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LOVELY LADIES STROKING STRINGS: DEPICTIONS OF *HUQIN* IN CHINESE EXPORT WATERCOLOURS*

COLIN HUEHNS

Royal Academy of Music, London

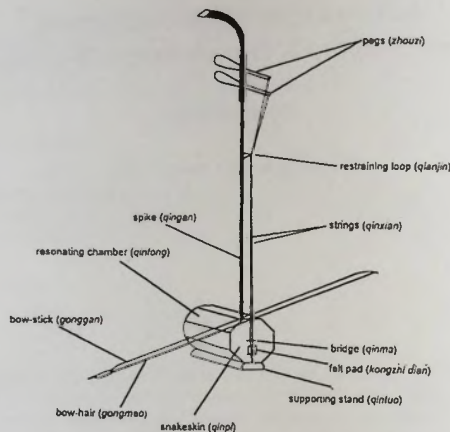
Comparatively little is known about the evolution of the Chinese family of bowed instruments known collectively as *huqin*. The sources from which their history could be constructed include representations of them in the visual arts, references in literature and theoretical treatises, and surviving examples themselves. This paper focuses on one genre of art, namely, Chinese export watercolours, which is particularly rich in depictions of *huqin*, and discusses how far our knowledge of both these instruments and this type of art is informed by this examination. Its structure is as follows: firstly, a brief description of *huqin* and the technique used for playing them; secondly, a general account of their depiction in the visual arts; thirdly, an introduction to export watercolours; fourthly, detailed treatment of a series of these paintings depicting *huqin*; and, finally, conclusions. Reproductions of the vast majority of the pictures included here have, as far as I am aware, never been published before still less so the connection between them observed and their importance in illuminating the history of *huqin* discussed, in sources either in English or Chinese.

THE INSTRUMENTS OF THE *HUQIN* FAMILY. *HUQIN*. Nowadays, *huqin* is a generic term for the principal family of Chinese bowed instruments.¹ Their unique distinguishing characteristic is that the bow-hair is inserted between the strings – usually two – one of which is stroked by the inner face of the bow-hair and the other by the outer.² A diagram of the modern *erhu*, at present the most widely played member of the family, is given in figure 1, and it is also shown in action in the author's hands in figure 2.

Briefly, *huqin* are constructed with a small sound-box – usually cylindrical or hemispherical – over which, at one end, either a snakeskin or wooden plate has been fixed. A spike passes through this sound-box and extends vertically upwards, and two or more tuning pegs, depending on the number of strings, are inserted into its upper end. The strings run from these pegs, usually through a restraining loop or *qianjin*, over a small bridge placed on the snakeskin or wooden plate, and are attached to the lower end of the spike as it emerges from the sound-box at the base of the instrument. Most *huqin* are held vertically on the left hip and bowed horizontally with a bamboo and horsehair bow.

Nowadays, there are perhaps forty variants of *huqin* played in different parts of China, and others are also to be found amongst the indigenous peoples of Mongolia, Korea, Japan and southeast Asia, regions where the influence of Chinese culture has always been strong. The principal modern Chinese members of the clan are the *erhu*, *gaohu*, *zhonghu*, *baihu*, *jinghu* and *sihu*; however, of these, only the *gaohu*, *baihu* and *jinghu* will be described in detail here as only these appear in export watercolours.

GAOHU. Until the early twentieth century, *erhu* and *gaohu*³ were indistinguishable, and it is only in their evolution in the period subsequent to the 1920s and the reforms of Liu Tianhua (1895–1932)⁴ and his colleagues that they have developed into their modern separate identities; even so, differences between them are still slight. Both are snakeskin-fronted and employ a cylindrical wooden sound-box. Because the modern *gaohu* is associated with repertoires from south China, which is where most export watercolours were purchased, all the depictions of snakeskin-fronted *huqin* of this type included here will be categorised as “*gaohu*”.



1. Diagram of the modern *erhu*.

When played, the modern *erhu* is always wedged firmly on the left hip bone. The snakeskin membrane of the instrument points squarely towards the player's right in order that the bow-hair, when stroked horizontally, cuts the string at an angle perpendicular to the front face; the more exact this perpendicular is, the better the tone. Fixing the sound-box directly on the hip bone ensures that it is held as securely as possible – itself a prerequisite for good string playing of whatever instrument or culture – and allowing it to drift down the thigh is poor technique which will be sternly corrected by any competent teacher. The torso is held erect and the spike vertical. When in action, most modern players do not cross their legs as this restricts freedom of movement, though this technique is used by some.

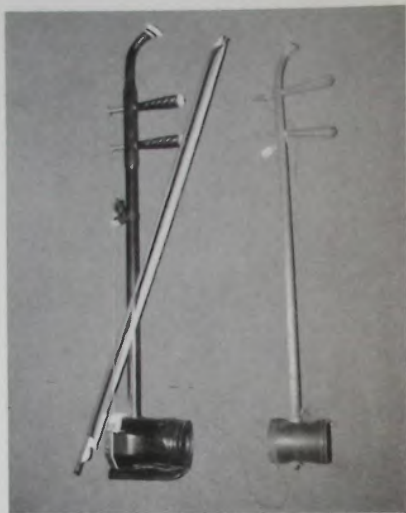
The modern *gaohu* is also usually wedged on the left hip in the same manner as the *erhu*. A minority of players, however, adopt the more traditional posture of gripping it between the knees, as is shown in figure 3. This has little effect on overall technique, and good players can use either method; however, most still prefer to hold all their *huqin* in the same way – fixed on the left hip – as this avoids unnecessary adjustment when changing between members of the family; in addition, placing the instrument between the knees forces the back to lean slightly forward, which can be uncomfortable for long periods of time; and, as it is gripped more firmly in this position, its vibrations are reduced, and its sound can be slightly muffled. To reduce the latter problem, many modern *gaohu*, such as that shown in figure 3, are equipped with a protective wooden plate which can be screwed to the front rim of the sound-box if this playing position is to be adopted.

The modern *erhu* is very much an invention of the period since the 1920s. Responding to the demand for an instrument with a louder sound which could dominate the concert stage and flourish with its new concerto repertoire, a number of important innovations were made to *huqin* design. In fact, because the modern *erhu* repertoire has all been composed with the contemporary version in mind and contains no examples of music which pre-date the reforms of Liu Tianhua, very few older specimens are still in regular use in mainland China, though some still survive in museum collections there as well as elsewhere.⁵ This means that the music played by the instrumentalists shown in the watercolours reproduced here is, and probably will always remain, largely a mystery.



2-3. The author playing the *erhu* (left) and the modern *gaohu* in the traditional manner inserted between the knees (right).

