which it differed from the lives of free blacks in non-slave holding states. Regardless of legal status, it seems uniformly acknowledged that white southerners could not and would not accept the existence of a society in which blacks lived as equals. A challenge to white racial ideals by free blacks was unacceptable in the South[7] and, as the passage of time would prove, in the North as well. Whites in the South despised and feared free blacks no less than they did slaves, perhaps more. There was constant revision of laws and regulations

3 Larry J. Reynolds, "Introduction: American Cultural Iconography," in *National Imaginaries, American Identities: The Cultural Work of American Iconography*, ed. Larry J. Reynolds and Gordon Hutner (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 4.

4 Murtha Baca, *An Introduction to Art Image Access: Issues, Tools, Standards, Strategies* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002), 89.

5 James Jakob Liszka, *A General Introduction to the Semeiotic of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

6 Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989).

7 Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: The New Press, 2007), 182.

to guarantee that free blacks remained unsure of the permanency of their status, and thus reluctant to allow themselves to expect or even dream of an existence that resembled true freedom. The belief that all blacks were inferior was uniformly unquestioned, even up to the highest elected officials of the nation. Thus, the opinion of most any black person, whether born free or manumitted, was that "neither freedom nor good work could force whites to recognize him as an equal."[8]

Occasionally, views differed in the upper Southern states where some whites viewed freed blacks, and free mulattoes in particular, as "industrious, sober, hard-working mechanics, who have large families and considerable property."[9] Other distinctions were made between blacks born free, manumitted, or otherwise. Whites sometimes also made the distinction by referring to a free mulatto as a Negro, as opposed to any other pejorative. Making such distinctions solidified the system already established in slavery where house servants, especially mulattoes, were treated better and provided with more opportunities than the darker-skinned field workers. Although still a system of oppression, it motivated blacks to maintain such divisions in freedom in order to appreciate the benefits of class distinctions. Likewise, in the North, free blacks recognised that social standing was dependent upon the degree to which one was separated from the experience of slavery. The white ideal was perceived as refined, sophisticated, genteel, educated, and professionally accomplished. As blacks sought social mobility, these were the attributes to which they aspired and the expectation was that possession of such qualities brought with it acceptance and equal treatment from whites.

Because of exposure to outward displays of wealth through generations of servitude, free and freed blacks idealised the lives of economically secure white Americans. Therefore, when African Americans' economic standings were improved, they relished in exhibiting the outer demonstrations of success. They dressed impeccably, lived in fine houses in nice neighbourhoods, provided their children with the best education (including private tutors and music lessons) and the best opportunities for advancement. They also attended churches with predominantly white congregations or black churches commensurate with their social status (usually, Presbyterian, Episcopal, or Congregational). Often the churches they attended had sedate services in contrast to those of the African Baptist and Methodist churches[10] and employed classically trained musicians to lead the music. Despite having created a system of tremendous complexity to ensure exclusivity, the possession of "light skin remained the most common prerequisite for membership in the upper crust of Negro society."[11] Equal to the white society from which it was modelled, the caste system in black society also privileged one group over another based on colour.

8 Ibid., 187.

9 Edwin C Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies Circulated Against the Southern and Western States, Respecting the Institution of Slavery Among Them* (Charleston, SC: A. A. Miller, 1822), 83–85.

10 L. P. Jackson, "Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia from 1760–1860," *Journal of Negro History* 16, no. 2 (April 1931): 192.

11 Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 279.

An expectation that imitation would provide entry into white society was short-lived and elite blacks retreated into their own separate communities, replete with all the trappings observed in mainstream society. For example, elaborate parties and exclusive balls resplendent with beautifully attired guests were commonplace for whites, yet the same activities in upper-class black societies were mocked and ridiculed as absurd by white observers. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was an established and gradually expanding black aristocracy, often referred to as the "black 400" or "upper tens" (a term also used at the time by whites to identify the top echelon of their society),[12] which prized cultural and artistic advancement for themselves, leading to access and opportunities in the arts which were largely inaccessible to the common African Americans. This group "viewed themselves as the products of a process of natural selection and superior to other blacks in culture, sophistication, and achievement."[13] The black aristocrats seemed to thrive in a unique place between the white and black worlds. "These aristocrats laid claim to an elite status within a subgroup, black Americans, by defining themselves in terms of prestige, tradition, culture, and other considerations reflective of values drawn from the white majority of American society."[14]

Although the black elites considered themselves as such, they were not generally accepted by the white majority as being of any higher class than other lower-class blacks. The idea of a black aristocracy, or a black "old upper class," was so alien to most whites that it regularly encountered ridicule and scorn. Since most whites in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries viewed blacks as a homogeneous mass of degraded people, they were rarely inclined to think in terms of a stratified black society. Rather, the tendency was to classify blacks as "good Negroes" and "bad Negroes" or to designate, for one reason or another, certain black individuals and families as exceptional.[15]

However, it is clear that this select group lived a lifestyle quite similar to financially comfortable whites. Close analysis of this group has indeed revealed, "…the existence of a black elite, small in number and light in complexion, whose culture and style of living more closely resembled that of the "better class of whites" than that of the masses of their darker brethren."[16]

12 Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990).

13 Ibid., 3.

14 Ibid., 4.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

Separated and Equal

Historically, many African Americans, particularly those residing in non-slaveholding states, were exposed to and engaged with classical music on a large scale long before the abolition of U.S. slavery in the late nineteenth century. Large communities of well-trained and skillful black musicians were active throughout New England and the Midwest.

Their existence and the significance of their musical activities and accomplishments were overshadowed by the national media's predilection to indiscriminately group all African Americans together as one monolithic group. That early representation was characterised musically by abilities as skilled banjo players and minstrel performers.[17] By the end of the Civil War a combination of whites' fear and indignation amplified the imagery of savage-like, poor, ignorant, obedient servants or foolish, absurd imitators of white society. That imagery, distorted as it may have been, was far more palatable to a national audience of white citizens concerned about the future of a nation inhabited by millions of recently freed black people eager to claim their rightful place as citizens.

The scholarly interest and research in the generation of African American musicians who paved the way for the success of early twenty-first century musicians has been reinvigorated by the availability of digital and online resources. The challenges that early generations of musicians overcame, including the pitfalls of navigating two very different social, economic, artistic, and racialised worlds, is remarkable. The existence and representation of a separate middle class or affluent black society, from which many classically trained musicians came, was met with either ridicule and disdain or simple disbelief. Early African American elites expected that creating respectable, accomplished lives would negate the effects and causes of pre- and post-Civil War dehumanising stereotypes.[18] Thus, engagement and skill development in classical music was considered "important because it facilitated "uplift" and was linked to moral improvement."[19]

> Cultivation of European classical music had proved to be an ideal vehicle for practicing genteel behaviors: at once, it marked out the practitioner, whether performer or listener, as a member of an elite group.[20]

17 Melissa M. Zapata-Rodriguez, "Minstrelsy: Iconography of Resistance During the American Civil War," *Music in Art* 41, no. 1–2 (2016): 120.

18 Jonathan Daigle, "Paul Laurence Dunbar and the Marshall Circle: Racial Representation from Blackface to Black Naturalism," *African American Review* 43, no. 4 (Winter 2009): 634.

19 Lawrence Schenbeck, "Music, Gender, and Uplift in the Chicago Defender, 1927–1937," *The Musical Quarterly* 81, no. 3 (Fall 1997): 350.

20 Ibid.



Fig. 2: Samuel Coleridge-Taylor choral society founded by black singers in Washington D.C. (1906). Copyright © Royal College of Music, London.

By the mid 1800s there was already a flourishing African American culture of educated and skilled performers of classical music. The pioneering research and landmark publications of two early scholars capture the extent and high level of achievement within that culture. Early music historian James Trotter's 1878 exposition, *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (fig. 3), is an early example of efforts to document the social, artistic, and educational accomplishments of African American musicians. During a period when uplifting the black race had become a mantra of sorts, the publication's goal was to affirm the extraordinary accomplishments of blacks and to also educate whites about a community that was beyond their view. There is little indication, however, that there was widespread recognition of the research beyond the black readership.[21] Trotter's work has been criticised for not going far enough to challenge the prevailing notion at the time of some early black musicians being "untrained" and drawing only on resources of "natural" talent, rather than a combination of education, skill, and talent. [22] Although he covered several different genres of music, Trotter's work was ultimately a reflection of the time and of his social class. Like many of his fellow black

21 Lawrence Schenbeck, *Racial Uplift and American Music, 1878–1943* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 51.

22 Ibid., 55–58.

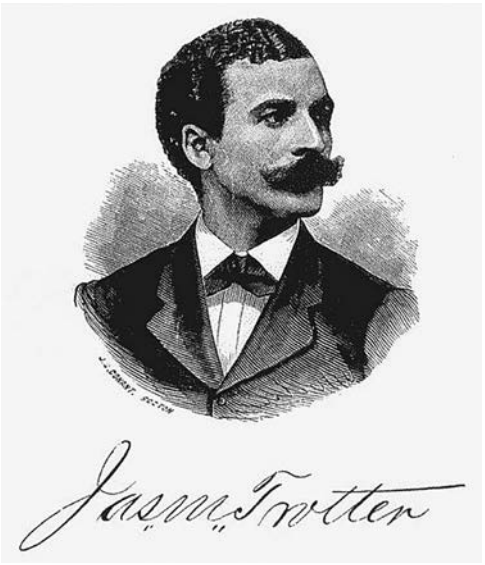


Fig. 3: Engraving of author, James Monroe Trotter, from title page of the book, *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (1878). Engraver: J. S. Conant, Boston.



Fig. 4: Photograph of Author and Musicologist, Maude Cuney-Hare, 1913. The Henry Gilbert Papers, Yale Library.

elites, he positioned the appreciation of and engagement with classical music as a distinction that was not only an example of racial uplift,[23] but also an indication of class and social status. His goal seems to have been to make a social rather than political statement. Nearly 60 years later, pioneering ethnomusicologist Maude Cuney-Hare's 1936 treatise, *Negro Musicians and Their Music*, was published and validated and expanded upon Trotter's early work (fig. 4).

23 Burton W. Peretti, *Lift Every Voice: The History of African American Music* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008).

Black Images for White Consumption

Statesman and orator Frederick Douglass had a great appreciation for art and, even early in his career, he deeply understood the power of image. Having been photographed more than any other American of his time,[24] Douglass expertly grasped the role that images played in shaping the perceptions of the newly freed blacks to white America, and to themselves. His knowledge of the art form was substantial and with great aplomb he crafted the results of his photo sessions. In *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American*, the authors write, "For Douglass, photography was the lifeblood of being able to be seen and not caricatured, to be represented and not grotesque, to be seen as fully human and not as an object or chattel to be bought and sold."[25]

As was the case with the artists and illustrators of minstrel sheet music and serial publications who were proficient in creating negative depictions of blacks, Douglass was profoundly aware that images have the ability to inform, educate, and persuade, as well as touch the heart. They can be theatre and illusion, or reality. For Douglass, they were a contradiction. His photographs were a contradiction of the stereotypical beliefs, notions, cultural attitudes, and untruths about blacks that white America had convinced itself of for the previous 200 years. He wanted to create a new aesthetic for a new Negro. It would be an aesthetic that resisted and denied the stereotypes and allowed African Americans to present their true identity. Douglass was aware that the Civil War and its aftermath had upset the social order and balance of power, and that imagery had always been linked to maintaining that social order. Douglass was a skilled manipulator of the aesthetic, and African Americans with the means to emulate him did so with their own photographic undertakings.

Peddling One's Wares on The World Stage

The popularity of world fairs dominated international press in the mid-1850s. It began with the success of the 1851 London Great Exhibition, better known as the Crystal Palace Exhibition. That event launched the world fair movement that, by the turn of the century, seemed to connect with countries from all parts of the world.[26] America was keen to enhance its prestige on the international stage, and black Americans whose success mirrored the accomplishments and respectability of many whites perceived that their story merited recognition and inclusion.

24 Abigail Cain, "Visual Culture: How Frederick Douglass Harnessed the Power of Portraiture to Reframe Blackness in America," *Artsy* (February 2, 2017), https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-frederick-douglass-photographed-american-19th-century.

25 Celeste-Marie Bernier et al., *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015).

26 Robert W. A. Rydell, "World Fairs and Museums," in *Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), 134.

Fully aware of the proliferation of insulting and psychically injurious representation of African Americans, efforts were quietly underway to create and present culturally authentic images of successful and accomplished African Americans. Establishing a new visual aesthetic that challenged the notion of inherent racial deficiency was a strategically sound counter to the widespread systemic denigration visible throughout the national media and entertainment sector.

The high artistic and technical quality of classically trained black musicians, and the status of their professional activities, represented an especially unique challenge to the status quo and to the rhetoric of inferiority espoused and propagated by media. The level of acculturation by black musicians and their acceptance by some prominent whites also made it more difficult for the broader music community not to acknowledge their existence and their talent. The engagement and representation of blacks, including black concert artists, at two world fairs is illustrative of the challenges faced by African Americans who dared to take control of their portrayals and their destinies.

The 1893 World Columbian Exposition held in Chicago was the first major national event after the Civil War. Despite having the goal of showcasing national progress thirty years after the end of slavery, none of the exposition's 65,000 exhibits highlighted the accomplishments and progress of African Americans.[27] The exposition's organising committees refused all proposals submitted by African Americans[28] and President Benjamin Harrison did not appoint African Americans to the commission. New York was the only state to appoint a black representative, but eventually a black alternate was appointed for the state of Missouri.[29] Frederick Douglass was the most prominent African American involved with the exposition, but his participation was as Full Commissioner for the Republic of Haiti.[30] Americans seemed especially sensitive to the attitudes of superiority and prejudices of many Europeans[31] and they used this perception, and their own racism, to exclude black Americans. Regardless of how they believed the world saw America, African American's exclusion was the result of how America viewed its own identity. For example, the goal of the fair's Musical Congress was to showcase Americans' achievements in composition and performance. Black performers and music composed by black musicians were excluded from the Musical Congress based on the belief that, "the recent history of American race relations was simply

27 World's Columbian Exposition: 1893. "Black Americans in the White City: African Americans at the World's Columbian Exposition," March 12, 2015. http://chicago1893.blogspot.com/2015/03/blacks-in-white-city-african-americans.html.

28 David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2018), 727.

29 Daniel Hautzinger, "Frederick Douglass's Defiant Stand at Chicago's," *Window to the World Communications, Inc. (WTTW)*, February 14, 2018, https://interactive.wttw.com/playlist/2018/02/14/frederick-douglass-chicago-worlds-fair.

30 Blight, *Frederick Douglass*, 725.

31 Merle Curti, "America at the World Fairs, 1851–1893," *The American Historical Review* 55, no. 4 (1950): 833.



Fig. 5: Photograph (1895) of Sissieretta Jones, the "Black Patti", wearing medals awarded to her on West Indies, Central America and South America tours. Photographer: Napolean Sarony. Columbia University, Brander Matthews Dramatic Museum Portrait Collection Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

too unsavory to permit the incorporation of African American music into truly American art music."[32] A rare exception to this exclusion was the performance of an African American quartet as part of the Folk-Lore Congress singing, not a part of the Musical Congress.[33]

There was considerable objection and protest to the ban of black involvement in the exposition. In response, the arrangers scheduled a separate "Colored American Day" (fig. 6). Black observers found the limited official presence of blacks at the exposition to be overwhelmingly offensive and insulting. The most notable opposition being aimed at a Dahomean village with African "savagery" on display, and a booth with former slave Nancy Green making pancakes as "Aunt Jemima."[34] Many of the black intelligentsia and social elite boycotted, including noted abolitionist and journalist Ida B. Wells and world famous soprano Matilda Sissieretta Joyner Jones, known as the "Black Patti" (fig. 5). Jones's name and image were included in the program announcement for the "Colored Day" events, but whether

32 Kiri Miller, "Americanism Musically: Nation, Evolution, and Public Education at the Columbian Exposition, 1893," *19th-Century Music* 27, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 138.

33 Ibid., 152.

34 Blight, *Frederick Douglass*, 735.

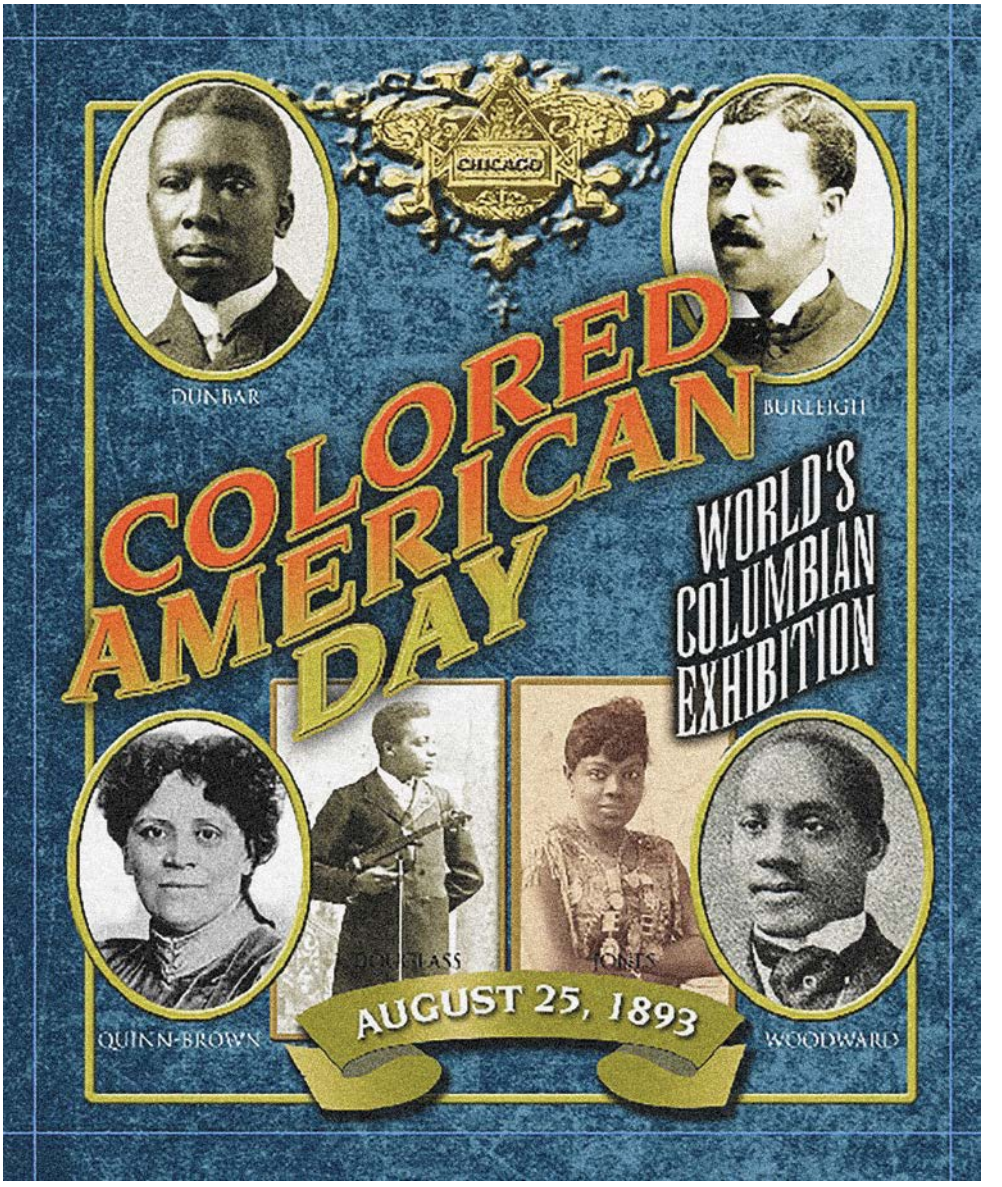


Fig. 6: Reproduction of publicity poster. Colored American Day at the 1893 Columbian Exposition. Credits unknown.

for contractual reasons or to support the boycott, she did not appear.[35] Recognised as the "Queen of Song," Jones's long and internationally-acclaimed career made her the most financially successful of all black singers at the time.[36] Jones provided multiple performances at the White House during her career,[37] beginning with Benjamin Harrison in 1892.[38]

Wells perceived the concession of having a separate day of events, including musical performances and speeches, as a "humiliation to the race" and declared her disgust with the entire celebration.[39] She co-authored, along with Douglass and others, a protest brochure entitled, *Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition: The Afro-American's Contribution to Columbian Literature,* for distribution to exposition visitors. However, Wells later regretted her inflexible position and apologised to Douglass.[40]

Douglass arranged for violin virtuoso/composer Will Marion Cook, former student of Antonin Dvořák, to meet with President Harrison and Cook was given support to arrange the programming for the day's events.[41] Several thousand blacks visited the exposition for the special day and approximately 2.500 listened to Douglass' speech.[42]

The day's music was of the highest calibre and in many ways reflected the kind of music that would be heard in the elite black Episcopal or Presbyterian churches in the city. The musical fare planned included Protestant hymns, choral arrangements of Spirituals to be performed by the world-renowned Fisk Jubilee Singers from Fisk University (fig. 8), and operatic and classical instrumental music.[43] Solo performers were baritone Harry T. Burleigh, violinist Joseph Douglass (Frederick Douglass' grandson) (fig. 7), and tenor Sidney Woodward. Burleigh, who was at the time a composition student of Antonin Dvořák at the National Conservatory of Music.[44] They

35 Christopher Robert Reed, "The Black Presence at "White City": African and African American Participation at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, May 1, 1893 – October 31, 1893," *World's Columbian Exposition 1893*. Illinois Institute of Technology, Paul V. Galvin Library – Digital History Collection, 1999, accessed May 29, 2020, http://columbus.iit.edu/reed2.html.