Figure 4 presents two typical instruments side by side – a modern reformed model (left) and an earlier example (right) – in order to illustrate the differences between them.⁶ The former, that also shown being played in figure 2, is the one I normally use when performing and teaching, and is a fine specimen from the workshop of Lü Jiehua in Beijing, made from the heavy, close-grained tropical hardwood padouk. The latter is from the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, probably dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, and is made from a much lighter, open-grained oak-type wood.⁷ It has a smaller sound-box, shorter spike, and pegs which are not perpendicular to the spike but instead point slightly towards each other, which compares with the Lü Jiehua's model where – as with virtually all recent *luqin* – the pegs are inserted at right angles. In addition, like all old examples, it lacks the supporting stand attached to the base of the sound-box found on the vast majority of modern versions. As is common practice today, Lü Jiehua's *erhu* shown here is supplied with metal strings, whereas the older has remnants of the original silk strings still attached to it. Silk strings were replaced by metal strings in the period from about 1900 onwards and have long since fallen completely out of use.⁸ More than any other factor, string type affects the timbre of an instrument: silk makes for a deeper, more mellow, but more muffled sound, whereas that of metal is brighter, louder and more vibrant, and the strings are also much less prone to snapping and going out of tune.



4-5. From left to right, a modern *erhu* (workshop of Lü Jiehua, Beijing); a late-18th- or early-19th-century *gaohu* (Edinburgh University Collection of Musical Instruments, inv. no. 439); a mid-19th-century mid-voiced *banhu* (Edinburgh University Collection of Musical Instruments, inv. no. 435); a late-18th- or early-19th-century high-voiced *banhu* (Edinburgh University Collection of Musical Instruments, inv. no. 434); and a modern high-voiced *banhu* (Lü Jiehua).

Although a comparatively modern invention, and not depicted in album paintings, for the sake of completeness, brief mention should be made here of the *zhonghu*,⁹ a snakeskin-fronted member of the clan slightly larger than the *erhu*, which is tuned lower pitches and thus more-or-less the "viola" of the family, and now associated mainly with Mongolian repertoires.

BANHU. Cousins to the *erhu* and *gaohu* are the *banhu*. There are two main modern versions of this instrument: mid- and high-voiced; figure 6 shows the author playing the latter. They differ from the *erhu* and *gaohu* simply because they employ a wooden sound-board instead of a snakeskin membrane,¹⁰ which makes for a less mellow, sharper and more penetrating tone. This plate is usually made from an untreated, light-coloured close-grained piece of wood which can be clearly differentiated from the darker hues of the rest of the instrument. In addition, the orthodox modern *banhu* sound-box is not normally made from wood, as it is with the *erhu* and *gaohu*, but rather from a hollowed gourd or coconut shell on to which the wooden face has been fixed, and thus it is usually hemispherical in shape, not cylindrical.

In order to help produce the *banhu*'s typically brighter sound, its bow-stick is usually made from thicker and more robust bamboo than those of the snakeskin members of the family. It also has a shorter spike, into which its pegs are normally inserted laterally from the left side (as viewed from the front), pointing sideways towards the player's face, by contrast with which, *erhu*, *gaohu* and *jinghu* pegs all point backwards, parallel to the cylindrical sound-box. On many modern *banhu*, such as that shown being played in figure 6, the strings are each wound on to a metal screw thread mechanism drilled into the end of the spike. By comparison with snakeskin-fronted *huqin*, this causes the string angle relative to the spike to be altered, thus making the restraining loop or *qianjin* redundant, and this is normally replaced by a small wooden "nut" which performs the same

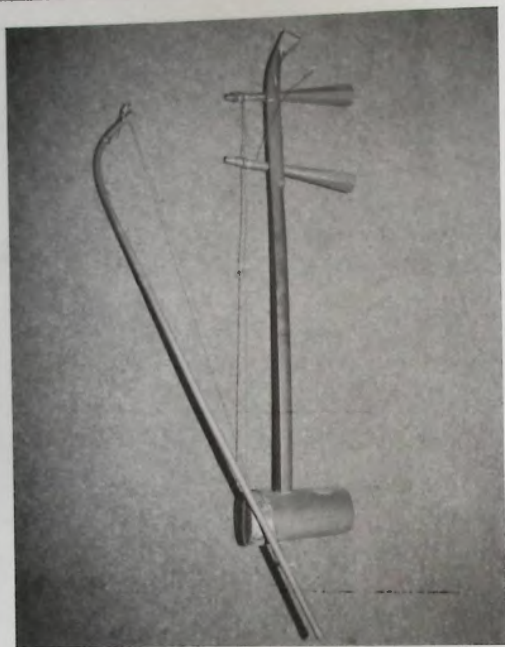


6. The author playing the modern high-voiced *banhu*.

function, that of stopping the strings. On modern instruments, this nut is normally considerably lower on the spike than the *qianjiu* on the *erhu* or *gaohu*, thus making the vibrating area of the strings much shorter, however, like them, the *banhu* is still held wedged on the left hip with its face angled towards the player's right and bowed horizontally.

Figure 5 contrasts three *banhu*: on the right is the same high-voiced model as that shown being played in figure 6 and, like my *erhu* and *gaohu*, also a fine instrument from the Lü Jiehua workshop which I regularly use; those in the middle and on the left are high- and mid-voiced *banhu* from the Edinburgh collection and date from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries respectively.¹¹ Again, the most striking contrast is between the darker, heavier wood of the modern example and the lighter wood of the older Edinburgh specimen. The pegs of the latter, as with those of the Edinburgh *gaohu* shown above in figure 4, are not inserted perpendicularly to the spike but instead point slightly towards each other. The later Edinburgh mid-voiced *banhu*, with its darker colouring, more closely resembles the modern instrument in general appearance, though it should be noted here that its violin-type pegs and bridge are almost certainly inauthentic. Nonetheless, the pegs of all these *banhu* – both modern and old – are all inserted from the left side, as is the case on virtually all surviving *banhu* of whatever age.

Neither of the Edinburgh *banhu* in figure 5 possesses metal screw thread mechanisms on to which the strings have been wound, and instead, on both, a groove has been gouged from front to back through the end



7. A late-18th- or early-19th-century *jinglu* (Edinburgh University Collection of Musical Instruments, inv. no. 441).

of the spike, and the strings are wound on to the pegs as they pass through this groove. Just below the pegs, the wooden nut over which the strings pass still survives on the Edinburgh high-voiced *banhu*, placed much higher on the spike than it is on the modern instrument.

Also important in figure 5 is the S-shaped Edinburgh bow, with its highly arched curve, most acute at the point, tapered towards the heel, a contour typical of early *huqin*.¹² As a rule of thumb, the older the bow, the more convex it is, and surviving examples from the late eighteenth century – probably the oldest still in existence today – tend to have this sort of more marked curve. Over the next two centuries this arc has gradually flattened to produce the virtually straight or even slightly concave sticks of today. In fact, this trend is consistent enough to be extremely helpful in dating old *huqin*.

JINGHU. The vast majority of the export watercolours I have found during the course of this research depict either the *gaolu* or *banhu*; only one includes a *jinglu* [fig. 31], a special member of the *huqin* family nowadays used almost exclusively as an accompanying instrument for Beijing Opera.¹³ The smallest member of the clan, it employs a snakeskin membrane, and the modern sound-box is a hollowed bamboo tube, as is the spike. Because it is small and can be easily controlled by the left hand, it is normally balanced on the left thigh rather than wedged on the hip bone. Figure 7 shows a late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth-century *jinghu* from the Edinburgh collection,¹⁴ whose spike, like those of most older examples, is made of wood, not the bamboo more



8. Close-up of the modern *erhu* bow-hold; the author's hand.

prevalent today. Its bow evinces a marked arc similar to that of the Edinburgh bow in figure 5, and, like most old *huqin*, its pegs are not perpendicular to the spike but instead point slightly towards each other. Like the Edinburgh *gaohu* and high-voiced *bauhui* shown in figures 4 and 5 respectively, the tip of its spike is also coloured a lighter brown than the rest of the instrument, indicating, along with other features, that these three specimens belong to a set and have a similar provenance, unlike the mid-voiced *bauhui* in figure 5, which is a later addition to the collection.

OTHER HUQIN. Although they do not appear in the export watercolours under discussion in this paper, for the sake of completeness, brief mention will be made here of some of the other members of the *huqin* family. One of the most interesting of these is the four-stringed *sihu*,¹⁵ old examples of which dating from the late eighteenth century onwards still survive in several museum collections, including that in Edinburgh.¹⁶ Nowadays, the *sihu* is almost exclusively connected with the music of the Mongol national minority of the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia; however, the evidence from depictions in the visual arts other than those discussed here and surviving examples in museum collections strongly suggests that it was once more widespread across China than it is today, though perhaps it was still rare or non-existent in Canton – many hundreds of miles away from its Mongolian heartland – the city where most export watercolours were produced and purchased.

Other modern *huqin* include various regional types, for example, *leihu* from Tianjin and *zhuihu* from Zhengzhou in Henan province,¹⁷ both of which are larger snakeskin-fronted members of the family. Some local operas use their own versions, for example, in *Wanwanqiang* of Shaanxi province, the *erxianzi*,¹⁸ a kind of *bauhui*, is found in the accompanying ensemble. Modern experimental types include the snakeskin-fronted three-stringed *sanhui*,¹⁹ and, in addition, there are numerous variants played by the national minorities of China, as well as others found in Japan, Korea and Southeast Asia.

MODERN HUQIN TECHNIQUE. A summary of this as I studied it from the renowned virtuoso Jin Wei, professor of *erhu* at the Xi'an Conservatory, is included here for the sake of providing a modern yardstick against which to measure the depictions in the export watercolours. The work of Liu Tianhua and others has helped systematise *huqin* – and most specifically *erhu* – technique into its modern form. Nowadays, these playing prac-

tices are taught in conservatoires by skilled teachers using an array of etudes and pieces, and are standardised through a series of graded examinations, which means that, as a result, there are many fewer variations in this respect than pertain to the violin in the Western Classical tradition. This is partly a product of the restrictions created by *huqin* themselves – with the bow-hair between the strings, there are only a limited number of ways that they can be successfully played in order to be effective as sound-producing apparatuses – but is also a by-product of political and cultural centralisation. For these reasons, the technique described here is very much the modern “Classical” way of playing as it is widely accepted to be and represents a consistency which contrasts markedly to the situation prior to Liu Tianhua, when *huqin* lore was simply passed on from master to pupil, resulting in a plethora of performance practices; it is primarily by using depictions in the visual arts that these older styles can successfully be reconstructed.

Figures 2, 3 and 6 present respectively *erhu*, *gaohu* and *banhu* in performance; figure 8 is a close-up of the main modern *huqin* bow-hold;²⁰ reference to these four pictures should be made in order to understand the description of *huqin* technique given below. Thankfully, this technique is virtually identical on most members of the family, and experienced players can exchange freely between models with ease – when giving recitals, I frequently use a series of different instruments in order to present the timbres and repertoires pertaining to each variant, and this is common practice. Although the description given here covers *erhu*, *gaohu* and *banhu*, slight modifications are required for *jinghu*, *sihu* and some other *huqin*, but these are not discussed here as I have not found any examples of export watercolours which depict these members of the clan in performance.²¹

A description of the posture required to play *huqin* has been touched on above. Briefly, *erhu*, *gaohu* and *banhu* are normally wedged on the left hip bone with the spike held vertically and the face of the instrument pointing to the player's right. He himself should sit on the front edge of his chair with left leg slightly further forward than right, though with the soles of both feet flat, or virtually so, on the floor. His spine should be held erect, and eyes look forward; bending over the instrument is poor technique, though inevitable sometimes, and most players will occasionally succumb to this temptation – as with all bowed instruments, the eyes are often drawn to the contact point of bow with string, but this can cause the back to droop and should be avoided.

The shoulders and neck are loosely supported. The action of bowing *huqin* should include the sensation of opening and closing the muscles of the entire thorax with every stroke. The bow is stroked horizontally with its stick resting on the body of the instrument, which means that it always cuts the strings at the same point, and that, following the downward cylindrical curve of the sound-box, the stick will always be lower than the hair. Even slight deviation from a perpendicular angle between string and bow will result in impurity in the tone and must be avoided at all costs. Likewise, the bow-hair should cut the string perpendicularly to the snakeskin in order to produce vibrations on the bridge which transmit themselves vertically into it, and the more accurate this angle, the fuller and richer the tone.

Smoothness of bow-speed is essential on all bowed instruments, and *huqin* are no exception. This can only be obtained if all joints in the body are loose and interacting correctly, and, for this reason, the *huqin* bow-arm is kept as relaxed as possible. The forearm is supported horizontally, and the bow held loosely with the first (index) finger curled around the stick and fingers two and three pressing the bow-hair in order that they can regulate its tension during performance; the thumb rests on the stick, and the little finger has no function.