36 J. Southern "Black Prima Donnas of the Nineteenth Century," *The Black Perspective in Music* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 95–106.

37 Michael Cooper, "Overlooked No More: Sissieretta Jones, a Soprano who Shattered Racial Barriers," *New York Times* (August 15, 2018), https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/15/obituaries/sissieretta-jones-overlooked.html.

38 Cooper.

39 World's Columbia Exhibition, 4.

40 Elliott M. Rudwick and August Meier, "Black Man in the "White City": Negroes and the Columbian Exposition, 1893," *Phylon* 26, no. 4 (4th Qtr., 1965): 356.

41 Marva Griffin Carter, *Swing Along: The Musical Life of Will Marion Cook* (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008), 23.

42 Christopher Robert Reed, "The Black Presence at "White City": African and African American Participation at the World's Columbian Exposition," 8.

43 Ibid., 6.

44 Samuel A. Floyd Jr., "The Invisibility and Fame of Harry T. Burleigh: Retrospect and Prospect," *Black Music Research Journal* 24, no. 2 (Autumn 2004), 182.

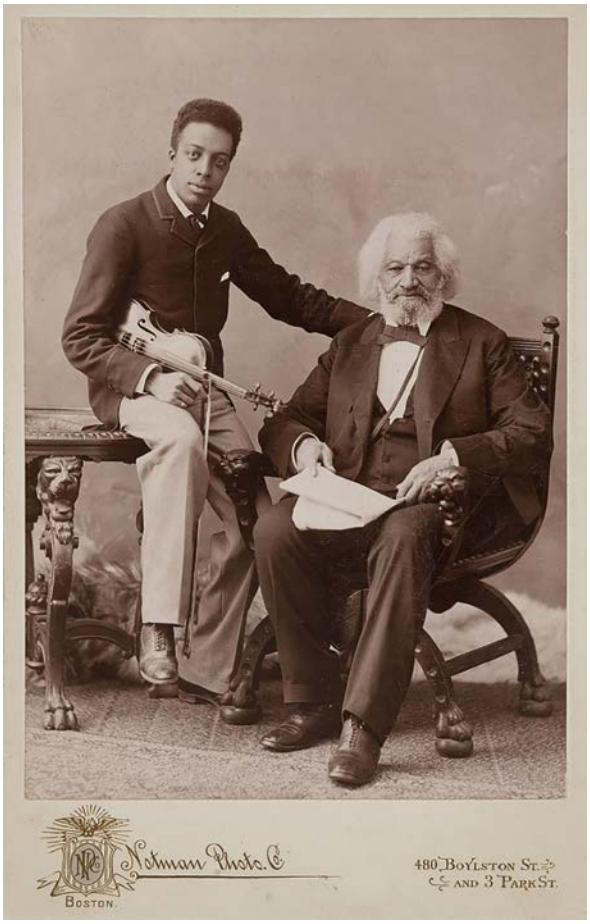


Fig. 7: Joseph Douglass with violin, and Frederick Douglass in Boston, MA, May 10, 1894. Photo by Denis Bourdon. Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of Dr. Charlene Hodges Byrd.

performed excerpts from Will Marion Cook's new opera, *Scenes from the Opera of Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[45] Joseph Douglass, who was educated at the New England Conservatory and the Boston Conservatory, was the first African American instrumentalist to embark on a world tour. In 1914 he also became the first violinist to make recordings for the Victor Talking Machine Company. The recordings were, unfortunately, never released.[46]

Wells was prophetic in her refusal to trust the intentions of the organising committees. As Douglass and others worked to plan a day filled with high quality speakers and performers, the event was further debased by an announcement from the exposition that 2,000 free watermelons would be given away on "Colored American Day."[47] It was the highest of insults for those who had worked diligently

45 Carter, *Swing Along*, 24.

46 Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1997), 283.

47 Blight, *Frederick Douglass*, 735.



Fig. 8: Portrait photograph of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, 1875. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery.

to overcome the earlier slights and insults from the exposition administration. Long after the event, print media utilised that imagery to represent the events of the day (fig. 9). The racism in imagery and media representation throughout the six months of the fair was overt and symbolic, and most of all strategic. The public was bombarded with similar types of representation of blacks at the exposition through media outlets such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Puck*.

The Paris Exposition of 1900 (Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900) offered a similar opportunity to showcase the progress and achievements of American blacks, but this time unencumbered by the biting racism in the United States. In the U.S. section of the building, African Americans were provided a space to create an exhibit that would feature the history and present conditions of blacks in America. Sociologist, educator, and early civil rights activist W.E.B. Du Bois and special agent Thomas J. Calloway planned and mounted the exhibit, which included 500 photographs of African Americans.[48]

48 Jeff Bridgers, "Du Bois's American Negro Exhibit for the 1900 Paris Exposition," Picture This: Library of Congress Prints and Photos, February 28, 2014, https://blogs.loc.gov/picture-this/2014/02/du-boiss-american-negro-exhibit-for-the-1900-paris-exposition/.



Fig. 9: Frederick Burr Opper, "Darkies Day at the World Fair," 1899, lithograph, colour. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

With the goal of challenging existing stereotypes, the exhibit offered a more authentic representation of the black community.[49] Calloway arranged in swinging panels hundreds of photos taken by African American professional photographers, including several photographs of professional musicians. Du Bois framed race and colour as the problem in the exhibit, and as such he hoped to diminish the distinctions between the races as insignificant and resulting from perception and not substance.[50] Although the exhibit received very little attention from American media, its existence alone was of great significance because more than 50 million people visited the exposition during the six-month run.[51]

The photographs were emblematic of not only the lifestyles of the subjects but also the meaning intended for the viewer. Black musicians always wore their finest clothing in public, most often formal evening wear for performances, and as indicated by the piano teacher (fig. 10) even when involved in what maybe

49 Elisabetta Bini, "Drawing a Global Color Line: "The American Negro Exhibit" at the 1900 Paris Exposition," in *Moving Bodies, Displaying Nations National Cultures, Race and Gender in World Expositions Nineteenth to Twenty-first Century,* ed. Guido Abbattista (Trieste, EUT: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2014), 52.

50 S. M. Smith, "Looking at One's Self through the Eyes of Others: W. E. B. Du Bois's Photographs for the 1900 Paris Exposition," *African American Review* 34, no. 4, (2000): 583.

51 Robert W. A. Rydell, "World Fairs and Museums," in Companion to Museum Studies, ed. Sharon Macdonald, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), 135–151.



Fig. 10: African American man giving piano lesson to young African American woman, 1899. Library of Congress, Daniel Murray Collection.

considered routine or mundane activity. The photograph (fig. 2) of the Samuel Coleridge-Taylor Choral Society, named for the English-born composer of British and West African heritage,[52] and the Fisk Jubilee Singers (fig. 8) are examples of both stylised and authentic performance representation. The Fisk Jubilee Singers were always exquisitely dressed in what might be viewed as understated elegance. Considering that seven of the original nine members were former slaves,[53] the attention to presentation and attire was no doubt a strategic measure to create a new identity, distanced from the former. The group became world famous and performed in Europe for royalty, at the White House for President Grant,[54] and raised over $150,000 for the university during their concert tours.[55]

Conclusion

The late 1800s and early 1900s were an incredibly important time of adjustment and redefinition for the nation and for the broader black community. The Civil War ended and so had the period of Reconstruction. African Americans were adjusting to gains received after the end of slavery as well as the losses and tremendous political and social backlash resulting from the end of Reconstruction. Collectively, all African Americans were faced with new lives and the need to take on new identities. Unique within that challenge were the social, cultural and economic stratifications that enabled some blacks to craft their own identities and thus, their own destinies. Chief among those were blacks who were considered socially elite, and the many individuals from that segment of society who pursued careers in classical music. For them, identity and representation were inseparable, and the use of photography to secure their identities was paramount.

Over a century later, much has changed for the better, but much remains the same. African Americans remain underrepresented, under-recognised, and undervalued in the musical genre. Yet, the pursuit of the profession is no longer dominated by class-consciousness. Still, as with the broader society, identity and representation continues to capture the attention, enthusiasm and creative energies of a new generation of African Americans. Perhaps because of the advancement of photographic technologies and the ubiquitous nature of social media and online platforms, current generations are even more engaged in taking control and shaping their public personas and the corresponding visual representations. Of that bold and unapologetic act of self-determination, perhaps Frederick Douglass would be pleased.

52 Percy M. Young, "Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, 1875–1912," *The Musical Times* 116, no. 1590 (Aug. 1975): 703.

53 C. Robert Tipton, "The Fisk Jubilee Singers," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 45.

54 Ibid., 47.

55 Ibid., 48.

"*THE TRUE, UNUTTERABLE GREAT SIN …*" HETERONORMATIVE DISCOURSE IN *THE ETUDE MUSIC MAGAZINE*

Wm. Keith Heimann

Commercial illustration has one specific goal: to sell a product. The consumer, in turn, begins to build an identity with the product. When the commercial image is placed in a conspicuous location – specifically, the cover of a magazine – the consumer assumes that the contents of the publication will match the tone of the illustration.[1]

What if a commercial image directly contradicts the very product it is intended to complement? What happens if an artist, in an act of scrappy subversion, places cryptic codes in a seemingly unobjectionable illustration?

Such contradictions are found in *The Etude Music Magazine* (1883–1957) especially during the 1920s, otherwise known as "The Jazz Age." When alluding to homosexuality, the articles and editorials in *The Etude* resorted to convoluted discourse, declaring that it was a sin so egregious that it was "unutterable."[2] Yet, in cover art, those same homophobic articles were sometimes mercilessly mocked by the inclusion of subtle gay-friendly codes embedded in the illustration. Only the cognoscente, able to recognise and translate the signifiers, were able to silently chuckle at the veiled innuendo.[3]

The Etude Music Magazine: A Brief History

The Etude Music Magazine (1883–1957) was the preeminent monthly music education journal marketed specifically to private music teachers in the United States, a profession that enjoyed accelerated growth in the early twentieth century. In both image and text, *The Etude* fostered an identity of the private music teacher as a community leader and moral compass, charged with the responsibility of defend-

1 Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements* (London: Marion Boyars Publishers Ltd, 1994).

2 Nicholas Slonimsky, "The Most Amazing Romance in Musical History," *Etude* LIII, no. 10 (October 1935): 575–77.

3 "Advertising psychology rests on sex appeal. On awakening the fetishistic desire to own or to buy whose sexual undercurrent sparks the dual meaning of "possession." And who would know better than gay men – whose struggle against society's sexual codes had taught them to read every image as a propagandaistic convention – to fan that spark, to visualize and orchestrate its flaming allure." James M. Saslow, *Pictures and Passions: A History of Homosexuality in the Visual Arts* (New York: Viking Adult, 1999), 234.

ing nineteenth-century values of Christianity, patriotism, and Victorian mores in the face of rapid upheavals in the social, cultural, and political fabric of the times.[4]

Like most magazines published at the *fin de siècle*, the earliest issues of *The Etude* had no cover art to speak of, and almost no artwork inside. That changed when the start of the Golden Age of Illustration in the early 1910s coincided with *The Etude*'s peak of circulation. The phenomenal surge in commercial illustrations in newspapers and magazines was specifically designed to promulgate a national character, establish cultural proprieties, encourage aspirations, and manipulate commerce. *The Etude* fully embraced each of these possibilities, but more often used artwork to augment editorial commentary. In keeping with its entrenched conservative editorial policies, a significant number of illustrations depicted religious, patriotic, familial, social, and cultural images. Some of the period's most prominent names in the history of American illustration contributed to *The Etude*, including William S. Nortenheim (1878 – 1930); Francis Sherman Cooke (c. 1905), the son of *The Etude*'s longest-serving editor; and the controversial and mysterious artist Zack Hogg.

With the dawning of the new century, Americans witnessed seismic changes including World War I, the 1918–1919 global flu pandemic, the Jazz Age, and the Roaring Twenties. Social changes were even more pronounced. Slavery was eradicated; immigrants flooded in through New York and California; and as women and children gained legal protections, political, social, and religious institutions were forced into foundational upheavals. Each upheaval of the status quo was presented to readers of *The Etude* as a threat to the genteel society it sought to protect. According to *The Etude*, jazz and its negative ancillaries were chief among the myriad of perceived dangers to American society. The epicenter of social destruction was the Speakeasy, the smoke-filled jazz hangouts that populated the streets of virtually every American city.[5]

The national Bacchanalia hosted by jazz had to be stopped before it led to foundational disruptions. Strident articles and editorials filled the pages of *The Etude*, warning readers that the end of refined society was imminent. Those articles were often accompanied by illustrations supporting that thesis.[6] There existed, however, a considerable number of illustrations that, upon closer examination, directly contradict the foreboding tone found in the written discourse. The visual opposition was subtle and complex, and only those well versed in highly coded iconography could decipher the dissension. The subject matter most likely to be sabotaged by cryptic signification were those pertaining to sexuality and marriage.

4 William Keith Heimann, "'Evil at a Glance': The Iconography of American Illustration As Found in The Etude Music Magazine" (MA diss., Boston University, 2019).

5 Sidney Harrison, "Jazz – The Music of Exile: An English Opinion Which Credits the Jewish Race as Well as the Negro Race with American Jazz," *Etude* LIX, no. 3 (March 1941): 150, 210; Theodore Presser, "What's the Matter With Jazz?," *Etude* XLII, no. 1 (January 1924): editorial, 7.

6 Kauh Dman, "The Jazzo-Maniac And Her Victim," *Etude* XLIV, no. 8 (August 1926); William S. Nortenheim, "The Jazz Problem," *Etude* XLII, no. 8 (August 1924): front cover.

"The Jazz Age" and Traditional Marriage

Heteronormative subject matter, including the idealised image of traditional marriage, family, and children, dominated the vast majority of illustrations published by *The Etude*. Likewise, the musical selections and written discourse within the pages encouraged a strict adherence to convention and immutability. *The Etude* was exceptionally adept at connecting "bad" music to "bad" people, and then conjoining both to a society spiraling out of control.[7] Evils abounded when the popularity of jazz swept the country, culminating with the arrival of the Roaring Twenties. No single musical trend consumed *The Etude* with more intensity than jazz, the new music that was "an unforgivable orgy of noise, a riot of discord." The music itself, along with its practitioners, was directly linked to multiple cultural threats that were, according to *The Etude*, attacking traditional American society in the 1920s.[8] *The Etude* reached a fever pitch in the August 1924 issue, whose somewhat infamous cover, illustrated by Wm. S. Nortenheim, depicts a jazz explosion, ripping asunder the veneer of respectable music, replacing many of the instruments traditionally associated with classical orchestras with the saxophones, banjos, and percussion (fig. 1).

> Jazz, at its worst, is often associated with vile surroundings, filthy words, unmentionable dances and obscene plays with which respectable Americans are so disgusted that they turn with dismay at the mere mention of "Jazz."[9]

The Etude watched with horror and increasing desperation as societal changes associated with the Jazz Age brought further destruction to the genteel society it sought to maintain.[10] Thanks to the doomed efforts of Prohibition laws (1920–1933), speakeasies, those ubiquitous social equalisers, filled American cities. Jazz permeated the thousands of smoke-filled bars across the country. Every patron was, by their mere presence, a criminal, and therefore unable to pass judgment on one other. The wealthy financier found himself sitting next to an unescorted (and uncorseted) flapper, toasting her newfound freedom with a round of martinis. Over in the darkened corner, a greasy stevedore shared a bottle of whiskey with a respected Methodist minister.[11] In such an environment, where lawlessness served with jazz and gin combined to create a cultural equaliser, gay men and lesbians enjoyed a newfound sense of liberation, free to express flamboyance in both

7 H. Sherwood Vining, "Teacher and Pupil," *Etude* V, no. 11 (November 1887): 153.

8 Theodore Presser, "Musicians and Tobacco," *Etude* XLII, no. 1 (January 1924): editorial, 7.

9 Presser, "What's the Matter With Jazz?"

10 Travis Suttle Rivers, *The Etude Magazine: Mirror of the Genteel Tradition in American Music* (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa, 1974).

11 Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess* (Ulan Press, 2012); Christine Sismondo, *America Walks into a Bar: A Spirited History of Taverns and Saloons, Speakeasies and Grog Shops*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); John E. Main, *The Booze Route: A Reform Book on Some of the Up-to-Date Evils of the Age: Parlor Dance, Dance School, Saloon*. (Commercial Printing House, 1907).

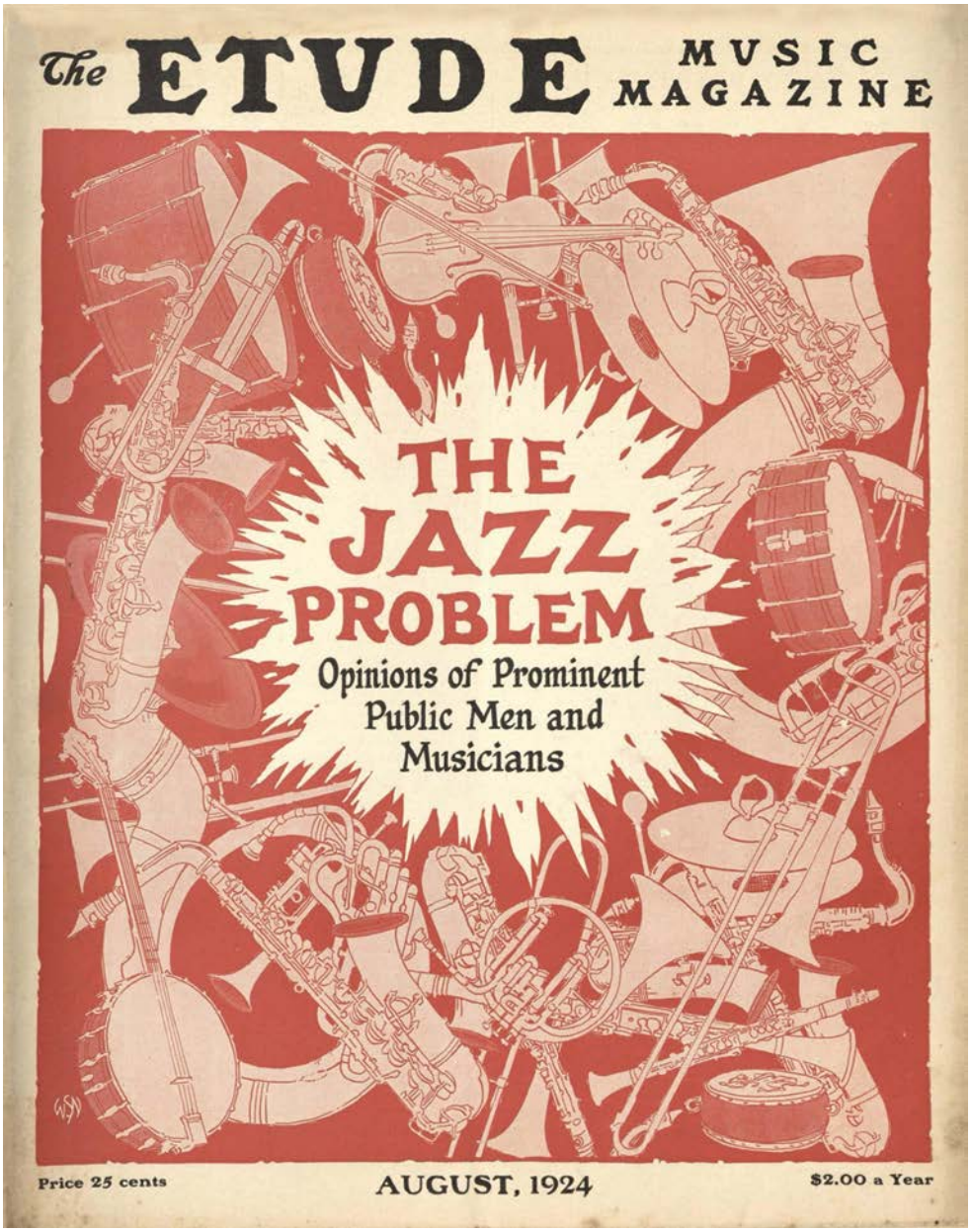


Fig. 1: William S. Nortenheim, "The Jazz Problem," lithograph, *The Etude Music Magazine* 42, no. 8 (August 1924): cover page. Copyright © 1924 Theodore Presser Company.

behaviour and dress that was neither safe nor acceptable in public arenas. No longer the outcasts, homosexuals were safe within the confines of the speakeasies, where they were just another one of many cultural aberrations.[12]

The Etude was well aware of the debaucheries engendered by the speakeasies. The blame for the existence of such dens of inequity was squarely placed on jazz. Likewise, booze and cigarettes were both openly and directly vilified by *The Etude*.[13] Homosexuality, however, was a transgression so ghastly, so unutterable, that even the mere suggestion of it demanded discourse so coded that it even challenges the understandings of a post-Stonewall reader. Homosexuality's perceived threat to traditional marriage was subtly addressed in the midst of the Jazz Age, when, in 1924, *The Etude* published an article entitled "Tchaikowski's (sic) Strange Marriage." Acknowledging its own abridgements from the original, *The Etude* introduced portions of the composer's letter to Frau von Meck by stating, "When Tchaikowski (sic) was thirty-seven he married against his will."[14]

The Etude illustrated the idea of a stoic, duty-bound but tormented groom and the inevitable shock of his bride upon the discovery of his "unutterable sin" two years later on the cover of the June 1926 issue. Traditional expectations of wedding iconography feature a radiant bride, bedecked in billowing white, entering a church on the arm of her father, while her anxious yet stalwart groom awaits at the altar. However, the June 1926 cover of *The Etude* presented a wedding scenario that rejects all such customs. This bride is dressed in a baffling combination of grey and lavender, the latter a colour frequently used as a gay signifier in the 1920s (fig. 2).[15]

Her escort is a man far too young to be her father. His square jaw, erect posture, and slim waist suggest that he is indeed not her father, but rather, the groom himself. Instead of acknowledging the assembled guests with a luminous smile, this bride's expression, directed to her groom, is one of shock and disbelief. Her body has recoiled from his, creating an inexplicable vacuum, again inconsistent with customary images of newlyweds. His sturdy, determined look is that of a man who, like Tchaikovsky when he "married against his will," is fulfilling a difficult obligation, not that of a besotted groom on the day of his wedding (fig. 2a).