Good *huqin* technique requires bow-strokes to be led from the wrist. Figures 2, 3 and 6 all present the hair cutting the string in mid-stroke; figure 8 shows the grip when the bow is at this position. However, at both heel and point, the angle of the wrist alters significantly, always with the wrist leading the bow-stroke, moving and changing direction before the hand and fingers.

In order that a fluent wrist vibrato and smooth position changing along the spike can be easily accomplished – both essential features of modern technique – the *erhu* left arm is held with the wrist marginally higher than the elbow and hand. In figure 2, it is perhaps even very slightly too high for normal playing – these were posed pictures – and is at an angle most commonly encountered immediately after a downward²² glissando along the strings has just been completed; that in figure 6 is more suitable for ordinary usage.

The strings of *erhu*, *gaohu* and *banhu* are all pressed with the fingertips, the string passing as far as possible along the length of the fingertip pad and not across it.²³

IN SEARCH OF DEPICTIONS OF *HUQIN* IN THE VISUAL ARTS. As a player and teacher of *huqin*, my interest has naturally turned to examining their history. Because the modern *erhu* began with Liu Tianhua and his colleagues in the 1920s, since no music earlier than this date is in the repertoire today, and older instruments no longer used, research into the earlier evolution of *huqin* relies mainly on sources other than those currently employed as part of the modern tradition of playing. In other words, a thorough knowledge of this tradition will not inform as to the history of *huqin* prior to Liu Tianhua, and in order to explore this the scholar must turn elsewhere.

These other sources could include depictions in the visual arts, old photographs and moving image footage, mentions in old novels and theoretical treatises, as well as surviving examples of the instruments themselves. Of these, the first has always yielded the most fruitful results; there is, after all, a great deal of Chinese art, stretching back for thousands of years, much of it easily accessible through books and in museum collections, whereas old photographs and moving image footage can only inform on a more recent history.²⁴ Mentions in old novels, theoretical treatises and other printed material can be helpful, but written description is no substitute for depiction when it comes to the study of physical objects and how they are employed, so their use in the absence of accompanying illustrations is often limited, notwithstanding the problems of finding such mentions in the first place.²⁵ Surviving instruments are also important, but divorced from their original setting and usually of questionable age and provenance, they often reveal little about playing technique, performance contexts and repertoires.²⁶ In other words, from the outset it has seemed clear to me that only a comprehensive set of depictions of *huqin* in the visual arts could illuminate their history. Enthused with the prospect, I set about the task of finding such a sequence with gusto.

Previously, as a violinist searching for equivalent material in Western art, I had embarked on a similar quest and was quickly rewarded with many examples. For instance, medieval illuminated manuscripts frequently yield musicians playing various sorts of fiddles amongst the decorative figures found in the margins to the main text; likewise, gargoyles on Gothic cathedrals were a fertile hunting ground. In fact, from the Middle Ages to the present day, bowed instruments have been a common subject for depiction in the visual arts of all kinds. Naïvely, I expected that a cursory glance at a few randomly selected books on Chinese art would yield a similar crop, but I was sorely disappointed – I found nothing; Chinese instruments of all other sorts were represented with great frequency, but not *huqin*.

Thankfully, at this point, I discovered literature on the subject in both English and Chinese which might help me,²⁷ and the depictions mentioned or reproduced in these texts did furnish me with the bones of a series of pictures illustrating the history of *huqin*. Inspired, I delved once more into Chinese art hoping to find many more similar examples, but again my expectations were not met. For instance, frequent mention is made of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) mural in the tenth cave at Yulin which includes a *huqin*,²⁸ so, taking this as a starting point, I searched through every volume I could find of reproductions of similar “thousand Buddha” cave murals in search of more. There are many such books,²⁹ most packed with hundreds of pages of illustrations, often including representation of musical instruments of some sort, but, other than the aforementioned example, only a mere handful of questionable instances of *huqin*. I began to realise that my guiding texts were not showing the “tip of the iceberg”, but instead were reproducing and discussing most or all the depictions they could find and extrapolating data from them.

Curiously, the commonness of instances of other sorts of Chinese traditional instruments in art of all kinds and the relative paucity of representations of *huqin* stood in stark contrast to the post-1949 situation where *huqin* are regularly depicted, and the *erhu* is probably the most important Chinese traditional instrument played, performed and taught. It seemed to me that there were a number of possible explanations for this state of affairs. (1) Prior to Liu Tianhua, *huqin* were simply extremely scarce. In many cultures, because both the technology employed to make bowed instruments and the technique required to play them are complex, they are often much rarer than plucked ones;³⁰ perhaps this situation also pertained to Imperial China. (2) Noticing the formulaic nature of much of Chinese art, perhaps *huqin* had simply not entered into the rhetoric of symbols which tradition dictated could be employed. In other words, there were plenty around, but it was simply not the custom to depict them. But why? (3) *Huqin* carried with them cultural associations with the rural poor or the dispossessed in society, and, for this reason, rich patrons did not want to view them on the art they commissioned, preferring instead other instruments, most particularly the *guqin*, the seven-stringed plucked zither

redolent with the Confucian notions of the scholar at leisure making music in order to commune with nature. A combination of both the first and second explanations could certainly be deployed to account for the lack of depictions of *huqin* in art in general, but if the third is also applied, the solution to my inability to find new representations of *huqin* was obvious: I was simply looking in all the wrong places. I was searching through "establishment" Chinese art – cave murals, scroll paintings, jade and ivory carvings, porcelain, vertical scroll paintings and encyclopedias – when I should have been examining the art of the underclass, that which depicted ordinary life, and which by implication was less under the stultifying cultural and political control of the elite. And when I did this, I started making my own discoveries of depictions of *huqin* – still few in number compared with the other Chinese traditional instruments – but discoveries nonetheless, and the richest and most interesting crop of these was in export watercolour albums.³¹

These volumes were produced for foreign consumption, so were untainted by any requirements that Chinese patrons might make. The genre also forced artists to search around for material – if an album depicting musicians playing instruments was to have maximum impact and sell for a premium price, then it had to have as varied and as large a selection of pictures in it as possible. Therefore, no instrument could be omitted, and *huqin* could also be included; the foreigner, after all, was unlikely to have the wit to regard this as unorthodox.

Other areas in the visual arts have also produced rich seams. In Chinese eyes, Western visitors to China formed part of this underclass, whilst European artists were also not constrained by the conventions of Chinese art. I have collected a series of more than twenty examples of Western depictions of Chinese bowed instruments – the vast majority of them *huqin* – which spans a period from the fourteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.³² The illustrated lithographed periodicals *Dinshizhai* and *Feiyangge* were produced in the late nineteenth century as light relief reading for the Chinese literati and, because of their deliberately risqué content, also represent *huqin* with relative frequency (about thirty times in all),³³ as do a number of other contemporary satirical magazines and journals.³⁴ A few examples have come from illustrated Chinese printed books, especially erotic novels,³⁵ and Qing dynasty (1644–1911) horizontal scroll paintings and books showing street scenes and processions. Export wallpapers and oil paintings also include some, but for reasons of space, these are not discussed in this paper; I have found none on export porcelain. The most common association in all of these – as evinced typically by export watercolours – is between *huqin* and the erotic: the musician in question is usually a lady, often beautiful and highly made-up. Nonetheless, in all cases, *huqin* are still represented much more rarely than the other Chinese traditional instruments.

When the Communists took power in 1949, the dispossessed became the ruling élite, and with them their instrument – *huqin* – has also prospered and become dominant, now commonly painted, played and enjoyed by all levels of the "new" society.

EXPORT ALBUM WATERCOLOURS were produced from the late eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, mainly in Canton. A more comprehensive account of the genre is best left to those more versed in the field,³⁶ and this paper will restrict itself to a few observations pertinent to the depiction of *huqin*.

Export watercolours are particularly abundant in UK museum collections and often conspicuous by their absence elsewhere. With Britain as China's main trading partner at the time, this should come as no surprise; nonetheless, the disparity can be startling and may reflect different tastes both then and now. The British Museum alone possesses over four hundred Chinese albums, about a quarter of which are of the export watercolour type, and other sizeable deposits are also to be found in the British Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, Royal Museum in Edinburgh, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge University Library, Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library, David Rylands Library in Manchester, and Hong Kong³⁷ Museum of Art.

In many cases, they languish forgotten in reserve collections, often uncatalogued, rarely, if ever, displayed to the public. Some are in a poor state of repair, shoddily bound and damaged by mould.³⁸ For some reason, it would seem, export watercolours are often regarded as second-class, not worthy of display, by comparison with porcelain of the same period which often fills many rooms in the various museums. I find this a great pity, because these albums are gifted with a particularly human touch, the life they portray is that of the ordinary person, and, as such, they engage the viewer in a manner which is direct and personal, and which, to my mind, many other objects and artefacts often fail to do. Perhaps that is why they so attracted their original purchasers: they offer invaluable insight into China as it was, a world which has since changed out of all recognition.

Export albums are usually themed according to their subject matter; "musicians" or "musical instruments" are fairly common categories, and it is from these volumes that the examples depicting *huqin* reproduced here have mostly been drawn; others include "trades and occupations", "pedlars", "costumes", "shop signs", "room interiors" and "boats". One of the most recurrent is "punishments", usually painted with a particularly gory verisimilitude, even if the unfortunate victim is often portrayed smiling as if enjoying his gruesome experience. The standard of the workmanship varies greatly, and whilst most of the pictures reproduced here are of a high artistic quality, in some, the brushwork can be extremely crude. Usually, they were mass-produced in studios, and several examples of each painting were often made, as can be seen here by comparing figures 9 and 10 with 26, 11 with 12, and 19 with 25.³⁹

With a conspicuous absence of supporting data or signatures of artists on the pictures themselves normally the case, dating export watercolours can be problematic, though some can be ascribed to particular studios or decades on stylistic grounds. For this reason, such information given here in this respect is simply a combination of details found in museum catalogues and my own guesswork buttressed by the results of consultation with experts in the field, and is presented as plausible and nothing more. However, for the purposes of this paper, this problem is a minor issue, and much more important is what the paintings actually show; after all, they all fall well before the watershed in *huqin* history of the 1920s and Liu Tianhua's reforms. Thus, export albums are, by and large, considered here to be a corpus of work as a whole originating from a particular period.

Little is known about how the paintings under discussion here were acquired in the first place, but one assumes that many were originally bought as souvenirs by visitors to the Orient. They are occasionally mentioned in contemporary accounts of the China trade, for example, André Everard van Braam Houckgeest's *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East-India Company to the Court of the Emperor of China in the Years 1794 and 1795*⁴⁰ includes a lengthy *Notice of a Collection of Chinese Drawings, in the Possession of M. Van Braam, Author of this Work* attached to the end of volume 2 of this book as a quasi-appendix. Amidst the many export albums listed, on page 312, is one given as "a volume in which thirty-three coloured drawings represent a like number of women playing upon different musical instruments. From this volume we get a knowledge of those instruments, and a good idea of the female dresses." This description points directly to the type of album discussed in this paper, and, furthermore, it may not be overly romantic to suppose that this quote may actually refer to one of the volumes whose leaves are reproduced here.

In order to satisfy Western tastes, Chinese painters made many modifications to conventional indigenous watercolour techniques. The romantic hues of traditional "*shanshui*" [mountain-water] landscapes were replaced by a much cleaner, sharper and more objective style. Influenced by Western portraiture, particular importance was placed on moulding the "three-dimensionality" of the human form, most commonly through careful attention to the folds in drapery and clothing [figs. 9 & 10]. Perspective in a Western sense is sometimes employed, for example, in figures 24-26, where the straight lines do indeed converge towards a vanishing point; however, as will be discussed in more detail later, the carefully moulded figures depicted therein often perch uncomfortably inside the landscape as a whole. Nonetheless, all the paintings included here exhibit a certain finesse, a particular delicacy and fluency of brushwork which, to my mind, is still unmistakably Chinese, and this remains their hallmark.

EXPORT WATERCOLOURS DEPICTING HUQIN. Figures 9-31 present 23 examples of this genre of painting which represent *huqin*, a sequence which includes most of those I have been able to find, and is the result of an extensive search.⁴¹ Of these, thirteen adhere to a portrait style and depict only one or two people – mostly ladies – usually without any background [figs. 9-21], though sometimes an item of furniture is also present, a technique which concentrates the viewer's attention on the musicians in question but also causes them to appear to hang in mid-air on the page. Two more adopt a similar attitude to perspective and composition, though both include more people in the picture [figs. 22 & 23]. Three place ensembles of instrumentalists against a fully-furnished background laid out meticulously according to Western concepts of perspective [figs. 24-26], but inside which the musicians are still the same carefully moulded exquisite shapes familiar from figures 9-21, and, as a result, seem a little incongruous inside the overall geometric design. In subject matter, figures 27 and 28 are anomalous: the first represents a procession and is in the conventional, brightly-coloured export style, whilst the second presents an ensemble of musicians inside a boat and employs the more subdued



9. A lady playing the *gaohu* accompanied by another on the wood-block. Chinese export watercolour, early 19th century. Victoria and Albert Museum, Far Eastern Department, 02253.1885. © Victoria and Albert Museum.

hues of ink outline and watercolour “wash”. Figures 29–31 depict only instruments, meticulously and accurately, and adhere to an “encyclopedic” format reminiscent of the numerous albums which consist of sequences of flowers, insects, fish, plants and so on. Figure 32 – still an export watercolour – includes a representation of a bowed instrument which is of a Central Asian type and does not belong to the Chinese *huqin* family, whilst figure 33 is a contemporary photograph of an ensemble which contains an example of this kind of instrument in performance.