The illustration displays further problematic imagery. First, the church organ, traditionally located in a choir loft or behind the altar, is inexplicably misplaced near the church entrance and is rendered with sufficient visual detail as to demand the viewer's attention. The male organist's face, arms, and legs are peculiarly illuminated, accentuating his youthful physicality. The cumulative result connects

12 George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940*, 308.

13 Leonard Keene Hirshbert Dr., "What the Musician Must Do to Conserve Good Health," *Etude* XXXV, no. 3 (March 1917): 155–56; Presser, "Musicians and Tobacco"; James Francis Cooke, *Etude* XLI, no. 1 (January 1922): editorial, 11.

14 James Francis Cooke, "Tchaikowski's Strange Marriage," *Etude* XLII, no. 7 (July 1924): 450.

15 Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed, eds., *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, 16.
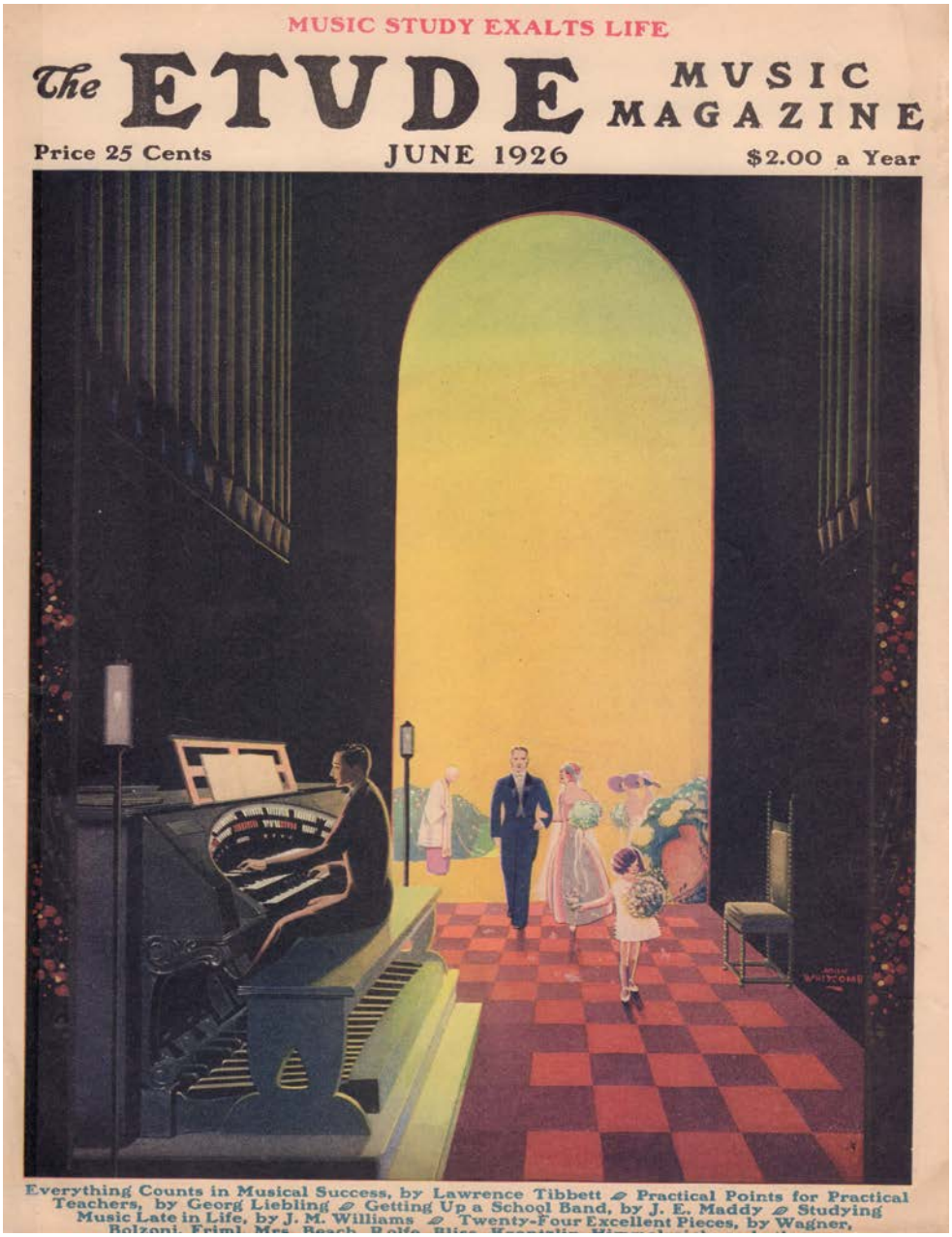


Fig. 2: John Whitcomb, [untitled], *The Etude Music Magazine* 44, no. 6 (June 1926): cover page. Copyright © 1926 Theodore Presser Company.



Fig. 2a: Detail of John Whitcomb, [untitled], *The Etude Music Magazine* 44, no. 6 (June 1926): cover page. Copyright © 1926 Theodore Presser Company.

the groom to the organist, separated only by a clergyman who, standing outside the entrance to the church, assumes an unusual bow, slightly passive and sexually receptive.

Although illustration allows for a high degree of unrealistic imagery, the church entrance is grossly out of proportion to the rest of the narthex. It is structurally implausible, visually incongruous, irregular in form, and shaded with an improbable hue, "a phallic glow of upscale glamour,"[16] looming large over the entire proceedings, is an ominous commentary on the future of this particular marriage.

Antiquity abused: Orpheus and Sappho

No such sexual chicanery or iconographic subtleties were wasted upon the June 1928 cover of *The Etude*. It was an adaptation of Franz von Stuck's 1891 art deco painting *Orphée charmant les bêtes sauvages avec sa lyres* (fig. 3), reimagined for *The Etude* by Francis Sherman Cooke (c 1905–?).[17] This will not be the only example of an illustration in which Cooke, the son of *The Etude*'s longest-serving editor,

16 Saslow, *Pictures and Passions*, 264.

17 MF White, "MunichFound," Munichfound.com, May 2004, http://www.munichfound.com/sightseeing/all_landmarks/villastuck/.

James Francis Cooke (1875–1960), will produce artwork that seems to contradict his father's highly conservative editorial stance.

Von Stuck, a founder of the Munich Secession movement, focused the viewer on the tension between humans and animals in a palette of gilded golds, greens, and browns. Only the lyre itself is rendered in a more brilliant hue; it is not part of the earthly domain, but rather an emissary of the sacred, universal realm. Its arms, reaching heavenward, extend far beyond the crossbar, elevating Orpheus through its music. Von Stuck, a student of Darwinian theory, creates an Orpheus whose playing has only partially tamed the highly diverse assemblage of beasts. In fact, at least two of the creatures (the lion in the background and the alligator directly behind Orpheus, and therefore perilously out of his sight) appear to offer immediate danger. Von Stuck furthers the evolutionary commentary by dividing the image into two equal rectangles, connected only by Orpheus himself. In the lower rectangle, Orpheus shares the physical world with the other wild beasts. His lower torso is firmly grounded; he trods the same sod as the wild beasts. Only through music, has he evolved, rising above the lower animals and entering the void of the eternal.

Although von Stuck fully embraces Orpheus' masculinity – the torso is muscular and the left buttock in particular is rendered with brazen clarity – the image contains a series of feminine curves. One unbroken, diagonal line rises from the lower right and continues to the upper left: beginning with the curve of the flamingo's neck, continuing to the flowing sash, duplicated in the shape of the buttock, and ending in the curves of the lyre itself (fig. 3).

In the hands of Cooke *fils*, *The Etude* covered Orpheos' pronounced buttock, but with an extravagant, billowing sash of lavender, a colour, as previously mentioned, closely associated with gay iconography and signification.[18] Unlike von Stuck's understated, flaccid, and almost superfluous sash, Cooke's sash spans most of the width of illustration, first wrapped between Orpheous' legs, then rising to cradle the sound box and tailpiece of the lyre, before it proudly waves like a flag up and out to the left.

The animals have changed significantly. For von Stuck, the menagerie varied greatly in species, size, and degree of imminent danger to Orpheus. With only one exception, however, each of von Stuck's creatures are focused on Orpheus and his lyre. Cooke's highly stylised beasts are limited only to three animals, representing members of the cat family. One panther, sleeps soundly in the foreground; it is balanced by a somewhat effete tiger, holding its front legs tightly together, an apathetic position Cooke will revisit in another cover. The lion, oddly disproportionate with the rest of the image, offers minimal interaction.

Cooke's most prominent feature is Orpheus' lyre. In the von Stuck, Orpheus' lyre is only slightly oversized, gently bowed, and subtly held to the musician's

18 James Draper, "Negotiating the 'Lavender Whiff': Gay and Straight Masculinities in Men's Lifestyle Magazines, 1990–2010" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2012), ix.

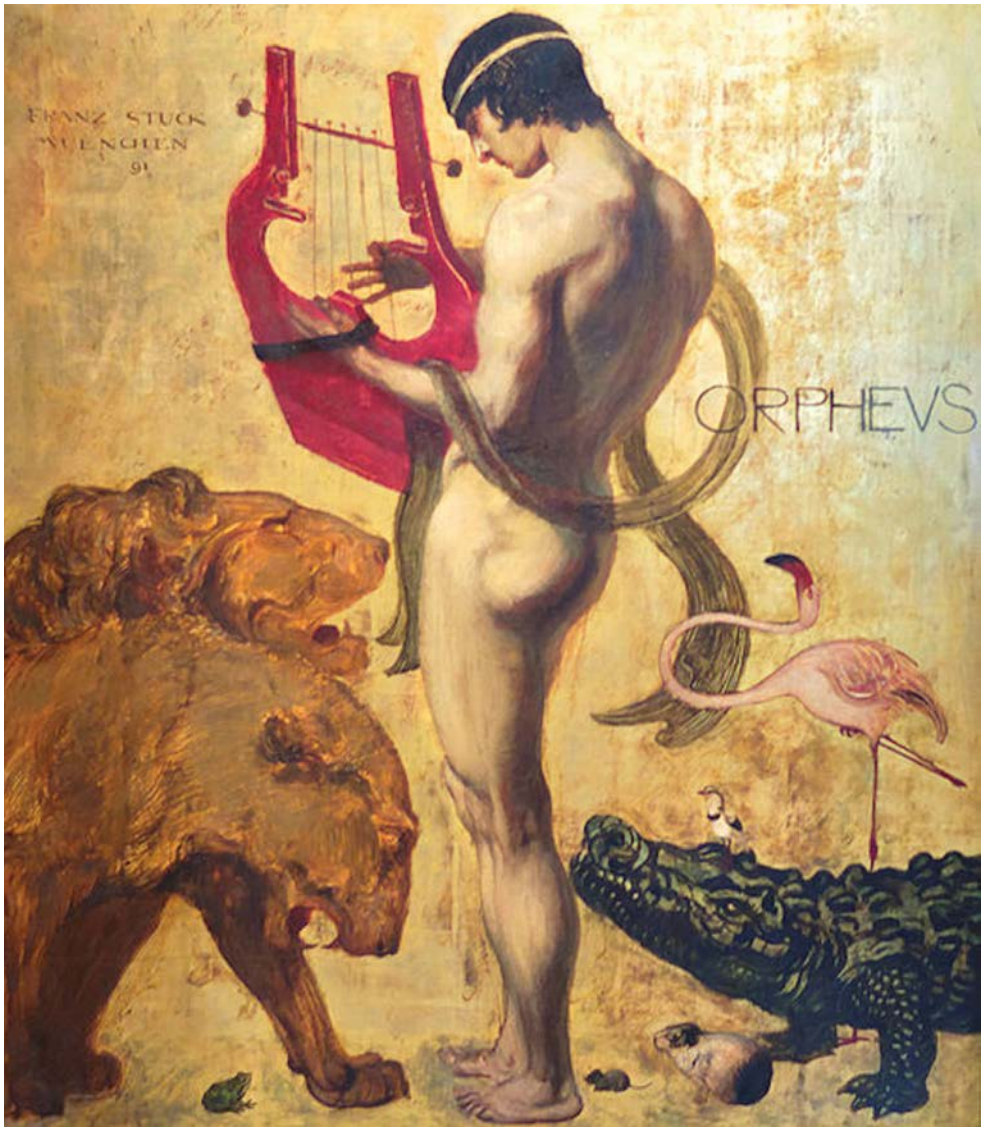


Fig. 3: Franz von Stuck, *Orphée charmant les bêtes sauvages avec sa lyres*, 1891, medium and dimensions unknown. Musée de la villa Stuck, Munich. With kind permission.

right. When adapted for *The Etude*, however, Orpheus' lyre is massive, projected directly in front of the poet, and protruding from his groin. The traditional curves with which von Stuck rendered the lyre are replaced by Cooke with rigid intensity. Contrary to his father's prudish and conservative editorial stance, James Francis Cooke created an Orpheus whose erection is so prominent that it, and not his playing of it, is responsible for the quieting of the savage beasts (fig. 4).



Fig. 4: Francis Sherman Cooke, "Orpheus and His Lyre," *The Etude Music Magazine*, 46, no. 6 (June 1928): cover page. Copyright © 1928 Theodore Presser Company.

Sappho and Phaon

Orpheus was not the only character from Antiquity whose presence in *The Etude* was sexualised in an unconventional fashion. When *The Etude* tested sexual waters, the references were, to varying degrees, suggestive in tone and cryptic in nature. No such subtlety greeted the reader of the February 1905 issue. There, a headline boldly announced, "Sappho, the Lesbian".[19] Indeed, the text begins with suggestive and coded language, implying that the article might explore homosexuality. However, as Page duBois found in her extensive research into the retelling of Greek mythology by various cultures to support political agendas, the editors of *The Etude*, like their Victorian predecessors, denied Sappho's homosexuality.[20] Like those Victorian predecessors, *The Etude* transformed Sappho into a heterosexual woman, and used the title "Lesbian" merely as an ethnic and geographical descriptor.

Sappho was the headmistress of an all-girls music school, "as strange a coterie as ever existed." Men who ventured near Sappho's students were "rigidly excluded" and "dealt with quite harshly." So intense was Sappho's devotion to her students that even the girls' parents were concerned: "The affection borne Sappho on the part of these girl students and followers was intense and excessive, so much so that parents were at times offended and made strong protests against the same."[21]

The article continues in a similar vein: Sappho was neither clearly defined inside heteronormative standards, nor was she accused, as Tchaikovsky had been, of any egregious sexual sin. Indeed, the article concludes with a confirmation of her heterosexuality, stereotypically helpless and ultimately fatal. Sappho's passionate, "story-book" love of Phaon driven by unrequited intensity, forced her to suicide.[22]

The choice of illustration clearly sided with the Victorian-era's modified version of the myth, making Sappho decidedly heterosexual. *The Etude* would have logically chosen Jacques-Louis David's 1809 painting of the Sappho-Phaon story, highly popular in *fin de siècle* America. Despite its popularity, David's Sappho contradicts *The Etude*'s theory that Sappho fell victim to Phaon's masculine appearance. Sappho's delicate face is cradled in Phaon's left hand, but his casual stance, partially hidden weapons, and somewhat androgynous mien do not necessarily exude a manly presence, at least not by early-twentieth-century aesthetic standards (fig. 5).

The Etude chose instead to publish a rather obscure but far more sexually charged etching that augmented the article's heteronormative discourse. Here, Phaon strikes a manly pose while singing, his grandiose size exaggerated beyond logical proportion. He stands above Sappho, whose curvaceous body is draped across a bench, as

19 F.C. Wingfield, "Some Celebrated Female Musicians: Sappho, The Lesbian," *Etude* XXIII, no. 2 (February 1905): 64.

20 Page duBois, *Sappho Is Burning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) 156; Nicky Losseff, *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, ed. Sophie Fuller (Routledge, 2016).

21 Wingfield, "Some Celebrated Female Musicians: Sappho, The Lesbian."

22 Judith A. Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to Hedwig* (University of California Press, 1987) 27, 116.



Fig. 5: Jacques-Louis David, *Sappho, Phaon, and Cupid*, 1809, oil on canvas, 221.0 × 261 cm. Saint Petersburg: The State Hermitage Museum. With kind permission.

she listens to her lover with rapt attention. Unlike David's more passive, dreamlike Sappho, this overtly feminine and highly heterosexualised Sappho, oblivious to her surroundings, is focused exclusively on Phaon's virility (fig. 6).[23]

Later in the Roaring Twenties, *The Etude* again hetrosexualised Sappho, but this time on its cover. The Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland, was the original owner of *Sappho and Alcaeus* (1891), one of the many depictions of Greek mythology by the Dutch painter, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912).[24] It is

23 H. Burck, *Sappho with Alcaeus and Her Pupils*, 1904. The provenance of this illustration remains undetermined. It was first published in *The Laws of Nature Revealed: The Science of Eugenics and Sex Life. The Regeneration of the Human Race,* in 1904 by the National Publishing Company of Philadelphia. The disturbing subject of eugenics was to reappear in *The Etude* again in an article with a similar title, "Regenerating the Race Through Music." (September, 1922; p. 585).

24 "Sappho and Alcaeus," The Walters Art Museum, accessed May 31, 2020, https://art.thewalters.org/detail/10245/sappho-and-alcaeus/.



Fig. 6: H. Burck, *Sappho with Alcaeus and Her Pupils*, 1904.

reasonable to assume that illustrators working for *The Etude*, published less than 100 miles away in Philadelphia, would have ample opportunity to visit The Walters and study the Alma-Tadema. Hence, the logical adaptation of the Alma-Tadema for *The Etude*'s cover. It was of an image of particular importance to *The Etude* in the effort to reassure its readers that the Victorian-era transformation of Sappho from a lesbian into a hetreosexual woman was correct, thus reassuring the security of their daughters when left alone with private female music teachers.

Known for his extraordinary attention to architectural detail and the perfection with which he rendered marble, Alma-Tadema's *Sappho and Alcaeus* glistens in the Greek sun and practically pulsates with hetereosexual desire. A magnetic tension is felt between a spellbound Sappho, seated on the far left and attended by four students, and Alcaeus seated on the far right, alone, save for the oversized lyre that protrudes from his loins with commanding rigidity. His hypnotic stare lures Sappho into an expression of ecstatic surrender. That she is a concupiscent, hetreosexual woman, enamoured by a virile hero is beyond question (fig. 7).

Alma-Tadema's *Sappho and Alcaeus* is a horizontal oil on panel, measuring 66 cm (25.9 in) in height X 122 cm (48 in.) in width. To be adapted for the cover of *The Etude*, the uncredited illustrator modified the horizontal dimensions to fit a vertical space measuring 25.5 cm (10 in) in height X 24.13 cm (9.5 in) in width. Some of



Fig. 7: Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 1881, oil on panel, 66 × 122 cm. Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum. With kind permission.

Alma-Tadema's famous attention to detail was lost in the process: For example, the names of Sappho's students, carved into the marble in the original and clearly legible are almost indecipherable in the adaptation, and the inscription on Alcaeus' lyre is omitted entirely. In his quest for authenticity, Alma-Tadema used a muted colour palette that gave his work a realistic quality. In *The Etude*'s adaptation, the eye-catching colours are vibrant and lush, no doubt in an effort to attract the attention of potential customers. Even with those significant alterations, however, the primary function of the image (viz., the complete negation of Sappho's homosexuality by means of an overtly and highly-charged hetreosexual encounter) is accomplished.

"Love's Old Sweet Song"

Sappho was not the only woman whose sexuality was questioned and redefined by images published in *The Etude*. The same Francis Sherman Cooke whose June 1928 adaptation of *Orpheus* was discussed earlier, explored female sexuality, hidden desire, and menacing attraction only one month earlier. Unlike the exaggerated sexuality Cooke exploited with his Orpheus cover, "Love's Old Sweet Song" (May, 1928) demonstrates that Cooke's work could appear to be quite innocent at first glance. Only by a magnified examination of the detail can the viewer determine that Cooke is indeed shedding Romantic innocence in favour of Jazz Age decadence (fig. 8).[25]

25 James Francis Cooke, "Work and Inspiration," *Etude*, editorial, no. XL (July 1922): 442. "Love's Old Sweet Song" was a highly popular parlour song in the Victorian style with lyrics by G. Clif-



Fig. 8: Francis Sherman Cooke, "Love's Old Sweet Song," *The Etude Music Magazine*, 46, no. 5 (May 1928): cover page. Copyright © 1928 Theodore Presser Company.