Figures 9–33 are now each examined in turn. In particular, discussion will centre on how far they can be regarded as accurate historical documents in themselves and to what extent veracity may have been sacrificed for the sake of aesthetic demands for beauty in art. In other words, what do they tell us about the history of *huqin* and how far does this understanding inform our knowledge of the export watercolour style?

FIGURES 9 & 10. These two leaves are examples of the same picture found in two different albums of ladies playing musical instruments, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the other in the British Museum. The design consists of a lady playing a *gaohu* accompanied by another striking a wood-block. Both are exquisite fine examples of the early export watercolour style, lucidly painted, delicately shaded and expressively conceived, yet still somehow understated – witness the virtually expressionless faces. However, as with any duplicates produced by master craftsmen, slight discrepancies between them serve to preserve the integrity of the



10. A lady playing the *gaohu* accompanied by another on the wood-block. Chinese export watercolour, early 19th century. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1877-14,919. © British Museum.

individuality of each album leaf, differences which evince themselves most obviously in the colours employed, though are also evident in details of folds, moulding and shading on the ladies' dresses.

As with all the lovely women represented here playing musical instruments, one can safely assume they were practitioners of what might euphemistically be called the "entertainment" industry.⁴² Those playing *gaohu* in figure 9 and 10 would seem at first glance to be finely clothed, but compared to musicians found on other leaves of both of the albums from which these pictures have been taken, their dress and hairstyle are relatively plain. As always with all Chinese ladies of the pre-Republican era, looking at the feet reveals most: those of the *gaohu* player are normal-sized, unlike her partner striking the wood-block who has had them bound, and they are rather small ones at that. As a rule of thumb, the smaller the feet, the higher the status, whether prostitute or not, unless the lady is of the ruling Manzu race, whose women did not bind their feet, or one of several other minorities similarly enlightened. In Canton in south China, where the vast majority of album paintings were bought, it can safely be assumed that there were very few Manzu ladies around, far away from their distant heartland in the north, other than the wives of very high officials, who would certainly not have been depicted holding a *huqin*. Therefore, the normal size of the feet found on the *gaohu* player in figures 9 and 10 confirms the association of *huqin* with the unwashed poor.



11. A lady playing the *gaohu*. Chinese export watercolour, 1850–1870. Victoria and Albert Museum, Far Eastern Department, 9168:3. © Victoria and Albert Museum.

As with most watercolours representing *huqin*, here the artist has crafted a peculiar mix of the elegantly beautiful with accurate depiction, usually in harmony, occasionally in conflict. The *gaohu* itself looks very similar to the contemporary model shown in figure 4: both are made with the same snakeskin face, thin, elegant spike curving backwards towards a lightly-coloured tip and two pegs pointing backwards parallel to a cylindrical wooden sound-box. The curve of the bow is similar to the S-curve of the old *huqin* bows in figures 5 and 7, whilst the angle of the pegs to the spike even resembles the non-perpendicular insertion found in figures 4, 5 and 7.⁴³

Two strings can be clearly seen, both painted white – the normal colour for the silk strings used on older *huqin* – but there is no evidence of a *qianjin* (the loop which gathers the strings above the playing area on their



12. A lady playing the *gaoju*. Chinese export watercolour, 1850-1870. Ilfracombe Museum, ILFCM.8822. © Ilfracombe Museum.

way from pegs to bridge). Its absence is a feature which will be noticed on many of the instruments depicted here, and whilst this may be an oversight on the part of the painter, it could also indicate that they were not always employed. After all, there are to this day respectable traditions of *huqin* playing which do not use them, though they are outside the mainstream.⁴¹ None of the watercolours of *huqin* players in performance reproduced here includes depiction of a *qianjin*, but figures 29 and 31, which are simply detailed diagrams of the instruments, do. Judging by the rarity of modern traditions without *qianjin*, the common survival of remnants of them on old examples in modern museum collections, and the much more plausible construction of *huqin* with them than without, I am convinced that, in the vast majority, if not in all cases, their absence is simply an oversight on the part of the artist.

The lady sits well enough, with her back erect, left foot slightly in front of the right, and eyes looking forward; however, her muscles seem curiously disengaged from the process of playing, expressing a casual, almost disinterested mood, as can also be found on many of the paintings included here. These women may be lovely to look at, and may be consummate artists, but we sometimes feel a lack of a sense of musical passion, of physical commitment, in their playing: their arms seem to hang passively, rather than exuding a muscular feeling of active alertness.

The *gaolin* itself is not held on the left hip bone, as it should be according to modern technique as shown in figure 2, and is painted only half-pointing to the player's right, less so than it would be today. Here, unsupported by the block which is attached to the modern instrument, it is placed more-or-less between the thighs, but not wedged, as it is in figure 3. In fact, if a *gaolin* were to be held as it is in figures 9 and 10, it would simply fall off the legs, as there is nothing actually holding it in place. Again, we have a beautifully elegant picture, but not an entirely accurate representation of performing practice. By comparison, the left hand fingers are more precisely drawn and appear to be actually pressing the strings; however, once more, there are problems – from a modern technical point of view, the left wrist is far too low. Keeping it at this angle produces a much smaller, less passionate vibrato and precludes any significant degree of position changing along the spike (the wider, more throbbing modern vibrato and frequent position changes are said to be products of the evolution of *huqin* technique since the 1920s). This low left wrist is a feature which will be noticed on most of the album paintings included here, which strongly suggests that it was once characteristic of contemporary performance practice. However, even so, the situation is still less than clear-cut: although many early photographs also include this feature, when asked to sit for a painter, or for the long exposure time required for early photographs, a player might well allow his wrist to droop naturally, simply because he is not actually moving; when alert and in action, his wrist is raised in the modern manner.