Perched high on the left, a young girl is elevated above the corrupting forces of the real world, protected by her solitary devotion to music. In her protected aerie, she is a metaphorical bird in a gilded cage (the window casings create the bars of a cage), and she sings to an actual bird, also in a gilded cage. She is oblivious to her suitor down below because of her focus on her music. The elements of her nest are executed in various shades of gold: her hair and dress, the piano, the bars that frame the window, the canary, and even its cage are all rendered in the colour frequently associated with divinity and righteousness.

With the exaggerated perspective, Cooke lures the young girl and the casual viewer into a false sense of security. We assume the figure on the far right is a well-dressed young gentleman, pining away, enchanted by the girl's music. Cooke has promised us that the melody lofting down is, after all, an *old* sweet song, and readers were often advised that "safety is always in the conservative."[26]

Danger, however, is never too far away in the Jazz Age. What appears to be harmless is, in fact, dangerous, and the young girl's naivete can lead to disaster.[27] Only with magnification do we understand that the suitor is not a man at all. This is a woman, dressed in men's attire. Her soft features, red lips, and long, tapered fingers, imperceptible on a casual glance, betray her gender. Just as traditional marriage was reexamined during the Jazz Age, so too were the fashion dictates for women. Flappers were the first women to break free from their corsets and reveal a hint of ankle in public. Beyond the flappers, the most shocking of fashion rebels were the women who publicly dressed in men's clothing. And here, every element of her wardrobe is not only male, but also highly elegant and refined, including the masculine, unadorned lorgnette. Flappers were considered naughty, but harmless; cross-dressers were considered sexual deviants and predators.[28]

To mark a very special occasion, gentlemen in the Jazz Age would often complement their ensemble with a boutineer. The colour red was often a colour used by gay men and women to make their identity known to other like-minded indi-

---

ton Bingham and music by James Lynam Molloy. It was, according to *The Etude*, an example of a highly talented but "habitually lazy" composer.

26 Edward Baxter Perry, "Moral Influence of Music.," *Etude* XV, no. 12 (December 1897): editorial, 331.

27 Theodore Presser, "A Crime in Education," *Etude* XXVIII, no. 12 (December 1910): editorial, 793. *"A young American student of the piano, ___ ___, of ___* [sic] *committed suicide by gas in her rooms in the Latin Quarter early this morning."* The above clipping from a recent issue of the New York Times needs little editorial comment. *The Etude* has already expressed its attitude against the custom of sending our girls, with insufficient means and slight protection, thousands of miles away from home, to secure an education in foreign cities. Had we not personally encountered cases of students in distress in European capitals we might not be so emphatic. It is wrong, wrong, wrong, horribly wrong. Our American girls are too precious to be sacrificed in this imbecile manner. Self-reliant, capable and ambitious as they are in comparison with the young women of some other nations, they are nevertheless girls, and need sufficient support and the protection of the home."

28 Perry, "Moral Influence of Music": "Music aids in making people feel right and think straight. A human being ... with little sense of beauty ... will become a very menace to his fellows" (p. 358).

viduals.[29] We see that signifier on the lapel of this cross-dresser, indicating that this particular woman was not accidently strolling by this window when she happened to hear the young woman playing. She planned this visit, and therefore must have passed the window on previous occasions. Two inexplicable shadows, one from the lower left, the other from the upper right, add to the sense of impending danger.

The admirer could interrupt the music at any time to make a formal introduction: a bell hangs above her head, and a knocker is mounted on the door. Instead, the suitor is spellbound by the sounds emanating from the window and, unable to continue, can only steady herself against the brick wall. Thus, the music has performed two simultaneous tasks. First, it protects the young innocent at the piano in the window and distracts her from the potential predator below. Second, the crossdresser outside, whose premeditated arrival on the scene was in hopes of an assignation with the young musician, has been transformed into a powerless figure, diminished by the music in both size and danger.

Gay Visibility in the "Roaring Twenties"

In his seminal study of homosexual life in *fin de siècle* America, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940*, George Chauncy sought to dispel three commonly held myths regarding the culture of that time: gay men, at least those living in large metropolitan areas, were not invisible, internalised, nor isolated. Chauncey explored "the very growth and visibility of the gay subculture during the 1920s."[30] At least two covers of *The Etude*, previously discussed from that time support Chauncey's findings. In both, sexuality was presented in refined yet flamboyant iconography, albeit with substantial ambiguity.[31]

In "The Gift of the Instruments" (September 1928) Cooke presented a precursor to post-Stonwall gay pride parades, complete with seven angels, apparently male, descending from heaven to earth on the crest of a incandascant rainbow. Each angel stands upon one colour band of the rainbow, ready to present their musical particular gift. Although Cooke's *Etude* rainbow anticipates the iconic Art Deco rainbow proscenium and auditorium at Radio City Music Hall by more than a decade, this is nevertheless a highly theatrical *deus ex machina* rainbow, suggested by an ascending blue stage curtain vanishing at the very top of the image.[32] Although it would be another fifty years before the rainbow would become a symbol of gay liberation, the rainbow was, by 1928, one of the most popular and common elements in the Art Deco movement (fig. 9).

29 Saslow, *Pictures and Passions*, 265; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 17, 66–67, 78, 404.

30 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 22.

31 "To this day, marketing exploits ambiguity to stimulate the eyes, the genitals, and the wallets of the most prospective buyers while turning off the fewest". Saslow, *Pictures and Passions*, 234–235.

32 Henry Clarence Pitz, *200 Years of American Illustration* (New York: Random House, 1977), 424.

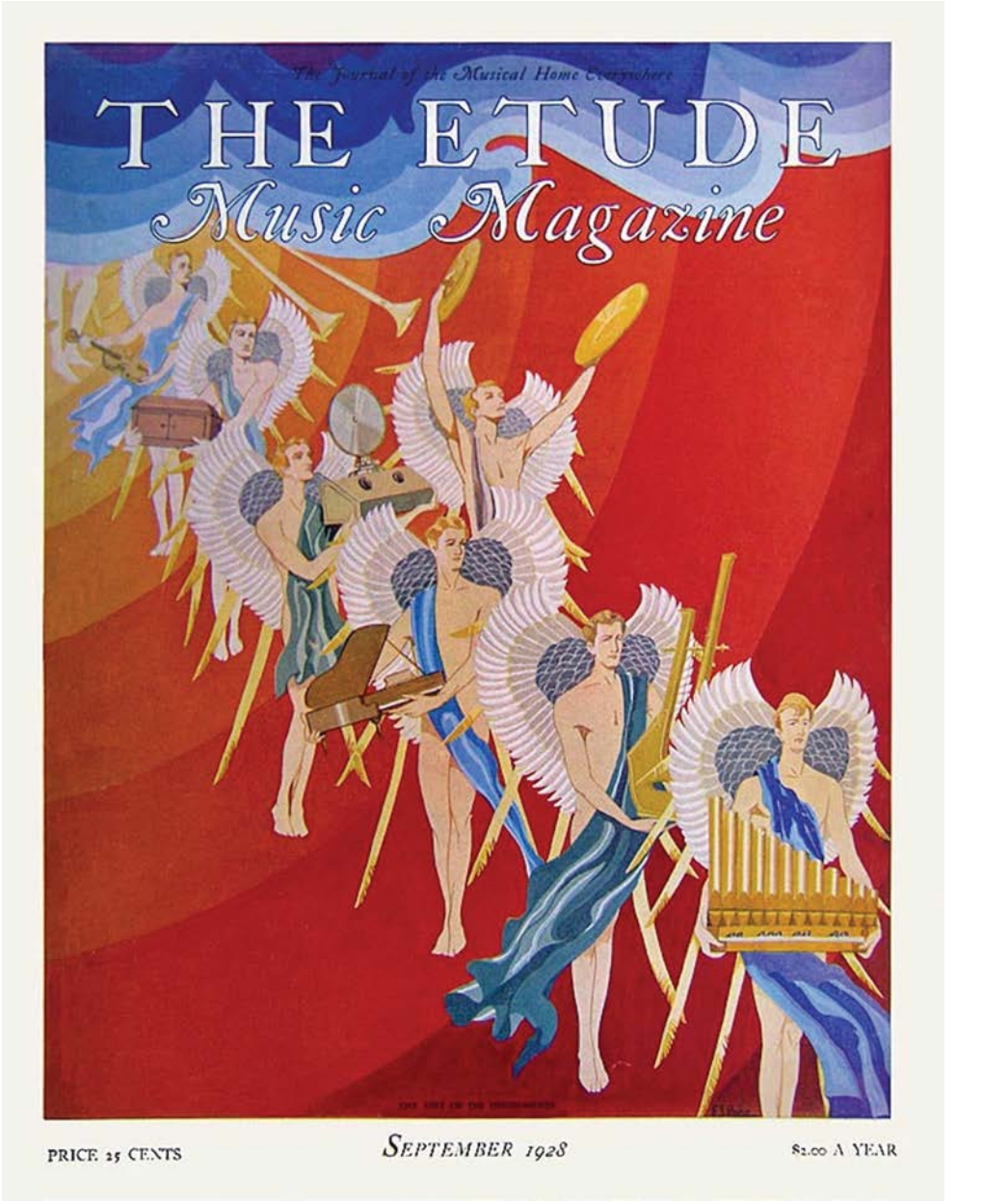


Fig. 9: Francis Sherman Cooke, "The Gift of the Instruments," *The Etude Music Magazine* 46, no. 9 (September 1928): cover page. Copyright © 1928 Theodore Presser Company.

Like Cooke's earlier cover, "Love's Old Sweet Song," the first, cursory glance of "The Gift of the Instruments" deceives the eye. Just as that young girl's suitor was discovered to be a cross-dressing woman in "Love's Old Song" only after close examination, these angels presented here are also of questionable and confusing gender only to the curious viewer, and even then only with with substantial magnification. With the possible exception of the seventh and smallest angel, the upper torsos of each angel are decidedly male, the faces are distinctly masculine and square jawed, and the hair styles are in keeping with those popular with upper-class men in the 1920s. Although the angels are bare chested and therefore presumed to be masculine, the torsos suggest a level of androgyny that the written discourse of *The Etude* held in disdain. The absence of muscular definition and any hint of body hair, combined with tightly-held legs are elements most often associated with female imagery. To further complicate the issue, Cooke returns here to the billowing airborne sash he used with phallic suggestivity for his June 1928 Orpheus. The sashes given to these angels are smaller in size than their Orpheusian predecessors, and are draped across the groin to conceal their genitalia.

Two complete sets of wings keep each angel afloat, but these wings are based more upon ornithology than divinity. An elaborate, tri-colour and highly detailed set of shoulder wings, are fully extended. These "Broad Soaring Wings" are, in some species of male birds, the same plumage displayed to initiate a mating ritual. Likewise, the individual tail feathers, seldom found in traditional angelic iconography, serve no aerodynamic function in nature, but are instead extended only to attract females. Therefore, Francis Sherman Cooke's angels are an unsettling, pansexual amalgamation of the secular and the sacred, a *dernier cri* that James Francis Cooke feared and abhorred in equal measure.

The angels descend earthward, ready to present their heavenly musical gifts. Nothing can interrupt their unending advance, and a legion of even more angels follow in the distance.[33] In keeping with the illustration's title, the angels are merely the transporters of the instruments, bringing them from heaven above down to the mortals below; none of these seven angels, with the possible exception of the cymbalist, actually play the instruments themselves. The instruments are an odd mixture of traditional acoustic instruments juxtaposed with others that represent the technological advancements of the second Industrial Revolution. Their progression is chronological: the first four angels carry instruments associated with Antiquity (the lyre), the Medieval and Baroque periods (a portative organ), and the Classical and Romantic periods (a grand piano and cymbals). The portative organ and the lyre are illustrated not in their original style, but rather with a decidedly Art Deco flavour.[34] The piano, too large to be carried, is miniaturised. Beginning

33 Cooke will revisit this theme of a musical advancing army again with "Notes and Staves Forever," the February 1929 cover.

34 Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 428; Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte, and Jan Lazardzig, *Instruments in Art and Science: On the Architectonics of Cultural Boundaries in the 17th Century* (Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2009), 137.

with the fifth angel, however, twentieth-century inventions are presented: a radio (complete with the circular antenna, an important component in an upcoming discussion) and portable gramophone, both enormously popular during the Jazz Age, and, as were most technological advances in recorded music, treated with initial skepticism by *The Etude*.[35]

Chopin and Georges Sand

Charles O. Golden (1899–1976) produced many covers and interior illustrations for *The Etude*, most of which are traditional and simple. Golden was establishing himself as a portraitist in Philadelphia during the 1920s, with a particular focus on watercolour.[36] Golden created a three-part series for *The Etude* during the Jazz Age. In "The Tragedy of Musical Russia" (February 1930), Modest Mussorgsky, whose hetreosexuality was never in doubt, stares directly at us with hyper-masculine, piercing eyes, set against a fiery background. Earlier, Golden published a portrait of Franz Schubert, a composer whose sexuality has been only the occasional subject of speculation ("A Schubert Fantasy", August 1928), but never discussed in *The Etude*'s articles or editorials. Golden renders Schubert with a distant gaze, soft lips, rounded, somewhat pudgy features, and a pastel background. The cumulative effect is one of asexuality. It was for "The Dream of Chopin" (April 1928), that Golden explored the famous but hopelessly confusing hetreosexual relationship of the composer and his lover, Paris' most famous cross-dresser. The Chopin-Georges Sand love affair was even too baffling for *The Etude*'s articles and editorials to clarify (fig. 10).

Each issue of *The Etude* featured printed music of various levels of difficulty, usually placed in the centre pages to facilitate easy removal. Since *The Etude* began as a journal for piano teachers, Chopin's music always featured prominently. Indeed, Chopin was the most frequently represented composer in the musical inserts.[37] It was therefore predictable that articles and editorials exploring Chopin's music, life, and romances would constitute a large percentage of the written discourse. For most of the early twentieth century, the subject of Chopin's romantic relationship with Georges Sand was generally presented by *The Etude* as heterosexual albeit highly unusual.[38] Any defence of Chopin's sexual preference was therefore curiously superfluous. Yet *The Etude* seemed eager, in both written and verbal discourse, to defend Chopin from any rumours of immoral behaviour.

35 James Francis Cooke, "The Soul of the Home," *Etude* LII, no. 5 (May 1934): editorial, 273; Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Big Change: America Transforms Itself 1900–1950* (Harper & Brothers, 1952).

36 "Charles O. Golden: Biographical Information," AskArt.com, 2019, https://www.askart.com/artist/Charles_O_Golden/109127/Charles_O_Golden.aspx.

37 Travis Suttle Rivers, *The Etude Magazine: Mirror of the Genteel Tradition in American* Music (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa), 200, 202, 221.

38 Anna Deters, "Frederic Chopin and George Sand Romanticized," *Constructing the Past* 4, no. 1 (January 1, 2003), http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/constructing/vol4/iss1/6.

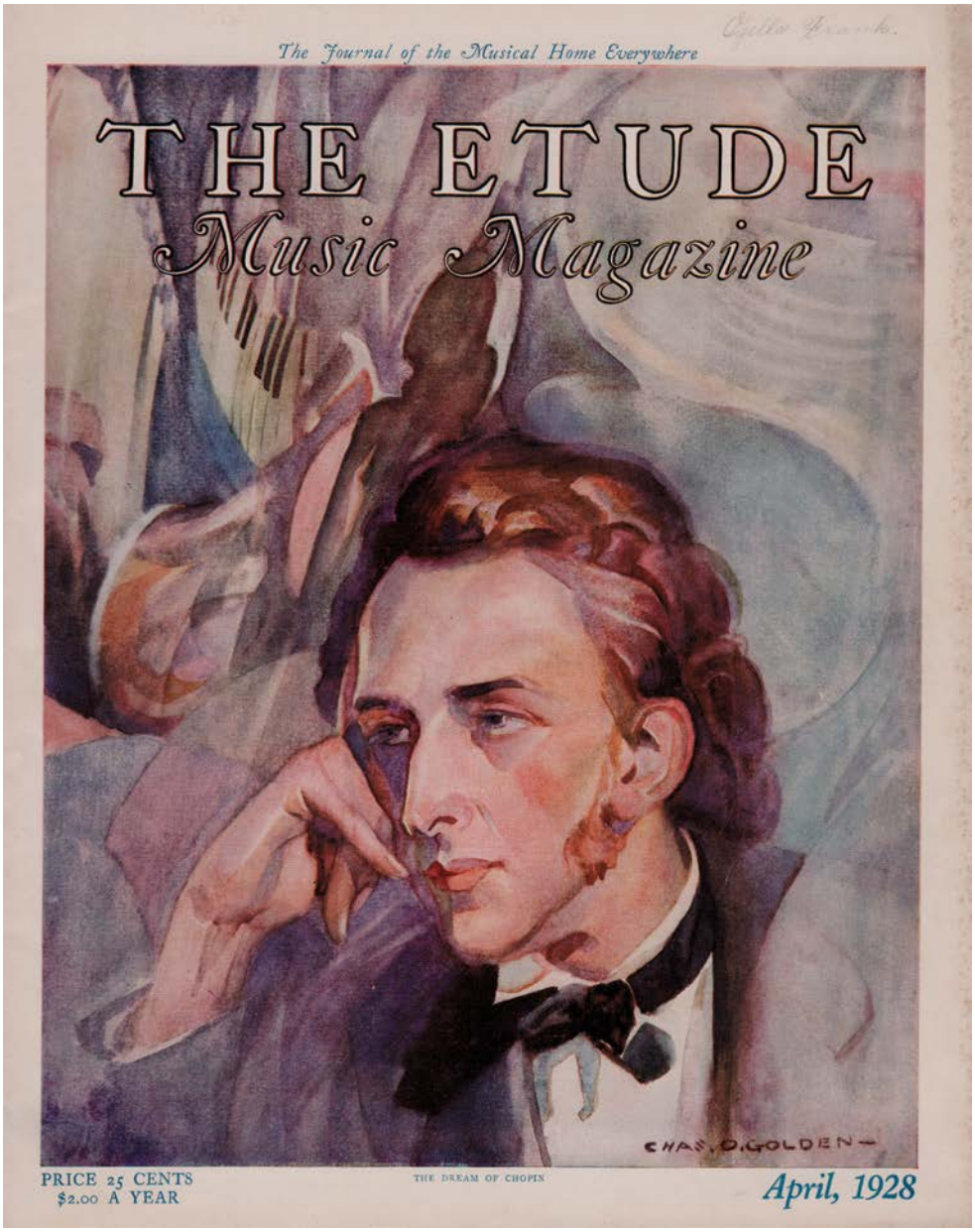


Fig. 10: Charles O. Golden, "The Dream of Chopin," *The Etude Music Magazine* 46, no. 4 (April 1928): cover page. Copyright © 1928 Theodore Presser Company.

That *The Etude*'s efforts appear contradictory only serve to compound the mystery. Within one year, *The Etude* defamed Chopin as "the feminine Pole"[39] and then later elevated him to the status of a "Titan."[40]

The Etude faulted Georges Sand's unconventional demeanour for any lingering misconceptions concerning Chopin's manliness: "George Sand was morally neither steady nor pure."[41] As that same article struggled to reassure readers that Chopin was indeed a heterosexual man, it did so in confusing and conflicting language, sometimes found within one sentence. "He was not the normal man," began one passage, "but, he was not an emasculate."[42] The term "normal" was, according to Chauncey, frequently used as a code word for heterosexual. If that was indeed the intended usage here, then the rest of the sentence is a convoluted paradox.

The Etude continued to normalise Chopin and Georges Sand's physical relationship in other issues, but with even less clarity: "The delicate femininity of his own nature gradually surrendered itself to the splendid domination of her masculinity."[43] A reader could easily find two different meanings within that one brief passage. Did Sand's powerful personality unleash Chopin's latent manliness or, was Chopin the henpecked *object d'art* of a hoydenish woman?

The dreamlike cover illustration of Chopin by Charles O. Golden augmented the confusion. It is as if Golden took his inspiration directly from the three articles by W.J. Henderson published in *The Etude* between 1905 and 1910. Chopin, the "gorgeous sunflower of music,"[44] is found adrift in puffy pastel clouds with pursed red lips, his right hand supporting his cheek, and his fifth finger prominently displayed in dainty extension. His expression is one that suggests the "exquisite femininity of intellect which is essential to the artist of ultra-refined style," a reverie tinged with epicene melancholy. A disengaged and incomplete piano keyboard floats above and beyond him.

This is the Chopin of the nocturnes, the poet of the piano for whom women, who constituted the vast majority of *Etude* subscribers, swooned. No suggestion here of the composer who could pour out the rage he felt for his fallen countrymen in the "Revolutionary Etude," or find blithe humour in the D-flat Waltz, or, in the Mazurkas, explode with chromatic intensity. Golden gives us only one portion of Chopin, and it was the part of his musical personality that appealed most to *The Etude*.

39 James Huneker, "Pegasus Flies Across Parnassus," *Etude* XXXIII, no. 9 (September 1915); James Huneker, "Up the Slippery Slopes of Parnassus," *Etude* XXXIII, no. 5 (May 1915).