The bow-hair cuts the string perpendicularly just above the sound-box, at the same point and at an identical angle as it would for the modern player; however, given the construction and mechanics of the instrument itself, this is probably the only place possible – gravity will always make it most efficient for the hair to be positioned here when it is in contact with the string. The stick rests on the sound-box, which also concurs with modern technique, and although the actual bow-hold is difficult to ascertain, it would seem also to be identical (fig. 8). The index finger has released itself from the stick, a technical quirk which sometimes happens naturally just after bow direction has changed from a down- to an up-bow at the point, all of which is well observed by the artist. In fact, the gentle poise of the bow-arm, with the forearm lifted but not the elbow, upper arm or shoulder, gives the impression of the fluency of a master player, if not an especially passionate one, and comprises a gentleness of depiction which in itself is part of the export watercolour style.

FIGURES 11 & 12. Like figures 9 and 10, these two leaves are also two versions of the same design; however, this time, the differences between them – dress, colour, face, hairstyle – are more evident. Figure 11 is the finer version – the decoration on the clothing is richer and the moulding more sensuous – nonetheless both ladies have ordinary-sized feet. By way of background, both include a table positioned to the player's right, on which is placed a vase of flowers. The problems dealing with perspective experienced by some export album artists are particularly evident when examining the angles and straight lines of this table, which seem clumsy and crude by comparison with the intense poetic concentration on the musician's face in figure 11 and the more expressively anxious look in figure 12; but this sort of incongruous superimposition is typical of the export album style and is also part of its charm.

Like a Madonna bent over a baby Jesus, she strokes her beloved *huqin*, the angle of her head typical of a player in action, drawn to look downwards at the instrument by an irresistible magnetism. Less static than the lady in figures 9 and 10, here we have much more the impression of music-making in progress.

Her legs are crossed. Even though a small minority of modern players employ this technique, the vast majority prefer the physical freedom which uncrossed legs encourages; however, in all cases, if a modern player crosses his legs, it is with the left crossed over the right, not the other way around, as this raises the left thigh and makes it easier to wedge the instrument on the hip bone. Here she has her right crossed over her left. I have experimented with this position and simply cannot make it work. All this begs the question as to whether the artist noticed that *huqin* players sat with crossed legs but simply mistook which was crossed over which, or was he depicting another contemporary technique which has since fallen into disuse? Figures 17, 20 and



13. A pedlar selling *huqin* and flutes. Chinese export watercolour, c.1790. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1962.12-31.08.19. © British Museum.

24 also present *huqin* players seated with crossed legs, and in all three cases it is also the right which is crossed over the left; in none of the pictures included here is the reverse to be found; however, old photographs and other depictions in the visual arts reveal either way to be possible, all of which means that we have no reason to discount the painters of export watercolours as inaccurate in this respect.

Her instrument is snakeskin-fronted and similar to the *gaohu* of figure 4; however here, not only is it placed between the legs, but it is also angled with its face pointing forwards away from the player's body. This position is common in export watercolours, often found elsewhere in the visual arts, and even more difficult for the modern player to understand: angling the sound-box facing outwards but still bowing horizontally across the body parallel to the snakeskin produces a weird and undesirably unpleasant sound, as the only possibility



14. A pedlar selling *huqin* and flutes. Chinese export watercolour, c.1790. David Rylands Library, Chinese album 52/29. © David Rylands Library, University of Manchester.

when instrument and bow-hair are so placed is for both strings to be stroked simultaneously – playing either independently of the other is not feasible. It is a simple fact that the instrument functions best when its face points to the player's right and the angle of the bow cutting the strings is perpendicular to the snakeskin face or wooden plate, stroking either the inner or outer string. Surely, in this case, the enthusiasm of the artist to display the front of the sound-box for the purposes of revealing its playing mechanism has allowed his representation to become somewhat divorced from reality.

A closer examination of the sound-box reveals another aspect where the artist has depicted with a lack of accuracy. On all modern and old *gaohu* I have ever played or examined, the spike is inserted into the cylinder near the snakeskin face and not at the other end, but in figure 12, it is clearly positioned towards the back end; in figure 11 less so, but it is still inserted too far away from the snakeskin.



15. A pedlar selling *huqin* and flutes. Chinese export watercolour, c.1790. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1877,7-14,939. © British Museum.

Once more, the left wrist is lower than it would be today; however, the left hand is positioned with the first (index) finger raised and the other three pressing the string, adopting a position typical for many different sorts of idiomatic "pressure" glissandos, these only possible because *huqin*, unlike instruments of the violin family, possess no fingerboard; this is well-observed by the artist.

Although not completely clear, the bow-hold in figure 11 is similar to the modern version, and, as with the lady in figures 9 and 10, the angle of the wrist suggests that she has just completed a down-bow and started an up-bow. Her right arm is loose, and its shape, with elbow pointing close towards the body, is also that most suitable for the beginning of a bow-stroke in this direction, as is confirmed by her lowered right shoulder and angle of her head leaning slightly towards the right. For all these reasons, this picture embodies a greater sense of muscular movement and musical involvement than figures 9 and 10.



16. A lady playing the *gaohu*. Chinese export watercolour, mid-19th century. Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, uncatalogued. © Fitzwilliam Museum.

In respect of her bow, the lady in figure 12 is also painted with less accuracy than that in figure 11. In the latter, as with virtually all pre-twentieth century depictions or photographs of *huqin* of any type, some of the fingers of the right hand press the bow-hair in order to regulate its tension during performance; here, also, the first finger has released itself naturally from the stick. However, the bow-hair in figure 12 is shown joined to the stick at the heel well out of reach of the player's fingers, and, what is more, the grip looks cramped, with all four fingers and thumb curled around the stick, all of which means that she cannot press the bow-hair during performance, an extremely unlikely scenario given the many advantages in being able to do so – the tone is much improved, and the bow-hair catches the strings with greater reliability. Also, no surviving *huqin* bows of the period which I have encountered have the bow-hair attached at the heel so far away from the end of the stick, and instead all presuppose, by their construction, that the right hand fingers press the hair and regulate its tension whilst playing. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the artist's representation of this aspect of his subject, along with other problems already discussed, is inaccurate.

FIGURES 13, 14 & 15. Although these pictures are three individual designs, they are grouped together here because their subject matter is identical. In all, the player is a male street hawker, no longer a female prostitute, and the images come from albums depicting sequences of pedlars selling their wares. Dressed simply, as befits



17. A lady playing the *gaolin*. Chinese export watercolour, c.1850. Hong Kong Museum of Art, AH 1988.44. © Hong Kong Museum of Art.

a man of his lowly social rank, the man is playing the flute [figs. 13 & 14] or a *huqin* [fig. 15]. Various sorts of these, but none of the other Chinese traditional instruments, are hung up for sale next to him on a portable rack. With *huqin* most commonly associated with the underclass to which the pedlar and his customers belonged, and the Classical instruments such as the *guqin* (zither) or bells carrying with them Confucian connotations of the ruling élite, this is what one would expect, to say nothing of the fact that *huqin* and flute are the most easily portable. Unlike *huqin*, however, flutes in Chinese art tend not be class-specific and are found depicted in many different social contexts, making their presence here also not surprising as they are easy to make, learn and play – in their initial stages at least – and would certainly find a ready market.