40 Sigismund Stojowski, "Chopin and the Music of Poland," *Etude* XXXIII, no. 2 (February 1915).

41 W.J. Henderson, "Why Woman Loves Chopin," *Etude* XXVIII, no. 3 (March 1910): 160.

42 Ibid., 113.

43 W.J. Henderson, "Chopin the Man," *Etude* XXIII, no. 1 (January 1905): 29.

44 Henderson, "Why Woman Loves Chopin."

The Secrets: Parents, Children, Private Homes, and a Mystery Man Identified

Private music teachers were the initial primary target audience for *The Etude*. In turn, those teachers were frequently motivated by prizes to encourage the parents of their students to purchase an individual subscription for the home. Once in the home, parents soon found that they were directly addressed in numerous articles and images. These entries reflected the general mood of the country at the time of publication, and the corresponding reaction of the editors to the prevailing social trends. With the Roaring Twenties in full swing, *The Etude* published lavish images that often featured music in family settings, thereby suggesting to the parents that music in the family home would protect their children from seeking out jazz in the speakeasies. That genre included the November 1928 cover ("The Miracle Age in Music") by Zack Hogg. A mother and father are seen in profile. Their young daughter is cradled in her mother's arms with her back to the viewer. Their son faces the viewer, separated from the rest of the family, the "cultured folk who see to it that their children are given the opportunity to know and love the art of music" (fig. 11).[45]

Images of a traditional family were especially needed by the anxious parents of little boys who expressed interest in music study. Long associated with femininity, American parents feared that their sons would become gay as a result of exposure to music. In addition, the long-held misconception that male music teachers were sexual predators targeting small children still persevered.[46] Therefore, *The Etude* exaggerated the masculine requirements needed to succeed in music. Music, it wrote, was a manly art, developing masculine traits of character and fortitude. In fact, so important was the elimination of any suggestion of homosexuality in boys in the pursuit of a musical education that *The Etude* all but guaranteed the exact opposite. Success in music provided parents with the definitive proof that their son was heterosexual. The "sissy" boy, being "too effeminate to endure the first strain of dull, painful effort," would lack the stamina required to "work like a divinely endowed man" in the pursuit of a musical education. Manliness equaled work, and work equaled success in music.[47]

With all these reassurances in place, families might have been somewhat perplexed when the November 1928 issue of *The Etude* arrived at their homes. "The Miracle Age in Music" features a surprisingly blatant collection of homosexual signifiers. Those symbols are made even more exceptional because they are focused on a young, adolescent boy whose family environment is presumed to ensure his future heterosexuality. He is the only participant looking directly at the viewer,

45 Zack Hogg, "The Foundation of Real Musical Progress Is Music Study in the Home," *Etude* XLIX, no. 11 (November 1931): 828.

46 Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 59.

47 J. S. V. Cleve, "A Cardinal Fault of the Music-Student," *Etude* XXI, no. 10 (October 1903): 380.

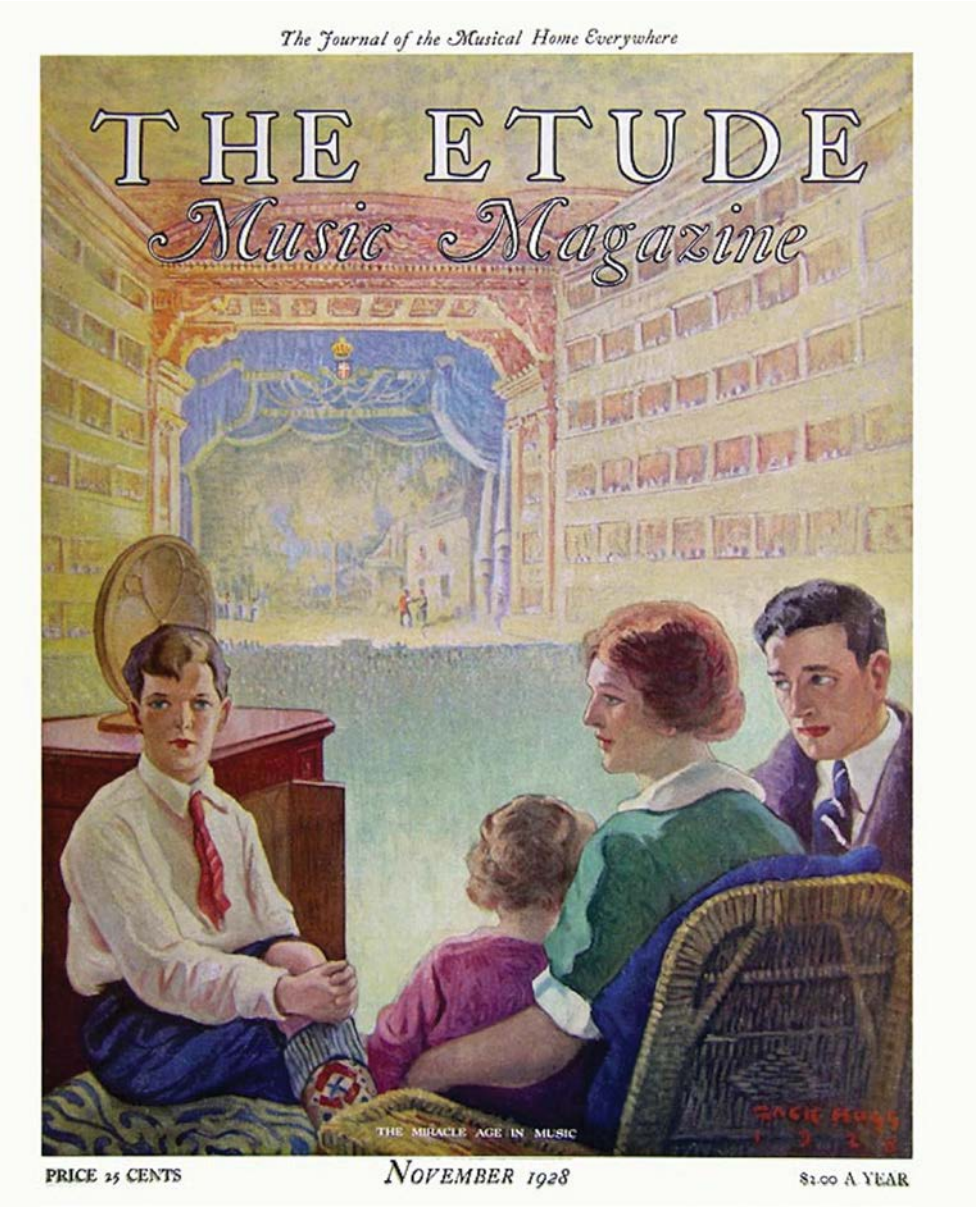


Fig. 11: Zack Hogg, "The Miracle Age in Music," *The Etude Music Magazine* 46, no. 11 (November 1928): cover page. Copyright © 1928 Theodore Presser Company.

and is further distinguished by his physical separation from the other three family members. The doors of the freestanding radio case are open, as if welcoming him into its own world of sound. The radio's receiver forms a halo about his head that, combined with his kewpie doll lips and white, billowing blouse, give the boy a decidedly cherubic appearance. He is perched on a paisley cushion with his legs daintily crossed at the knee, displaying neatly cuffed argyle socks.

Thanks to an expansive and highly detailed exploded view perspective, the viewer concludes that the boy has dialed the radio to a broadcast from the stage of the La Scala Opera House in Milan, Italy. La Scala's iconic proscenium, horseshoe auditorium, and red and white crest, all part of the boy's imagination but brought into the home by the "miracle" of radio, serve as its identifying characteristics. His mind's eye has created the sets, costumes, and singers in performance.

Each of these individual components, from his interest in opera to his physical appearance and his chic attire, are signifiers that the boy is homosexual. However, the illustration contains one more signifier that conclusively erases any last trace of doubt. In the 1920s, gay men identified one another with various articles of clothing that, whether worn separately or as a part of an ensemble, constituted a kind of urban uniform, a coded type of street performance that safely announced the wearer's sexual orientation to others who understood the code, yet appeared insignificant to those who did not. "The most famous choice" of apparel among homosexual men, the "typical marker of a fairy"[48] who wished to identify their sexuality to other like-minded individuals, was a red necktie. Hogg has given the boy a prominent tie, and rendered it in a bright tone of searing red. A blue tie, the conservative choice of this boy's father, was a signifier of male heterosexuality. If such codes were the secret purview among gay men, the parents in this illustration might not yet fully realise that their son is gay. Nevertheless, the mother is concerned enough with her son's aura that she shields the daughter from the scene. Meanwhile, the father's expression is one of intense concern bordering on resignation. More tellingly, the boy's direct stare at the viewer is calmly unapologetic. The viewer can logically surmise therefore that he is self-aware even if his parents are not.

Because this illustration is a product of the Roaring Twenties when homosexuality enjoyed a rare amount of qualified acceptance, the expressions on the parents' faces are surprisingly composed. Those same parents, so temperate in the moment of suspicion (and perhaps realisation) during the Jazz Age, might have reacted with far less poise if the same event had occurred in the 1930s. Perhaps a family subscribing to *The Etude* in the middle of the Great Depression had studied a troubling pen and ink illustration entitled "Which–The Hurricane or the Sunshine?" with an accompanying editorial, "Parents, Protect Your Homes!"[49] The social storm, encroaching from the left, metonymically associated with liberal politics, rains

48 Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 52–54, 64.

49 James Francis Cooke, "WHICH The Hurricane Or the Sunshine? Parents, Protect Your Homes!," *Etude* LII, no. 8 (August 1934): editorial, 449–50.

down torrents of "Cheap Jazz" and lightning bolts of "Night Clubs". Earlier that year, *The Etude* reassured parents that "Wholesome American homes," meaning those with a strong musical component, "have never bred ... night club queens."[50] In the 1930s, "Queen" was a derogatory term used to describe homosexual men.[51]

Beyond the borders of this illustration, another controversy is present. The academic and research community of illustration scholars, art historians, and critics alike remain confounded by the identity of one particular artist, Zack Hogg. The absence of definitive biographies or conclusive research has led to any number of titillating conspiracy theories.

In one, "Zack Hogg" did not exist at all. Rather, the name was a *nom de plume* used by the premier American artist, N. C. Wyeth (1882–1945), who lived, worked, and taught in the suburbs of Philadelphia. Wyeth himself used the fictitious name to deflect attention from his other less commercial work. In the second popular theory, Zack Hogg was indeed a real artist, who studied with Wyeth, and successfully submitted his work to *The Etude* for publication. There the debate has stalled for almost a century: was Zack Hogg a fictional creation of Wyeth himself or an actual artist and student of Wyeth?

The identity of the artist is of particular important here. Wyeth was the teacher of many artists who had their works published in *The Etude*. Second, music iconography research that focuses on commercial illustration is still in its infancy and the issue of provenance will continue to plague future researchers. This point is compounded by the fact that as, previously mentioned, the genre was known for its reluctance to give artists their proper recognition. Therefore, a closer examination of this particular controversy is warranted.

One substantial question jeopardises the first theory: why would Wyeth need or want a pseudonym? In the 1920s, there was no delineation between "artist" and "illustrator." Indeed, most professionals smoothly transitioned between both mediums. The controversy between the two titles did not begin to torment art critics and the public alike until the 1970s.[52]

Surprisingly, the resolution of the question might be found in *The Etude*, certainly not a publication that sought to settle disagreements in the art world. In most issues, the name of the illustrator was not included in the artwork, as was the unfortunate custom of the time. For a few artists, however, *The Etude* included their signature, initials, or sometimes both. Especially lucky artists were given additional biographical mention in a recurring feature, "Our Cover This Month." Hogg was in the latter category, and, as a result, *The Etude* published more bio-

50 Cooke, "The Soul of the Home."

51 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 78.

52 Michael Kimmelman, "Andrew Wyeth, Artist With a Prim and Unyielding Eye, Dies at 91," *The New York Times*, January 16, 2009, sec. Art & Design: "One art historian, in response to a 1977 survey in Art News magazine about the most underrated and overrated artists of the century, nominated Mr. Wyeth for both categories." Andrew Wyeth was the son of W.C. Wyeth and would have been among those who, along with Zack Hogg, was a student of W.C. Wyeth.

graphical information on the life and career of Zack Hogg than can be found in almost any other source.

If Zach Hogg did not exist, if he was indeed W. C. Wyeth's artistic *Doppelgänger*, then *The Etude* is guilty of gross misrepresentation. On three separate occasions (November 1928, August 1929, and November 1931), specific and detailed biographical details including date and place of birth, education, the names of his wife and children, etc., were published in *The Etude*, leaving no doubt of Hogg's identity and existence.[53]

Don't Ask, Don't Tell

The Etude consistently placed a high priority on patriotism. John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) was a personal friend of James Francis Cooke.[54] As a result, Sousa and his musical celebration of the United States and its military might was the subject of frequent imagery and written discourse. Beyond Sousa, American pride and superiority were a consistent theme in multiple illustrations, usually published in highly romanticised terms that sometimes bordered on imperialism. The underbelly of American life was marginalised. Discussions of prejudices, racism, economic inequality, and sexism, if discussed at all, were presented as obstacles that were overcome as a part of inspiring biographies.[55] The victim of inequalities, no matter how egregious, only had to toil long and hard enough to persevere and remain on a successful journey to ultimate triumph.[56] An idealised, homogenised America where all things were possible was the clear, constant image presented to readers of *The Etude* through its entire seventy-four-year history. In *The Etude*'s version of America, the faces and the picket fences were white.

At times of war, however, *The Etude* published illustrations that celebrated American military might. The United States's involvement in World War I was too short for *The Etude* to publish more than a handful of illustrations. Uncle Sam, playing "Reveille" to rouse the troops (July, 1917) and joyous angels protecting the doughboys (December, 1918) were typical of the few images published during the

53 Due to the highly unusual nature of this artistic "find," a complete copy of Zack Hogg's biographical information as published in *The Etude* is found in Appendix 1.

54 James Francis Cooke, "Why the World Needs Bands (Interview with John Philip Sousa)," *Etude* XLVIII, no. 9 (September 1930): 613; H. Armstrong Roberts, Verna Schaffer, and John Phillip Sousa, "Buy One of These Bonds To-Day," *Etude* LXII, no. 7 (July 1944): front cover; John Phillip Sousa, "The Menace of Mechanical Music," https://ocw.mit.edu/courses/music-and-theater-arts/21m-380-music-and-technology-contemporary-history-and-aesthetics-fall-2009/readings-and-listening/MIT21M_380F09_read02_sousa.pdf, 1906, http://ocw.internet-institute.eu/courses/music-and-theater-arts/21m-380-music-and-technology-contemporary-history-and-aesthetics-fall-2009/readings-and-listening/MIT21M_380F09_read02_sousa.pdf.

55 Charles W. Landon, "Paying the Price," *Etude* IX, no. 7 (July 1891): editorial, 131; John C. Griggs, "Legato," *Etude* XV, no. 12 (December 1897): 333.

56 William Keith Heimann, "The Road to Success: 'The Long Glorious Grind,'" *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* XLIII, no. 1–2 (2018): 11–23.

Great War. America's involvement in World War II, however, extended over five years, giving *The Etude* far more opportunities to publish a great many traditional images of military might. The advances in publishing techniques between the wars furthered the possibilities for far more elaborate and detailed covers during the second World War than were possible for the first. The 1940 covers displayed hyper-masculine soldiers, shoulder to shoulder with their dedicated and proud female counterparts, both depicted in a variety of patriotic parades, profiles, and processions.[57]

Sandwiched between the wars but before the Great Depression came the Jazz Age, in which conspicuous consumption was the rule. The United States revelled in peace, prosperity, party, and profits. The nation's consciousness was dominated by a belief in endless possibilities. For most Americans, thoughts of military might were replaced with a new bouncy jazz tune, the latest dance craze, and a stock market that knew no bounds. Bootlegged booze, that ultimate symbol of joyous lawlessness, brought with it a reexamination of societal norms. In those heady times, women enjoyed their first taste of liberation and the previously hidden and fearful homosexual began to test the limits of "tacit tolerance."[58]

Unbeknownst to the nation, the party was about to end. Just a few months before the stock market crashed, abruptly bringing the decade of delightful debauchery to a painful conclusion, *The Etude* published a curious image in which the United States military might was celebrated, but in a non-traditional composition which included homosexual insinuations.

American soldiers conquered the world on the cover of the February 1929 issue, another illustration from the brush of Francis Sherman Cooke, somewhat reminiscent of his parade of angels in "The Gift of the Instruments" (September, 1928). If Cooke's soldiers brandished guns and cannons, the implications would be clearly offensive in tone and imperialist in nature. Instead, these soldiers dominate the world with music. Six marching musicians, their starched white uniforms, bright red jackets, and step impeccably precise, triumphantly parade past the viewer. Their ranks are populated with soldiers carrying instruments of music, not instruments of war. In the distance, their advancing comrades, in silhouette, likewise have traded rifles for tubas and bass drums replace bayonets (fig. 12).

A stern, determined, manly expression, myopically focused ahead, is expected as a fundamental component in most traditional military iconography. Cooke's parade is under the command of a leader whose bright, innocent smile, pristine teeth, rosy cheeks, and sparkling eyes calm any apprehension of military excess, and instead suggest a somewhat effeminate demeanor. Rather than starting forward, this leader grins at the viewer in a playful, almost flirtatious peek. His left hand is perched on his waist in a decidedly non-masculine location and the fingers

57 For a more military and political discussion of *The Etude*'s military images, see William Keith Heimann, "This Is War!: Musical Images Used as Propaganda in The Etude Music Magazine," *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* XLI, no. 102 (Spring-Fall 2016): 141–61.

58 Saslow, *Pictures and Passions*, 146.



Fig. 12: Francis Sherman Cooke, "Notes and Staves Forever," *The Etude Music Magazine* 47, no. 2 (February 1929): cover page. Copyright © 1929 Theodore Presser Company.

are oddly splayed, inconsistent with military decorum or hetreosexual physicality. His right hand holds a baton, predictable for the leader of a marching band. However, the curve of his right wrist ("limp wrist") and the delicate positioning of his fingers do not suggest a manly, forceful grasp of the baton. Finally, a passing breeze has opened the bottom portion of his jacket, teasing the viewer to glimpse at his groin.

More than an innocent Fourth of July parade on any romanticised American main street, this is a military band of such benevolence that it suggests a revival of "The Era of Good Feeling" that ended the War of 1812. That is not an American flag that billows overhead. Instead, the "Stars and Stripes Forever" is transformed here into "Notes and Staves Forever."

Conclusion: the 1930s and the Great Depression

The Jazz Age ended on October 24, 1929. The Great Depression brought the decade-long saturnalia to a screeching halt. The *laissez faire* atmosphere of the speakeasies was replaced with the harsh realities of long bread lines. There was no tolerance for the "growth and visibility of the gay subculture," and now "a powerful cultural reaction" to the flamboyance of the previous decade set in.[59]

The *ignis fatuus* colours of The Jazz Age were summarily rejected and supplanted with monochromatic hues of dull tan and industrial slate, and the subject matter was unfailingly sober. In 1935, eleven of the twelve *Etude* covers presented images of male composers, masculine and powerful, most staring directly at the viewer. When Chopin graced the cover in 1933 it was not Charles O. Golden's dreamy pastels upon which the composer was held aloft on gossamer wings, but rather a proud and focused, defiant profile exaggerating his prominent nose and square jaw.

The extraordinary illustrations of the 1920s reveal a period of blissful irresponsibility when gay and lesbian people, especially those in large metropolitan areas, could almost imagine liberation and acceptance. Another half-decade would pass before the Stonewall Riots of 1969, and seventy years until the AIDS pandemic claimed the lives of many of those same protesters. But, in the Jazz Age, when rules were negotiable and codes were whispered, a glimpse of future freedom could be found, inexplicably, in the pages of *The Etude Music Magazine*.

59 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 22, 27, 29, 31.

Appendix: Biographical Information for Zack Hogg

From *The Etude Music Magazine,* August 1929; p. 626.

> The cover on this issue of *The Etude* is a fanciful portrayal of some numbers of Nature's famous Symphony Orchestra of insects. It was painted by Zack Hogg, an artist well-known among the leading illustrators of the Contemporary School. His paintings are being used to illustrate stories by such famous writers as Dr. Henry, Van Dyke, Owen Wister, Zane Grey, Dorothy Canfield, Max Brand, Edith Bernard Delano and others.
>
> Zach Hogg was born in Urbana, Illinois, but spent his years from infancy to Young Manhood in Kansas City, Missouri. He started his art studies with the intention of being a sculpture. But eventualities after his departure from Kansas City to continue the study of sculpture under Lorado Taft in Chicago and a belated discovery upon his arrival in Chicago that Taft was in France, turned him to illustration. His pursuit of fame in the field took him to New York where he studied under William Chase, Thomas Fogarty and Frank Vincent duMond. For years, his inspiration had been the wonderful work of the N.C. Wyeth, the Great American illustrator, and although N.C. Wyeth never takes pupils, Hogg's passionate desire to sit at the feet of this master illustrator and learn resulted in his taking up an abode at Chadds Ford Pennsylvania, where the famous illustrator lives and works. Here Hogg has been for around eight years, fortunate in winning a kindly, friendly and helpful advisor in the celebrity whom he has set up as his model. At Chadds Ford, Zack Hogg lives with his wife and toddling son in the picturesque house that was Washington's headquarters during the Battle of Brandywine in 1777.
>
> Zach Hogg, dark haired, tall and slender, if somewhere in his 30s and considered a young artist with greater stories a head. The cover on the November 1928 issue of *The Etude* was a special commission given him by *The Etude*, and he also rendered the beautiful pen sketches illustrating James Francis Cook's excellent suite of piano compositions and titled "Italian Lakes."

From *The Etude Music Magazine,* November 1931, p. 828.

> This cover was painted by Zack Hogg when he had his Studio at Chadds Ford Pennsylvania, in the house which was Washington's headquarters at the time of the Battle of Brandywine. Mr. Hogg is a very versatile and gifted artist. He is known to *The Etude* readers through his previous covers on *The Etude*, issues of November 1928, and August 1929, and many accomplished pianists are familiar with the beautiful pen sketches done by him which appear in the folio of five beautiful tone poems for the piano solo by Dr. James Francis Cooke, entitled "Italian Lakes." Mr. Hogg's studio is at present in New Castle, Delaware. He was born in Urbana, Illinois.

AUSTRAL ALIENS – AUSTRALIAN EXTREME METAL PARATEXTS AND AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY

Benjamin Hillier

This essay investigates how Australian identities are constructed and expressed through the visual paratexts of Australian extreme metal (AEM) bands. I show how the Australian metal "larrikin" identity, previously identified in literature on Australian metal, is expressed through AEM's visual paratexts.[1] This identity is not uniformly expressed by all AEM bands but rather mediated by individual identities and understandings of "Australian" which may be transformed and contravened at will as bands selectively belong to and detach themselves from certain elements of the AEM identity.

I will begin by briefly outlining the current literature that examines the broad role of paratexts in metal music and the Australian metal identity. Next, I will illustrate the way in which Australian metal paratexts differentiate themselves from other metal genres and scenes by constructing identities that are both distinctly metal (as opposed to rock or other genre identities) and distinctly Australian (as opposed to a more global or non-specific cultural or national identity). I then consider whether these two methods of differentiation establish something that is distinctly "Australian metal" and explore how bands demonstrate a sense of belonging to both Australian and global metal scenes while rejecting some aspects of the identities of these scenes. I conclude with an examination of some of the more tenuous and problematic elements of the AEM identity which reveal potential expansions of the AEM identity.

Paratexts, Genre, and Identity

It is important to contextualise my analysis of Australian extreme metal paratexts within the existing scholarship on the topic. "Extreme metal", as distinct from "heavy metal", typically refers to a group of subgenres: black metal, death metal,

1 Michelle Phillipov, "Metal 'Downunderground': Mapping the Terrain of the 'Great Southern Wasteland'," in *Sounds of Then, Sounds of Now: Popular Music in Australia*, ed. Shane Homan and Tony Mitchell (Hobart, Tasmania: ACYS Publishing, 2008), 215–230; Catherine Hoad, "Critical Introduction: What Is 'Australian' About Australian Heavy Metal?," in *Australian Metal Music: Identities, Scenes, and Culutres*, ed. Catherine Hoad (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Limited, 2019), 9–27; Sam Vallen, "'A Blaze in the Northern Suburbs': Australian Extreme Metal's Larrikinish Lineage," in *Australian Metal Music: Identities, Scenes, and Cultures*, ed. Catherine Hoad (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Limited, 2019), 51–72.

doom metal, thrash metal, and grindcore.[2] These subgenres often subdivide into further subgenres, each with their own unique and distinct elements, linked by common characteristics such as vocal style and timbre.[3] Significantly, each of these sub-subgenres have their own distinct aesthetic elements in addition to musical elements, often articulated through paratexts such as album covers.[4] Defining *Australian* extreme metal more specifically can be difficult. The sparse scholarship that exists on Australian metal often questions how the nebulous "Australianness" at the heart of Australian metal identities should be defined, notes that the term does not have one set meaning, and examines what texts and paratexts are used to construct these identities.[5] Despite these issues, a type of Australian metal identity has been identified in the literature, noted as being white, male, and working-class. An element of "larrikinism" (an unrefined, coarse, and "lower-class" humour) and stereotypes variously called "bogan", "occa", or "yobbo" (all slang terms for lower-class people, usually men, in Australia) are also noted as important characteristics.[6] These aspects construct an image of the average Australian metalhead being someone who is unrefined and easy-going, perhaps a "bogan" and a "larrikin", but altogether non-serious. This identity, especially with its allusions to larrikinism, is heavily masculine and carries historical connotations of sexual harassment and violence toward women, a significant factor in the depiction of women discussed in this chapter.[7] I will later argue that this identity is problematic for a range of reasons, but it remains the dominant identity presented in Australian metal and its paratexts.

When approaching metal music, it is important to be clear about what exactly constitutes a paratext. In this case, the main text is the music – a song, an instrumental piece, etc. – and paratexts include band logos, album covers, promotional videos, photos, and so on. Paratexts are an essential way for metal bands to communicate

2 Keith Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge* (Oxford: Berg, 2007); Michelle Phillipov, *Death Metal and Music Criticism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012).

3 Benjamin Hillier, "Considering Genre in Metal Music," *Metal Music Studies* 6, no. 1 (2020): 5–26.

4 Ibid.; Eric Smialek, "Genre and Expression in Extreme Metal Music Ca 1990–2015" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2015).

5 Hoad, "Critical Introduction: What Is 'Australian' About Australian Heavy Metal?."; Phillipov, "'Metal 'Downunderground': Mapping the Terrain of the 'Great Southern Wasteland'."

6 Hoad, "Critical Introduction: What Is 'Australian' About Australian Heavy Metal?."; Phillipov, "Metal 'Downunderground': Mapping the Terrain of the 'Great Southern Wasteland'."; Vallen, "'A Blaze in the Northern Suburbs': Australian Extreme Metal's Larrikinish Lineage."

7 Melissa Bellanta, "The Larrikin Girl," *Journal of Australian Studies* 34, no. 4 (2010): 449–512; Simon Sleight, "Interstitial Acts: Urban Space and the Larrikin Repertoire in Late-Victorian Melbourne," *Australian Historical Studies* 40, no. 2 (2009): 232–250. While many discussions of larrikinism in Australian rock and metal draw more on "charming larrikin" archetypes, such as AC/DC singer Bon Scott, as opposed to the more overtly violent depictions mentioned above, the historical origins of this identity are not separate from current identities considering the emphasis on sexualisation and sexual innuendo present throughout the work of AC/DC and within Australian metal, and the depictions of women in extreme subgenres such as pornogrind and goregrind. See Rosemary Overell, *Affective Intensities in Extreme Music Scenes: Cases from Australia and Japan* (Springer, 2014), for more information.

their genre, their authenticity, and their identity as a band, especially in the myriad subgenres of extreme metal, where both paratextual and musical elements are an important way for fans to differentiate between subgenres.[8] I posit that Australian metal bands use their paratexts to communicate their own identity in two main ways. First, Australian metal bands present themselves as distinctly metal, not rock, punk, or any other genre. Notably, this occurs in tandem with clear musical differences between metal bands and bands of other genres. Second, Australian bands present themselves as distinctly Australian, differing from international metal bands. The key question when it comes to Australian metal paratexts follows from this: does this combination of a distinctly metal and distinctly Australia identity constitute an identity that is distinctly Australian metal?

Distinctly Metal

To understand Australian metal paratexts as being "distinctly metal," it is first important to establish metal's aesthetic elements. This can be quite difficult, as these aesthetics shift with subgenres, sometimes significantly, and detailing each is well beyond the scope of this chapter. While broad aesthetic descriptions, such as Deena Weinstein's "code of heavy metal", have been proposed, the fracturing of metal into a range of subgenres in the late 1980s and 1990s led to a wide variety in the expression of metal aesthetics.[9] Perhaps one common aesthetic similarity that still exists between most metal subgenres is an emphasis on darkness, evil, and transgression within metal's visual aesthetic. This is a foundational element of heavy and extreme metal and is one of the earlier ways that the genre was differentiated from other genres. I will demonstrate that this aesthetic is an essential and conscious element in the paratexts of Australian metal from its inception. To illustrate this, I will present the work of the bands Ash and Buffalo who illustrate the aesthetic and musical shift from more conventional rock into the nascent genre of heavy metal. I suggest that Ash have the first Australian heavy metal song in their 1971 single "Midnight Witch," while Buffalo are commonly regarded as Australia's first genuine heavy metal band.[10]

The first example is Ash's first single, "Avignon" (1970), a standard pop/rock ballad for the late 1960s. Accordingly, it is paired with an album cover featuring a fully nude woman in profile with her body arched forwards, thrusting her breasts into the air. This parallels the overt sexualisation of the female body infamously

8 Smialek, "Genre and Expression in Extreme Metal Music Ca 1990–2015."; Hillier, "Considering Genre in Metal Music."

9 Deena Weinstein, *Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 2000), 21–43.

10 Brian Giffin, *Encyclopedia of Australian Heavy Metal*, ed. Brian Giffin (Katoomba: Dark Star, 2015). Geoff Barton, "Were Buffalo the Original Aussie Heavy Metal Band?" *Louder Sound*, 31 December 2015, https://www.loudersound.com/features/were-buffalo-the-original-aussie-heavy-metal-band.

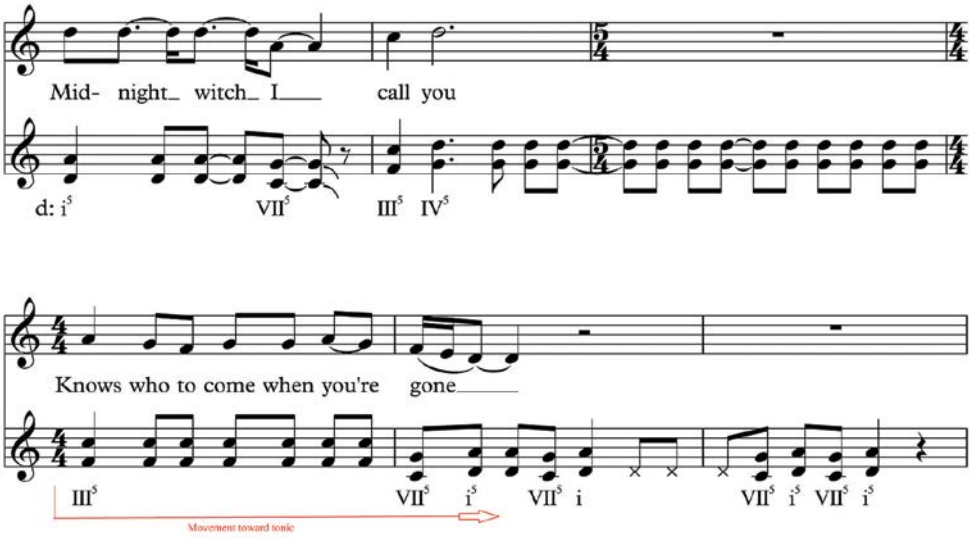


Fig. 1: "Midnight Witch" (1971) verse showing vocal line (top) and guitar riff (bottom).

associated with Australian pub rock.[11] However, Ash's next single, "Midnight Witch" released in 1971, displays a marked musical difference and accordingly a shift in paratexts. Figure 1 shows a transcription of the verse, displaying several distinctly metal musical elements.[12]

Several clear proto-metal elements can be observed in this excerpt: there is a clear minor modality, the song is riff-based, the guitars are heavily distorted, and the resolution of the harmony is based around dominant function chords as opposed to the more conventional subdominant resolutions of rock. All of these are hallmarks of what would soon develop as "heavy metal," and the main riff (seen in bars 5 and 6 of figure 1) bears a strong resemblance to other proto-metal songs such as The Kinks' "You Really Got Me" (1964).[13] What is most significant is the shift in aesthetics and paratexts that parallel the musical shift. The sexualised woman depicted in the *Avignon/Sable* (1970) album cover and lyrics in "Avignon", describing the first meeting of two lovers, has transformed into the "midnight witch" of the next single. This lyrical difference represents a shift from hard rock to heavy metal alongside a shift in how the band views women. This also parallels

11 Murray Engleheart and Arnaud Durieux, *AC/DC: Maximum Rock and Roll* (Australia: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006).

12 All transcriptions used in this chapter are made by the author. Note as well that the *Midnight Witch/Warrant* (1971) single that this song first appeared on does not appear to have a cover image associated with it. My research only uncovered images of the record itself, with the label depicting the song titles, credits, and recording information, thus it was not included in this chapter.

13 Esa Lilja, *Theory and Analysis of Classic Heavy Metal Harmony* (Helsinki: IAML FInland, 2009).
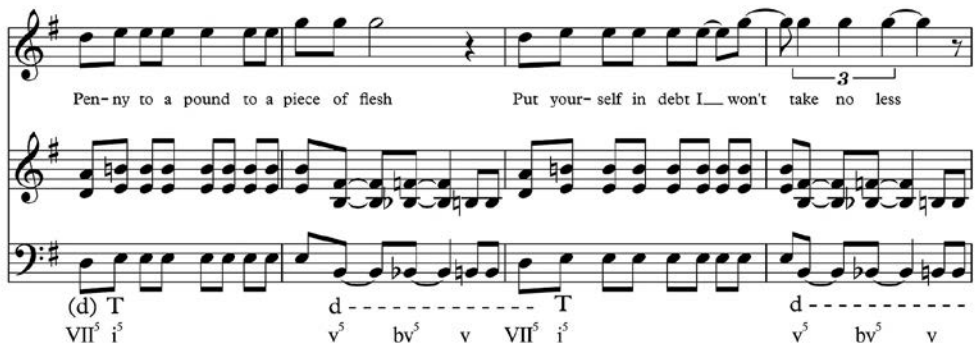


Fig. 2: "Shylock" (1973) verse showing vocal line (top), guitar (middle) and bass guitar (bottom).

the famous album cover of Black Sabbath's (1970) self-titled album, which itself depicts a gloomy English landscape with a witch placed in the centre of the image. While the change in depiction from a clear sex object to an "unsexy" witch does little to challenge the problematic depictions of women represented in the *Avignon/ Sable* (1970) cover, it does make an aesthetic distinction to shift from the overt sexualisation of women to the more sinister exploitation of women as a symbol of evil, themes that become increasingly important to metal as it developed both globally and within Australia.[14]

This paratextual transition from sexualisation to darkness and evil is also represented in Buffalo's albums. Songs such as "Shylock" (transcription shown in figure 2) demonstrate a more clearly developed metal style in their music on the album *Volcanic Rock* (1973).

The metal elements of the music are quite clear – riff-based composition, a clear minor modality, a marked use of dissonance with a chord built on the v scale degree and a dominant-tonic resolution. Similarly, the album covers for *Volcanic Rock* (1973) and *Only Want You For Your Body* (1974) illustrate the nascent aesthetics of heavy metal with an emphasis on darkness and transgression. *Volcanic Rock* features an androgynous figure standing atop an erupting volcano, hoisting what appears to be a detached penis above its head while *Only Want You For Your Body* features a middle-aged, overweight woman gagged and tied to a rack in what appears to be a dungeon. Significantly, Buffalo have stated in interviews that their album covers during their heavy metal period were intended as deliberate commentaries of sexualisation in rock, elements of which can be seen in both covers.[15] The figure in *Volcanic Rock* (1973) is deliberately androgynous, with the genitals obscured; the "volcano" is intended to be the bottom half of a female torso, menstruating lava

14 Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge*; Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993).

15 Barton, "Were Buffalo the Original Aussie Heavy Metal Band?".

instead of blood; and the figure is holding a detached penis over its head. None of this remotely resembles conventional sexualisation in Australian rock, and it is significant that conventionally sexualised elements, such as the female torso, have been made "dangerous" through the allusion to volcanos and lava. These associations connect to historical depictions of menstruating women as something dangerous, dirty, or otherwise negative, connotations that persist in the present and undergird sexist and anti-feminist attitudes toward women.[16] Accordingly, even the more balanced attempts at commentary on sexualisation provided by Buffalo are still linked to anti-feminist depictions of women's bodies as objects of danger.

Only Want You For Your Body (1974), continues this commentary, though here it is mostly in service of a crude, sexist joke. Here the "commentary" is that, within Australian hard rock, one would expect that the subject of an album titled "only want you for your body" would be a young, conventionally attractive woman. Instead, the "joke" is that the woman depicted on the cover is middle-aged and overweight, though some elements of darkness and transgression are still present in the idea of the dungeon, bondage, and the overall aesthetic of the cover, and text evoking graffiti. While the explicit inclusion of elements of darkness and transgression is a notable move to align with a metal aesthetic, their intended role as commentaries on sexualisation requires interrogation. *Volcanic Rock* (1973) offers a more genuine commentary on the relationship between the sexualised women depicted in Australian rock album covers and the men who designed them through the contrast of the detached penis being hoisted triumphantly into the air by a Promethean androgynous figure against the lava-spewing female torso/volcano. This is contrasted with the "commentary" in *Only Want You For Your Body* (1974), where women's bodies and their sexualisation are both setup and punchline for a crude joke. [17] These narrow roles for women during this period in Australian hard rock and metal reinforce the genre identity of the bands' using female bodies in their paratexts. In hard rock, women are depicted as sexually available and alluring, as in *Avignon/Sable* (Ash, 1970); in heavy metal, they are depicted as a symbol of evil, as in *Black Sabbath* (1970) or a derogatory joke, as in *Only Want You For Your Body* (1974). This also indicates how certain elements of pub rock larrikinism are preserved in this nascent Australian metal aesthetic. Even though the paratexts of Australian metal in this period are defining themselves by transforming pure sexualisation into something darker and more transgressive, the identity remains something that is crudely sexual and masculine.

16 Joan C. Chrisler et al., "Ambivalent Sexism and Attitudes toward Women in Different Stages of Reproductive Life: A Semantic, Cross-Cultural Approach," *Health Care for Women International* 35, no. 6 (2014): 634–657; Sharon Faye Koren, "The Menstruant as 'Other' in Medieval Judaism and Christianity," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, no. 17 (2009): 33–59.

17 Buffalo's lyrics on this album, in particular on songs like "I'm a Skirt Lifter, Not a Shirt Raiser" (1974) and "Kings Cross Ladies" (1974) feature extensive sexualised depictions of women absent of any attempt at commentary, further weakening the argument that this is the purpose for these depictions.

The importance of aesthetic indicators of genre can be seen most clearly in Buffalo's aesthetic shift after 1974, following the firing of guitarist John Baxter and a turn toward a significantly more mainstream sound to acquiesce to the wishes of their management.[18] The subsequent album, *Mother's Choice* (1976), features a pastel-blue cover and golden heart embroidering a photo of an older woman casting a disapproving glance toward the camera. Musically, this is paralleled with a sound that has abandoned heavy metal entirely in favour of American blues and rock 'n roll from decades past; two songs on the album are in fact Chuck Berry covers. Their final album, *Average Rock 'n Roller* (1977), aptly summarises the end of their career. While the cover may compare to the nascent aesthetic of Judas Priest alongside conventional hard rock sexualisation, depicting a young, leather-clad woman astride a motorbike in a sexualised pose, the music relapses toward standard 1950s rock 'n roll rather than developing toward the burgeoning New Wave of British Heavy Metal movement. Notably, an attempt at commentary on the role of sexualised women in Australian rock has also been abandoned, with *Average Rock 'n Roller* (1977) regressing toward Australian rock norms in this regard.

Later examples of AEM also demonstrate a clear delineation along genre lines, though using different aesthetic signifiers. Within extreme metal, the genre delineation is not between metal and hard rock, but smaller scale delineations of subgenres. Female bodies are less frequently depicted in Australian extreme metal album covers as these tend not to be the main delineations of most metal subgenres, with paratexts instead focusing on the core elements that indicate genre to fans globally.[19] Australia death metal album covers conform to the subgenre's emphasis on death, decay, and monstrosity being the main manifestation of transgression and darkness in this genre (for example, the cover of Mortification's *Scrolls of the Megilloth* (1992). Similarly, Australian black metal album covers display many of its common elements such as the lo-fi, black-and-white aesthetic associated with black metal seen on covers such as Horde's *Hellig Usvart* (1994). Corpsepaint can be seen in covers such as The Furor's *Advance Australian Warfare* (2005) with the musicians austerely wielding giant weapons and glaring at the camera. [20] These examples embody the main paratextual style in Australian metal, one that is far more concerned with indicating its subgenre, rather than its Australianness, and that is otherwise indistinguishable from examples of international metal. Demonstrating one's belonging to conventionally understood genres and cultures of metal

18 Barton, "Were Buffalo the Original Aussie Heavy Metal Band?"; Giffin, *Encyclopedia of Australian Heavy Metal*.

19 Notable exceptions are present within subgenres such as goregrind and pornogrind, which, though not directly relevant to the discussion in this paper, are nevertheless extremely violent and misogynistic at times. See Overell, *Affective Intensities in Extreme Music Scenes: Cases from Australia and Japan* and Laura Glitsos, "'Sticky Business': An Examination of Female Musicians in the Context of Perth's Metal Community," *Popular Music and Society* 43, no. 1 (2020): 93–113, for more detailed discussions of how these depictions are understood in Australian extreme metal scenes.

20 This refers to the black and white makeup commonly worn by black metal musicians to evoke a demonic, corpse-like image.

(indicated through musical style and paratexts) is essential if one is to be recognised as an authentic metal band, a factor especially important within extreme metal scenes.[21] Thus, we see that indicating a given band is distinctly metal remains an essential function of paratexts for AEM bands.

Distinctly Australian

While indications of genre are clear in AEM paratexts, articulations of an explicitly Australian identity are less clear and less frequent. In this section I will outline how Australian metal paratexts form a sliding scale from "obviously Australian" to "unable to tell." Additionally, the musical "distinctness" of the main text does not necessarily line up with the Australianness of the paratexts. Often, even explicitly Australian paratexts are paired with music that sounds nearly indistinguishable from international bands.

Figure 3 shows a selection of AEM album covers arranged to illustrate a scale in terms of the paratexts' "Australianness". I have judged the "Australianness" of these album covers in terms of how many recognisable elements of Australian culture, landscape, and society they explicitly referenced. Moving from left to right, the first three examples are explicitly Australian in the way that their paratexts present their identity, though to varying degrees. The example on the far left, Alchemist's *Austral Alien* (2003) displays one of the more explicit senses of Australianness in an AEM album cover. I understand the surreal landscape, imagery of orange dirt, and the black lines drawn across the landscape to represent the Indigenous Australian conception of songlines in "The Dreaming" or "Dreamtime". While the beliefs of the many Indigenous Australian language groups are heterogenous and more varied than a single term such as "The Dreaming" implies, this term nonetheless has a presence within mainstream Australian culture and is recognisable as something associated with Indigenous Australians, even to a global audience.[22] Significantly, this album is also the only Australian metal album that I have found which uses the didgeridoo. Again, while the use of the didgeridoo does not represent all of the diverse peoples that compromise Indigenous Australia, it is a recognisable signifier of these peoples and their musical traditions within mainstream Australian culture, further supporting Alchemist's attempt to broaden what constitutes "Australian" in AEM. This connection between the "metal" idea of Australianness and any elements or recognition of Indigenous Australian culture is extremely rare in Australian extreme metal. Beyond this, the lyrics on several songs on the album engage with a range of socio-political issues relevant to Australia from the impacts of British colonialism on Indigenous Australia and the Australian landscape ("First Contact" and "Older The Ancients") to the continued destruction of Australian

21 Smialek, "Genre and Expression in Extreme Metal Music Ca 1990–2015."

22 Donna Carstens, "Koori Art Expressions. Songlines: The Living Narrative of Our Nation," *Signals* 177: 44–46.



Fig. 3: Selected AEM album covers illustrating scale of 'Australianness' of paratexts. From left to right the covers are *Austral Alien* (Alchemist, 2003), *Mayhemic Destruction* (Mortal Sin, 1985), *Total Armageddon* (Renegade, 1987), *Advance Australia Warfare* (The Furor, 2005), *Do Not Spit* (Damaged, 1993) and *Hellig Usvart* (Horde, 1994).

nature ("Great Southern Wasteland", "Nature on a Leash", and "Grief Barrier") and the need for Australians to engage with their land and their culture to create a mutually beneficial future ("Backward Journey" and "Letter to the Future"). Notable as well is that this cover is the least "metal-looking" cover in figure 3, lacking explicitly dark or transgressive elements, though the surrealist artwork and science-fiction font for the text are common in other bands who perform in the same progressive metal style as Alchemist.

Moving further down the scale is Mortal Sin's *Mayhemic Destruction* (1985). Here, there are clear allusions to a different type of Australian landscape, combined with obvious metal aesthetics; the cover depicts Sydney with the Opera House and Harbour Bridge clearly visible amongst a hellscape destroyed by a heavy metal demon. Musically, the music closely resembles American thrash metal in the vein of the San Francisco bay area scene, such as Metallica and Exodus. Already any musical allusions to Australianness are absent, as are any explicit mentions of Australianness in the lyrics of this album. The next example is Renegade's *Total Armageddon* (1987). Here, the Australian elements have become difficult to recognise – the blue blurs behind the devil are tattered Australian flags and the devil is holding a bottle of Victoria Bitter beer, a well-known Australian brand. While elements of the non-serious, Australian larrikin identity begin to clearly emerge here, seen in the beer and the devil wearing a nappy, musically, Renegade are similar to Mortal Sin, performing an American brand of thrash metal.

The next three covers represent the normal level of Australianness in AEM visual paratexts. The first example on this level is The Furor's *Advance Australia Warfare* (2005). Visually, the allusions to black metal are clear in terms of the pose of the musicians, the weaponry, and the corpse-paint, while the only Australian references are the pun in the title based on the Australian national anthem, "Advance Australia Fair," and potential allusions toward the Australian "battler" soldier.[23]

23 Glitsos, "'Sticky Business': An Examination of Female Musicians in the Context of Perth's Metal Community."



Fig. 4: King Parrot promotional photo.



Fig. 5: Cannibal Corpse promotional photo.

Musically, the band performs a mixture of black and death metal, again with no overt suggestions of their Australian heritage. The next example is Damaged's *Do Not Spit* (1993), the artwork of which is based around signs that used to hang at Melbourne's Central train station. Musically, this is a landmark album in the deathgrind subgenre, but unless one already knew of the origins of the sign used for the cover, one would have no visual or musical indication that this band was Australian. The final example is Horde's *Hellig Usvart* (1994), which deliberately attempts to evoke the musical and aesthetic styles of Norwegian black metal because the project is a deliberate attempt to invert the Satanic themes of this scene by focusing on Christian themes in their lyrics. As such, any Australianness is absent. The majority of Australian bands operate within this level of paratextual indica-

tions of Australian identity reinforcing the observation that indicating a sense of belonging to internationally recognised indicators of "metal" is more important than indicators of national identity or "Australianness" for AEM bands.

While album covers may not always represent a clear sense of Australianness, promotional photos of bands and their live performances are often a completely different matter. They represent an additional type of visual paratexts that communicates a band's identity. Figures 4 and 5 compare promotional photographs of Australian band King Parrot with American band Cannibal Corpse.

Cannibal Corpse pose in a manner typical of most metal bands – glowering at the camera, dressed all in black, wearing the shirts of other bands, arms crossed, etc. King Parrot on the other hand look far less serious. While singer Matt Young in the middle seems to be evoking the same "tough metal guy" image, the other bands members suggest this might be satirical. Notice that the member in the middle is wearing bright green sunglasses along with a blue shirt proclaiming, "I pooped today" and the member on the left almost looks like he has arrived late to the photo, carrying his jacket one hand and a beer in the other. The band member on the right is not just glaring at the camera, he is giving it, and, by extension, the audience, the finger. This photo is carefully constructed to present a very specific identity, one that is seen as relaxed, irreverent and the very picture of Australian larrikinism. Other aspects of King Parrot's oeuvre to reinforce this "larrikin" image, such as the music video for their song "Shit on the Liver" (2012) which opens with a nearly two minute comedic skit of the band sitting in a car recounting their day and then complaining about a parking ticket, before launching into the song.[24] A working-class, larrikin image is present throughout the skit and much of the ensuing video, with a range of reference to Australian culture being included, such as the band wearing green-and-gold corpsepaint, revealed in a few brief shots of colour in a video that is otherwise black and white.[25]

While King Parrot and Alchemist represent two overt and different representations of Australianness, both musically and paratextually, such expressions of Australianness are uncommon in the wider scene. While both bands are popular, influential and recognisable as Australian bands both locally and internationally, the majority of AEM bands nonetheless choose not to accentuate their Australian identity in favour of communicating a sense of belonging to global metal communities and genres. One might understand this as a pragmatic business decision on the part of the bands, attempting to avoid being pigeonholed as an Australian "gimmick" band (as King Parrot have been in the past) and to appeal to a wider international audience. However, this does not make full sense of the way in which other international scenes, such as Swedish death metal and Norwegian black metal, have become successful and recognisable as subgenres and scenes. Those bands remain

24 See Benjamin Hillier, "Genre Hybridity in Australian Extreme Metal" (paper presented at the 42nd MSA National Conference "Conflict-/-Collaboration", Monash University, Melbourne, 2019), for a more thorough discussion on larrikinism, Australiana, and identity in this music video.

25 Ibid.

inextricably linked with a certain geographical location that have not marginalised bands or fans from other locations. Nor does it accurately reflect the reality of financial and industry success for bands who do accentuate their Australian identity. King Parrot have received ARIA [Australian Recording Industry Association] award nominations for "Best hard rock/heavy metal album" in 2015 and 2018, while Alchemist are well regarded nationally and internationally, having organised the renowned "Metal for the Brain" festival from 1997–2006.[26] This demonstrates that a band does not need to detach itself from either a metal or Australian identity in order to achieve recognition, authenticity, and success, but can illustrate a belonging to multiple facets of an Australian identity without compromise. Ultimately, the manifestation of visual paratexts as "Distinctly Australian" remains puzzlingly inconsistent within Australian metal, as do the reasons for this inconsistency.

Distinctly Australian Metal?

The inconsistent expression of Australianness in AEM raises a larger question: when it occurs, is the combination of texts and paratexts that are both metal and Australian something that can be recognised as distinctly Australian metal? The answer to this is "sometimes." These issues are complicated by the lack of a distinct Australian sound or clear Australian musical elements in the majority of Australian metal.[27] At this point, we return to the problems with the Australian identity that were alluded to earlier, which arise in two main ways. First, the issue that most bands do not include explicitly Australian elements in their music or paratexts. Second, the Australian metal identity put forward by the scene does not accurately reflect the entire scene, or even most of it.

Beginning with the first problem, it is obvious that bands do not become any less Australian if they lack Australian elements in their paratexts. Even if they do not display it overtly, bands who bear some connection to Australia, by native birth, residency, or work assignments, will be influenced by Australian culture and its environments, be it an extensive or subtle influence. I posit that the sense of larrikin irreverence in Australian metal musically manifests as a tendency for Australian metal bands to freely hybridise subgenres, reflected in the musical style of individual bands, such as King Parrot's thrash/grind style, and in the diversity within the wider Australian scene.[28] One of the consequences of Australian larrikinism is that nothing is sacred.[29] No text or boundary need be regarded as absolute, including those of metal genres, meaning that Australian extreme metal bands freely draw upon features of any metal subgenre, and occasionally those from outside metal, without compromising the musical coherency of the scene. This hybridity is also

26 Nick Calpakdjian, "Metal Down Under," (Australia: MG Distribution, 2014).
27 Hillier, "Genre Hybridity in Australian Extreme Metal."
28 Ibid.
29 Vallen, "'A Blaze in the Northern Suburbs': Australian Extreme Metal's Larrikinish Lineage."

fostered by the nature of the Australian metal scene itself. Touring is extremely expensive for metal bands, due to the distance between the small group of capital cities that are financially viable touring destinations. Accordingly, bands perform with anyone else who can sustain a viable tour, not just those in their own subgenre, and audiences are used to mixed genre bills. Consequently, the Australian metal scene has not developed with strict scenic boundaries between subgenres. This is in stark contrast to international bands, who often feel like they are beholden to also perform in the style associated with their area. This close association between a geographical location and a certain sound or subgenre can result what I call "scenic inertia", which often governs the way in which bands understand their sense of belonging to a local scene and resultant position in global metal scenes. This describes a situation where bands who come from one of the locations that is associated with a particular style feel beholden to continue to perform in that style in order to be "genuine" members of their scene.[30] In some locations, the style causing the scenic inertia developed as a hybrid subgenre, but in these cases the once-hybrid subgenre then becomes the dominant style, restricting any hybridity from occurring outside of its parameters. This is not an absolute force, and bands do defy the inertia at times, however, a band from an area with high scenic inertia can be perceived, marketed, and understood in different ways. It often causes the bands who deviate from the established style to self-identify as drastically breaking with the local musical style regardless of how stark any actual musical differences are. Within Australia, the larrikin identity fosters an irreverent approach to texts extending to the use of Australian paratexts which need not be respected or included if a band does not wish. Australian culture and metal genre conventions are both treated as just another optional text to be used how, when, and if a band so desires. In this sense, there is an undercurrent of "Australianness" that runs through the AEM scene, even if it is not always immediately visible or audible.

The second problem with a distinctly Australian metal identity founded in larrikinism is somewhat more biting. The identity that many Australian bands present implicitly marginalises anyone who identifies themselves outside of the white, male, and working-class tropes of conventional larrikinism. Catherine Hoad notes that Australian metal identities are dominated by masculine and colonial narratives of bushrangers, diggers, blokes and brothers.[31] Hoad notes that these nationalist narratives do foster a sense of community, but one marked by extremely narrow parameters as to who is considered "Australian."[32]

30 For example, consider the rejection of symphonic black metal band Dimmu Borgir as 'true' Norwegian black metal due to their stylistic differences from other Norwegian black metal bands discussed in Smialek, "Genre and Expression in Extreme Metal Music Ca 1990–2015."

31 Catherine Hoad, "Whiteness with(out) Borders: Translocal Narratives of Whiteness in Heavy Metal Scenes in Norway, South Africa and Australia," *MEDIANZ: Media Studies Journal of Aotearoa New Zealand* 15, no. 1 (2016): 17–34, here 23–24.

32 Ibid.

Laura Glitsos's examination of female musicians in the Perth metal scene uncovers further complexities in the constructions of gender in contemporary Australian metal.[33] Glitsos and her interview participants note that gender in metal is reconceptualised in a way that allows female metal musicians to challenge and destabilise the hyper-masculinity that characterises much of metal and that a range of complexities exists that underpin identities within the scene.[34] Some female musicians within the Perth metal scene contextualise their place and identity through "stickiness," as family members or a tight-knit community alongside their male counterparts.[35] Rosemary Overell also notes the inherent contradictions between her feminist perspective in her scholarship on Australian grindcore and her enjoyment of bands like Vaginal Carnage and songs such as Blood Duster's "Vulgar Taste (of a Rotten Cunt)" (1993) that led her to excuse "significations with which I would have otherwise taken issue."[36]

These perspectives suggest that, despite the problematic elements present within the AEM identity, some who would otherwise be marginalised by it and experience a detachment from the scene are nonetheless able to negotiate their own experiences and identities alongside the artistic expression of AEM in order to achieve a scene of belonging within the scenes that comprise the broader Australian metal scene. Artistic depictions such as Alchemist's *Austral Alien* (2003) also demonstrate that the AEM identity is far more complicated and diverse than the pervasive larrikin stereotype. One might also argue that an expression of an Australian metal identity might instead look like the cover of *Insurgency* (2016) by Australian black metal/grindcore band Dispossessed. Dispossessed are noteworthy for being one of the few bands in the contemporary AEM scene that have Indigenous Australian members, and they are explicit about their opinions of "Australian" culture. It is an unavoidable fact that much of what non-Indigenous Australians consider "Australian culture" may be completely rejected by Indigenous Australians as the culture of invaders. Certainly, this is how Dispossessed present it: from their name to an album cover depicting Indigenous Australians rejecting the oncoming British invasion, and even the red, yellow, and black colour scheme, matching the Aboriginal flag. Rather than attempting to negotiate a compromise between their identity and the larrikinism that dominates AEM, Dispossessed have chosen to

33 Glitsos, "'Sticky Business': An Examination of Female Musicians in the Context of Perth's Metal Community."

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., 12–13.

36 Overell, *Affective Intensities in Extreme Music Scenes: Cases from Australia and Japan*, 94. Glitsos discusses this same theme in Overell's work, drawing on the responses of her interview participants to understand how female fans of grindcore might negotiations similar contradictions and material. Two main negotiations are identified: one in which such material is, in some manner, identified as a parody or joke, and therefore less problematic, and one where it is within the purview of the female metalhead to simply not interact with depictions that they find problematic and find other ways in which to enjoy and contribute to the scene. See Glitsos, "'Sticky Business': An Examination of Female Musicians in the Context of Perth's Metal Community," 17.

entirely reject the norms of AEM identity, foreground their detachment from it, and actively fight to transform what it means to consider oneself as "Australian," metal or otherwise.

As with the mainstream Australian identity, the AEM identity has not resolved these tensions and contradictions and rarely pauses to consider them. Founded largely on pub-rock stereotypes, the AEM larrikin identity is inherently marginalising of anyone who does not fit within the narrow hegemony of the masculine, chauvinist bogan, even though the actual identities of scene members are far more diverse than the mainstream identity would suggest. Furthermore, the "larrikinish charm" of the Australian metal identity is often used to occlude the more problematic aspects of Australian metal bands. Those bands might present misogynist, racist, or otherwise problematic views cloaked in a humorous veneer, as illustrated by Buffalo's "crude-joke-as-commentary" with the cover of *Only Want You For Your Body* (1974). The normality of such presentations of women persists in contemporary AEM scenes. For example, the female musicians in Glitsos's study note that they have also been sexually harassed and assaulted by male audience members, and that many of these men appeared unaware that their comments may have been perceived as derogatory, so ingrained were the masculine and chauvinist norms within the Perth scene.[37] The larrikin approach to whiteness and Australianness has also been criticised for excusing more problematic and exclusionary nationalist identities, alongside white supremacist and, at times, fully neo-Nazi views of race and cultural identity.[38] There is a danger, then, in allowing the larrikin image of AEM that still dominates Australian metal texts and paratexts to propagate uncritiqued. Further research might explore alternatives in the plurality of Australian metal identities.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the expression of any Australian identities in AEM is somewhat fraught. Most Australian metal bands express no strong Australian identity in either their texts or paratexts. Where the AEM scene does express a single dominant identity, it is one defined by a problematic larrikinism that does not always represent the bands or scene members accurately. Despite this, Australian culture does influence the way in which AEM bands construct their identities and sense of belonging to local and international scenes. There, the irreverence that underpins larrikinism allows Australianness and genre to be regarded as a type of text or boundary that

37 Glitsos, "'Sticky Business': An Examination of Female Musicians in the Context of Perth's Metal Community," 13–14.

38 Benjamin Hillier and Ash Barnes, "Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: Extreme Right-Wing Ideologies in Australian Black Metal," *IASPM Journal* 10, no. 2 (2020): 38–57; Hoad, "Whiteness with(out) Borders: Translocal Narratives of Whiteness in Heavy Metal Scenes in Norway, South Africa and Australia."

can be contravened at will. This means that Australian metal bands are free to use as much or as little Australianness as they want, or to completely redefine what Australianness means. Further examination is needed from this point to determine what elements of Australian metal music, if any, create a distinct Australian sound while the Australian metal identity is still being examined from a range of perspectives. This research will further tease out the variations and contradictions within Australian metal and help to develop a greater understanding of the genre, the scene, and Australian culture more broadly.

BIOGRAPHIES

Antonio Baldassarre is Vice Dean, Professor and Head of Research and Development at Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, School of Music, and Editor-in-Chief of RILM-DEUMM Online. He holds a PhD from the University of Zurich, and has held research and teaching positions as Research Fellow, Lecturer, and Visiting Professor, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Research Center for Music Iconography at The City University of New York, the Universities of Basel and Zurich, the Faculty of Music of the University of Arts in Belgrade, the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, the Facultad de Música of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, and The University of Tasmania. He is a board member of numerous national and international scientific and learned societies, including his role as President of Association Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale (RIdIM), and Member of the Directorium of the International Musicological Society (2012–22). In 2022 he was awarded the prestigious Cátedra Jesús C. Romero of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Mexico, bestowed annually on a researcher in a subject related to Mexican or Latin American music.

Jordi Ballester teaches musicology at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain), where he was chair of the History of Art & Musicology Department from 2008 to 2014. He is a member of numerous scientific societies. Since 2013 he has been the President of the Societat Catalana de Musicologia. From 2013 to 2017 he was also liaison officer to the Council of Association RIdIM on behalf of the International Musicological Society. From 1991 to 2001 he was director of the Conservatory of Terrassa (Barcelona). In 1995 he won the Emili Pujol Award (XI) of the Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs bestowed to works on Catalan and Spanish Musicology. He regularly collaborates with the radio program El taller del luthier, on Catalunya Música, talking about topics related to music iconography. His research embraces music, organology, and music iconography (including the database IcMuC https:<//icmuc.uab.cat/items/> which is in progress). His works on music iconography have been published in prestigious journals such as *Imago Musicae*, *Music in Art, Early Music*, and *Musique-Images-Instruments* and in several books and proceedings of conferences sponsored by national and international organisations.

Dorothea Baumann was *Privatdozentin* in Musicology at the University of Zurich. Her research fields include the music of the Italian Trecento, acoustics and its relationship to architecture and music, performance practice and organology, music iconography, the psychology and philosophy of music, and information organisation in databases. In addition to her book, *Music and Space: A Systematic and Historical Investigation into the Impact of Architectural Acoustics on Performance Practice Followed by a Study of Handel's Messiah* (Bern: Peter Lang Verlag, 2011), her work has appeared in numerous journals and proceedings of conferences sponsored by international organisations. From 1994 to July 2019 Baumann was Secretary Gen-

eral of the International Musicological Society (IMS) and since 2019 an Honorary Member. From 1990 to 1992 and from 2005 to 2012 she was President, and from 1993 to 2004 Vice President, of the Swiss branch of the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres (IAML). Together with Dinko Fabris, then President of the IMS, she published *The History of the International Musicological Society (1927–2017)* (Bärenreiter Kassel, 2017). She was co-chair of the IMS Study Group for the History of the IMS and Secretary of Association RIdIM. On 29 August 2022 Dorothea passed away after a short, serious illness.

Denis Collins is Associate Professor of Musicology at the University of Queensland, Australia. His research interests span the history of counterpoint, especially canonic techniques, from the late Middle Ages to the time of J. S. Bach. Recent publications have appeared in *Acta Musicologica, Music Theory Online*, *Music Analysis* and *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*. He was co-editor of *J. S. Bach in Australia: Studies in Reception and Performance* (Lyrebird Press, 2018). His research has been supported by two Discovery Projects from the Australian Research Council (2015–18, 2018–21). Together with Jason Stoessel, he established the Canons Database (www.canons.org.au). He is Editor of the journal *Musicology Australia*.

Rachel Coombes recently completed her DPhil in History of Art at St John's College, University of Oxford, where she has been undertaking research on the decorative work of the painter Maurice Denis (1870–1943), a life-long music lover and close friend of French composers including Ernest Chausson and Vincent d'Indy. She has an undergraduate degree in Music from the University of Oxford, and an MA in History of Art from the University of Birmingham, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Before resuming her academic studies in 2018 she pursued work in journalism and public relations at the Barbican Centre in London. She is currently a Stipendiary Lecturer at Worcester College, Oxford, and St John's College, Oxford, as well as a Junior Teaching Fellow at the Ashmolean Museum. She enjoys writing widely on the arts and has most recently had an article on the *pochoir* print published in the *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*. Rachel was awarded Association RIdIM's Award for the Encouragement of Young Scholars at the 2019 conference for her work on Denis.

Maria Fernandes has a B. A. and postgraduate qualification in Musicology from NOVA University. Since 2016, she has been collaborating with CESEM (Centre for the Study of the Sociology and Aesthetics of Music) on the Musical Iconography Group (NIM). In 2018, after being the first recipient of the Association RIdIM Award for the Encouragement of Young Scholars, she decided to change her career path and study Information Management. Currently, she has a master's degree in Information Management and Curation from NOVA University and works as a consultant at a technological company.

Christine Fischer is visiting professor of music theatre studies at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich and Lise Meitner fellow at the department of musicology at University of Vienna. She studied musicology, Italian literature as well as history of art and ethnomusicology at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich and University of California Los Angeles. In 2004 she earned her PhD with a thesis on the operas of Maria Antonia Walpurgis at University of Berne and held an assistant professorship of the Swiss National Science Foundation at Schola Cantorum Basiliensis from 2007 to 2013, conducting research on performance practice of Early Opera while heading an interdisciplinary team. From 2019 to 2021 she was Senior Research Associate at the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, School of Music. Her publications focus on aspects of gender and diversity in music, national musical identities, and the connections between music and the visual. Christine Fischer has taught at academic institutions in several German-speaking countries and worked as a music journalist, freelance author, and dramaturge of performance projects.

Marita Fornaro Bordolli obtained her Doctorate in Musicology from the University of Valladolid, Spain; she has a DEA in Music (2000) and Anthropology (1999) at the University of Salamanca, Spain, and a B.A. in Musicology (1986), in Anthropological Sciences (1978), and in Historical Sciences (1978) from the University of the Republic of Uruguay. Her research covers music and popular culture, music iconography, musical criticism and theatres; and she has worked in Uruguay, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Venezuela, Cuba and Marruecos. Currently she is Coordinator of the Research Centre on Musical and Scenic Arts, University of the Republic. She was President of the IASPM Latin-American Branch, 2010–2012. She is a member of the National System of Researchers, Uruguay, and of the Research Group "Diapente XXI", University of Oviedo, Spain. She won the Musicology Award 2020, Casa de las Américas, Cuba.

David Harley is an abstract painter with a practice spanning 35 years. Since 1995, he has steadily integrated the use of digital technologies into his practice and currently works between wall painting, animation, and installation. He views his work as expanding 'free form' abstract painting with a research interest that investigates ways that music can function in the production of the artwork. He has held over 25 solo exhibitions and exhibited widely in Australia and Germany, and held residences in London, Münster (W.), Frankfurt am Main, the VCA (University of Melbourne) and RMIT University. He has worked collaboratively with musician/composer Andrew Blackburn, and has a PhD (University of Melbourne), MFA (RMIT University) a B.A. Fine Arts (RMIT) and a Post Grad Diploma in Art Curatorial Studies (University of Melbourne). He has lectured at the Victorian College of Arts, RMIT, Victoria University and Monash University.

Wm. Keith Heimann is a graduate of The Juilliard School (Bachelor and Master of Music) and Boston University (Doctor of Musical Arts in Music Education). At Juilliard, his master's degree recital included *Mouvements du Coeur*, a song cycle with lyrics by Louise de Vilmorin, and music by members of Les Six. His later scholarship at Boston University focused on music education and music iconography. Dr Heimann has been published in *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography*, and the journal of Association Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale (RIdIM), for which he serves as Executive Officer. In addition, his research was published in *The Art of Artertainment: Nobrow, American Style* and *The World of Jim Crow America: A Daily Life Encyclopedia,* as well as reviews published in *American Music Teacher,* the journal of the Music Teachers National Association, and Routledge *Sound Studies*. Prior to his tenure as a professor of humanities at Brookdale Community College, Heimann sang with opera companies in Vienna, New York, Santa Fe, Houston, and Los Angeles, and performed in *The Phantom of the Opera, Lady in the Dark,* and *Evita*.

Benjamin Hillier graduated with a PhD from the University of Tasmania. His doctoral research focused on musical characteristics of Australian extreme metal bands and the potential for a unique Australian sound among them. Alongside these musical elements, he explored the cultural elements of 'Australianness' in extreme metal music and their social and political implications. His interests are primarily in music theory and analysis of metal music, supported by ethnomusicological inquiries into metal communities and scenes. Beyond this, he maintains an interest in musicology that investigates genre, extreme music, far right politics, and popular music.

Angeliki Liveri is a Philologist, Archaeologist and Art Historian. She studied Archaeology, Philology, History of Arts and Theatre Studies in the universities of Ioannina (BA/diploma), Vienna (PhD) and Munich (Post Doc fellow). She participated in various scientific projects and excavations in Greece, Austria, and Turkey. She worked in different posts as an Archaeologist and Philologist in Greece and in Germany (Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs). She taught in high schools and universities in Greece and in Germany. She was Head of the Greek classes for native language teaching of the Humanistic Gymnasium Steglitz in Berlin (1997–1998) and a Lecturer of Modern Greek Studies in the Institute of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Cologne (2002–2011). Presently, after her retirement from the Greek Ministry of Education, she continues her research and other scientific activities. Her publications refer to Greek, Roman and Byzantine Art and Archaeology, Cultural History and Music Iconography. She has been awarded various scholarships (University of Ioannina, the Austrian Foreign Student Service (ÖAD), Gerda Henkel Foundation, German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Berlin and Istanbul, the Council of Europe and the Academy of Donaueschingen, the Centro di Studi Micaelici e Gardanici of the

Department of Classical and Christian Studies of the University of Bari a. o.), has often been invited as a Researcher to the Vittore Branca International Center of the Foundation Cini in Venice, and is a member of various scientific associations.

Johnny Milner completed his PhD in Cultural Studies at the School of Languages, Literature and Linguistics at the Australian National University. He received his BA with First Class Honours from the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. Focussing on the aesthetics of film, music and art, Milner has presented his work at several international conferences and published in journals such as *Cambridge Scholars Press*, *Media International Australia*, *Screening the Past*, *Metro* and *Screen Education*. He is a regular media commentator on art and film-related events in the Canberra region and currently works at the National Film and Sound Archive of Australia, where he writes articles, curates collections, and develops digital interactive projects. Milner also spends much of his time working on film and sound productions. His recent films, *The Chosen Vessel* (2019) and *Pyrocene* (2020), have screened and received awards at various Australian and international festivals. His creative work has received funding from funding bodies and organisations including the Australia Council for the Arts and Screen Canberra.

Joseph V. Nelson holds a PhD in Musicology with a doctoral minor in Comparative Studies from the University of Minnesota and currently serves as a Visiting Assistant Professor of Music at the College of the Holy Cross. His dissertation explores the relationship between musical representations of madness and the politics of noise in seventeenth-century London through case studies of Poor Tom o' Bedlam and the sonic environment of the infamous Bethlem Hospital. He has a secondary area of research in popular music and queer masculinities. He has presented his work at such conferences as the annual meetings of the American Musicological Society, Renaissance Society of America, Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Association Répertoire Internationale d'Iconographie Musicale, Music and the Moving Image, the Shakespeare and Music Study Group of the Royal Music Association, and the biennial meeting of the North American British Music Studies Association. He has recently published a chapter entitled "Bethlem, Music, and Sound as Biopower in Seventeenth-Century London" in *Musical Spaces: Place, Performance, and Power* (Taylor & Francis, 2022). He also has two forthcoming publications, one on Mad Tom and Moll Cutpurse from Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* in the *Routledge Companion to Early Modern Music and Literature* and an article on the musical and sonic geography of Covent Garden Market in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (2023).

Jonathan Paget is an Associate Professor at the Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts (WAAPA), Edith Cowan University, where he has led the classical guitar program since 2005 and was Associate Dean Research for some six years. A Fulbright and Hackett scholar, his research has explored Peter Sculthorpe, the Aus-

tralian guitar, historical performance, early recordings, and the Romantic guitar. In 2018, Jonathan convened the national conference of the Musicological Society of Australia, and in 2023 he became a founding member of WAAPA's research centre for "Keyboard Heritage and Performance Research." Jonathan regularly performs on modern and period guitars, giving concerts across Australia, the USA, and Asia, and releasing two solo CDs. Reviews cite his "subtle, intimate artistry" (*The West Australian*), "formidable virtuosity," (*Limelight*, Australia) and "brilliant technique" (*Soundboard*, USA), and propose he is "up there with some of the best" (*Classical Guitar,* UK).

Alesssandra Palidda was trained in classical singing, classics, and historical musicology at the University of Milan (MA Musicology, 2013) and the Conservatorio Giuseppe Verdi (BMus Singing, 2007). In 2013, she moved to Cardiff University for her doctoral studies. Her PhD, supervised by Prof David Wyn Jones and Prof Clair Rowden, focused on the relationship between political change and cultural/musical environment in Lombardy between the last years of the Habsburg domination and the first Napoleonic experiences (1790–1802). Her main research interest still lies in the relationship between music, propaganda, identity, and mobility in Northern Italy seen as a notable example of transnationalism and cultural hybridity. Since 2014, Alessandra has also been working on musical iconography, especially on the musical caricatures in the periodicals of nineteenth-century Italy and on the Sonzogno publishing house. She has widely presented and published on both topics, both in English and Italian. She is currently a Senior Lecturer in Music at Oxford Brookes University, where she teaches mainly modules in History and Historiography of Music, Opera Studies and Methodology of musicological Research.

Sheridan Palmer is an art historian and curator with degrees from the Victorian College of the Arts, La Trobe University, and a PhD from the University of Melbourne. She is an ARC senior research associate at the University of Melbourne and an Honorary Research Fellow at the Centre of Visual Art at the Victorian College of the Arts. She has been awarded numerous grants including a Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art research grant, a Harold White Fellowship at the National Library of Australia, a Sidney Myer Arts Grant, and a Manning Clark CAL Fellowship. Palmer has worked in conservation at the National Gallery of Australia, as a curator at the Ballarat Art Gallery, has published extensively and curated exhibitions including *The Goddess Grins: Albert Tucker and the Female Image*, Heide MoMA (2007) and *Kevin Lincoln: Evoking Gippsland*, Gippsland Art Gallery (2022–23). Her major publications include *Centre of the Periphery: Three European Art Historians in Melbourne*, (2008); *Hegel's Owl: The Life of Bernard Smith,* (2016), *Antipodean Perspective: Selected Writings of Bernard Smith*, co-edited with Rex Butler, 2018, and she is editor of the 3rd Edition of Bernard Smith's *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2022.

Ian Parsons is a musicologist from Melbourne, Australia. He has a particular interest in the connections between music and philosophy. He completed his PhD at Melbourne's Monash University, where he developed an interpretation of Stockhausen's opera cycle LICHT from the perspective of Heideggerian phenomenology and Lacanian psychoanalysis. As well as teaching at Monash University, he has also lectured, and provided research coaching, in the Masters Aus LICHT course at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague and is a regular guest presenter at the Stockhausen Courses in Kürten, Germany. He presents a weekly radio show in Melbourne, Australia that focuses on avant-garde art music.

Sylvain Perrot, a former student of the École Normale Supérieure (Paris) and a former scientific member of the French School of Archaeology at Athens, is a junior full researcher at the Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, in the UMR 7044 Archimède (CNRS – University of Strasbourg). He is also assistant director of the Maison Interuniversitaire des Sciences de l'Homme – Alsace (MISHA, USR 3227). His PhD was devoted to the topic "Musics and Musicians in Delphi, from Archaic times to Late Antiquity" (and a book version is forthcoming). He is now preparing a new edition, translation, and commentary of the theoretical texts of Aristoxenus of Tarentum for the Collection des Universités de France (Belles Lettres, Paris). With S. Emerit and A. Vincent, he initiated a research programme in ancient soundscapes (*Le paysage sonore de l'Antiquité. Méthodologie, historiographie et perspectives,* 2015; *De la cacophonie à la musique. La perception du son dans les sociétés antiques*, 2022), a part of which was an exhibition entitled "Musiques ! Échos de l'Antiquité" (catalogue published in 2017) and now a database of all remains of music and sound artefacts in the ancient Mediterranean world (Repertorium Instrumentorum Musicorum Antiquorum). His main interest is not only ancient Greek music and soundscapes based on all kinds of sources (texts, music notation, images, remains), but also their reception in medieval and modern times.

Chris Price is a Senior Lecturer and Director of Music at Canterbury Christ Church University and was for many years a Tenor Lay Clerk (gentleman singer) in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral. He completed his PhD with Durham University in 2018, and this was published in January 2019 by Cambridge Scholars Publishing under the title *The Canterbury Catch Club 1826 – Music in the Frame*. He has also edited a book of catches and glees from the Canterbury Collection, entitled *As Thomas Was Cudgell'd One Day by his Wife*. Other publications include articles for *Music in Art* and *The Literary Encyclopedia*. He has given conference papers throughout the UK and further afield, in Europe, Russia, China, and Hong Kong.

Johanna Selleck is a composer, musicologist, and flautist. She holds a PhD from the University of Melbourne, where she is currently an honorary fellow. Her compositions have been performed by internationally renowned artists including in

Australia, Europe, the USA, Japan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Singapore, Malta, and Israel. Commissions include an orchestral piece for the 2022 PUENTE Festival Interoceánico in Chile. Johanna's research interests include Australian cultural history, semiology, and multimodal theory. Her research is published by Cambridge Scholars Press, Lexington Books, and Palgrave Macmillan as well as in scholarly journals such as *Australasian Music Research* and *Context*. Her music is published by Allans Music, Lyrebird Press, and the Australian Music Centre. Her recordings appear on labels including Move Records, Tall Poppies, and Navona USA. Prizes for composition include the Percy Grainger Prize for Composition and the Albert Maggs Composition Award.

Jason Stoessel (PhD 2003) is Associate Professor in Musicology and Digital Humanities at the University of New England, Australia. He is internationally recognised for his research on an array of interrelated topics in medieval and early modern music, including the notation and sources of the *ars subtilior*, Johannes Ciconia, the history of emotions, music and visual culture, musical creativity and perception, and digital research methods. His recent research has appeared as articles in *Music Analysis*, *Musica Disciplina*, *Music Perception* and as chapters in *Polyphonic Voices* (Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2021) and *Music and Science from Leonardo to Galileo* (Brepols, 2022). He has held successive Australian Research Council Discovery Project research grants (2015–2017, 2018–2021) and was an Associate Investigator of the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, Europe, 1100–1800 (2014–2018).

Arabella Teniswood-Harvey is a Senior Lecturer and Head of Music at the University of Tasmania. Pianist, art historian and academic, her published output includes six critically acclaimed recorded albums on the Australian label, Move Records, as well as scholarly articles in respected musicology and art history journals such as *The Burlington Magazine*. Having explored the musical interests of the nineteenth-century artist James McNeill Whistler for her PhD (University of Tasmania, 2006), Arabella has since expanded her research topics. Her interests include Australian music iconography, music and identity, and new modes of performance including virtual creativity. She is a member of the Council of Association RIdIM.

Brian Christopher Thompson is a Senior Lecturer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong where he teaches courses on Western music history. Much of his work has focused on transatlantic musical life in the nineteenth century. His forthcoming book, a study of the lives and careers of the duo known as Unsworth and Eugene, explores politics and sexuality in musical theatre of 1850s and '60s. He is currently working on a book that will examine music and Italian identity in Britain and North America. Thompson has also published essays on music education, and was a contributor to the recent award-winning *Norton Guide to Teaching Music History*.

Sophie M. Thompson holds a BA in Art History and Anthropology and is now completing a Master of Information Studies at McGill University, with an interest in historical archives and preservation. She has published in the Redpath Museum student journal, *Behind the Roddick Gates*, and completed internships at the Lachine Museum and the Osler Library of the History of Medicine.

Camilo Vaughan is a musicologist and composer from the Universidad Nacional de Colombia and the founder and director of DeCámara Experimental ensemble. He is a member of the Consejo Académico at the Patronato Colombiano de Artes y Ciencias (Colombia), Master in Hispanic musicology and scholarship student in the PhD in Musicology program of the Universidad de Salamanca (Spain), and a former professor at the Universidad INCCA and the Conservatorio del Tolima, in Colombia. His research has been presented at academic conferences in Colombia, Spain, Cuba, the Czech Republic, the United States of America, and Australia. He is working on the relations between music, visual sources, and literary narrative in the twentieth-century project of modernity in Iberic and Ibero-American art music. He has published one book and articles on Colombian academic music of the twentieth century.

Maria Alice Volpe (PhD in Musicology/ Ethnomusicology, University of Texas-Austin) is full professor of Musicology at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, and an elected member of the Brazilian Academy of Music. A contributor to *Latin American Music Review*, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, *Oxford Dictionary of Caribbean and Afro-Latin American Biography*, and *Revue de Musicologie*, she was Editor-in-chief of the *Revista Brasileira de Música* (2010–2019). An invited speaker at international conferences, including King's College-London, Università di Bologna, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Lisbon, Ibermúsicas, Mexico, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin, and Imperial Museum, Petrópolis. Volpe curated the Villa-Lobos Museum exhibitions *Uirapuru, the Enchanted Bird of the Amazon* (2018/2019), and *Carnival of Brazilian Children* (2019/2020). She is a founding member of ARLAC-IMS, also founding member and chair of ARLAC-IMS Working Group Music and Periodicals.

Maurice Wheeler is Professor of Information Science and Director of the Music Librarianship degree concentration in the Department of Information Science at the University of North Texas. He is a noted cultural heritage scholar and music archivist, and has been recognised as an innovative leader in academic and public libraries. He holds a PhD from the University of Pittsburgh and a Master of Music and Master of Library and Information Science, both from the University of Michigan. A National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow, Wheeler's research explores the intersection of diversity and organisational culture in library practice and education. Combining his backgrounds in vocal music, archives and special collections, his recent research and publications are centred in Cultural Heritage

Informatics. Wheeler's research in music archives has enabled him to continue active involvement in the performing arts. He has served on boards and committees of numerous organisations, and has served as archivist of the National Opera Association. In 2019 Wheeler was co-curator of *Black Voices at the Met*, a major exhibition at the Metropolitan Opera. In January 2023 he became Director of Archives at New York's Metropolitan Opera.

Suzanne Wijsman (DMA, Eastman School of Music) is Associate Professor in the Conservatorium of Music at the University of Western Australia. A noted scholar of musical iconography in Jewish sources, she was a Polonsky Visiting Fellow in the Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: *Sacred and Profane: Jewish Music 1500–1750* at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in 2020. Suzanne has published ground-breaking work on the Oppenheimer Siddur, a 15th-century Jewish prayer book in the Bodleian Library, including a collaborative scientific study of its artist-scribe's working methods in an article published in *Heritage Science*, as well as contributing to the Bodleian's exhibition of Hebrew manuscripts, *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting Place of Cultures* (2009–2010). Her work on musical iconography in the Oppenheimer Siddur appears in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music and Sound*, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly (2015). Forthcoming work includes an article on musical iconography in Hebrew and Yiddish sources for *Jewish Musical Cultures in Europe: 1500–1750*, ed. Diana Matut (E. J. Brill) and an essay on images of women and music in the Oppenheimer Siddur for the *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music*, ed. Tina Frühauf.

Bruce Wolfe is an award-winning architect renowned for his inspirational work on some of the most prominent, innovative projects in Australia, including Queensland Children's Hospital and the Piano Mill, both internationally awarded. Guided by his astute design sensibility, appetite for idea exploration, and commitment to collaboration, Bruce facilitates shared vision through design. He is inspired by incorporating art into architecture, yet also the interplay between these two disciplines. He is chair of the Queensland College of Art Industry Advisory Board, co-founder of the award-winning Piano Mill, and a director of the inter-arts venture, Harrigans Lane Collective.

Jocelyn Wolfe is an adjunct research fellow with the Creative Arts Research Institute, Griffith University, in Queensland, Australia; co-founder of the award-winning Piano Mill; and a director of the inter-arts venture Harrigans Lane Collective. Her teaching career in music education traversed primary, secondary and tertiary levels, and more recently focussed on academic skills and challenges in music degree course work. Beyond her PhD study on metaphorical dimensions of musical sound that arise in 'teacher talk' in advanced music instruction, her current research explores creative and historical intersections of music, sound, society, and architecture.

HOLLITZER

www.hollitzer.at

Belonging, Detachment and the Representation of Musical Identities in Visual Culture is a volume of 28 essays exploring aspects of identity/ies in the field of music in visual culture.

It is dedicated to the memory of Dorothea Baumann (1946–2022), an energetic champion of music iconographic research. Organised in six sections, the book explores theory and methodology; notation, intertextuality and interarts dialogue; and topics traversing courtly and ecclesiastical life, the fabrication and mechanism of cultural identity, colonialism, subversion and struggle.

HOLLITZER

ISBN 978-3-99094-122-5