The differentiation of the snakeskin-fronted *gaolin* from the wooden-fronted *banhu* is evident in figure 13 as both types are hung up next to each other on the rack, the former (left) recognisable by its small face made from snakeskin and characteristic cylindrical tube, the latter (right) by its larger wooden front plate and hemispherical sound-box. All the bows in the three watercolours evince the typical S-curve of early examples. The first definite instances of *huqin* bridges in the export watercolours presented in this paper can be seen here, most clearly evident on figures 14 and 15, where they are mainly correctly placed near the centre of the front face.⁴⁵



18. A lady playing the *banhu* accompanied by a man playing clappers. Chinese export watercolour, c.1820. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1962,12-31,08 (16). © British Museum.

In figure 15, the *huqin* is played standing, whereas nowadays seated is normal because, freed from the burden of supporting the spike, it makes possible the frequent left-hand position changes that are an intrinsic part of modern technique. All other *huqin* players shown in this article are seated, with the exception of that in figure 27 who is walking as part of a procession. Prior to the twentieth century, although most depictions and old photographs have the players conforming to modern practice in this respect, occasionally they are shown standing simply because the setting where they were required to play demanded it. Such performance contexts are not normally encountered today, and, as a result, this technique is no longer part of the ordinary expectations of what a player might be asked to do.

When standing, the instrument is still wedged on the left hip as it would be when seated, so that it can be kept still when bowed – a fundamental prerequisite – and also in order that the right hand has maximum amplitude to complete each bow-stroke; however, the *huqin* in figures 15 and 27 both have their sound-boxes drawn opposite the right hip. The laws of gravity mean that, unless attached to the body in some way, any instrument held like this would swing naturally downwards until the spike is vertical, but there is no evidence in either picture of any belt or suchlike apparatus which could be used to hold it in place; what is more, with the sound-box positioned here, the right hand would find it difficult to play at the point of the bow and still maintain contact with the string. Again, we are left wondering what contemporary playing practices actually were, and inevitably find ourselves questioning the accuracy of the depiction. In this case, I find it hard to



19. A lady playing the *banhu* watched by another lady. Chinese export water-colour, early 19th century. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1877,7-14,888. © British Museum.

believe that an instrument was ever played as illustrated and regard positioning next to the left hip as the most likely contemporary performance practice. In fact, with the bow-hair cutting the string high above the sound-box, cramped right arm, elbow touching the torso, wrist adjacent to the stick and first finger pointlessly extended, this pedlar looks more like a adept salesman than a skilled performer.

FIGURE 16. This image is one of very few reproduced here not from a volume containing a series of paintings all on a similar theme, and instead has been inserted into an album of miscellaneous subject matter, mostly including pictures of plants and flowers. Although finely executed, it too has its implausible elements: demurely, the lady's head is bent leftwards as she plays, an uncomfortable angle for a serious player; like so many of the other watercolours discussed here, the instrument – a *gaohu* – is placed between the legs with the snakeskin facing outwards; and, although she is sensitively captured as if executing an up-bow, by modern standards her left wrist is low, perhaps weighed down by her voluminous sleeves. No *qianjin* is indicated, but two white silk strings are clearly evident.

Playing with her second finger stopping the string, she has allowed her first and fourth to become raised in order to generate the effort required. I suspect that she is placing a particularly fine and well-sculptured vibrato on this note, which may explain her captivating smile and the leftward slant of her head in appreciation of her own efforts.



20. A man playing the *banhu*. Chinese export watercolour. Oriental Art Museum, University of Durham, 1977/97,3. © Oriental Art Museum, University of Durham.

FIGURE 17. This picture is less finely executed than most included here: both the flow of the folds in the dress and the accuracy and sensitivity with which the *gaohu* is represented fall well below the standard set by the album leaves examined thus far. As with the lady in figures 11 and 12, here the player has her right leg crossed over her left. Her left wrist is also low. Most curiously, as is clearly indicated by the strings, the sound-box is positioned with its face directed towards the player's abdomen, which means that the pegs point away from her. Even so, the bow-hair is still interlaced between the strings with its stick further away from the player's body than the hair, in the same way as if she were playing with the front pointing to the player's right, as would be normal practice today, all of which presents yet another conundrum which is difficult to resolve. By far the most probable is that the painter has simply confused how *huqin* are played; but it is still not entirely impossible, if extremely unlikely, that there was once a playing tradition which used this method and has since fallen into disuse, and I have found a handful of depictions which support this theory, however implausible it may seem.¹⁶



21. A lady playing the *gaolu*. Chinese export watercolour. Oriental Art Museum, University of Durham, 1977, 97, 41. © Oriental Art Museum, University of Durham.

FIGURES 18 & 19. Both the *huqin* in these pictures are played employing yet another posture not encountered today; here, the left leg is bent and placed sideways on the chair on which the player is sitting, though in figure 18, the sound-box is wedged in a much more central aspect than that in figure 19, where it is balanced on her left thigh. I have experimented with both positions and found that they work quite well, providing that not too much effort is made when bowing, otherwise the instrument is liable to fall off the leg.

The lady *huqin* player in figure 18 is accompanied by a man playing clappers, whilst that in figure 19 is watched by a female onlooker. Figure 18 is less finely painted than figure 19, which is of the earlier, more delicate style and comes from the same album as figure 10. In both figures 18 and 19, the *huqin* players have little feet – those sported in figure 19 are particularly small!

Both pictures present a clear view of the front face of the instrument – again, the artist has felt obliged to show this to the viewer. That in figure 19 is made from wood, and the body is hemispherical in shape, thus confirming that it is a *banhu*. Its spike is much longer than that of its modern counterpart [fig. 6], and its pegs



22. A group of musicians accompanying a dancer. Chinese export watercolour, c.1780 ("pre-1794"). David Rylands Library, Chinese album 27/2. © David Rylands Library, University of Manchester.

point to the right, not leftwards towards the player's face as do those on the modern version, but, nonetheless, it still possesses the all-important wooden face which defines *banlu* from other *huqin*. The instrument in figure 18 also seems to share this characteristic, even though the sound-box is tube-shaped like that of a *gaolin*, which makes it difficult to be sure whether or not it really is a *banlu*. Both *huqin* in figures 18 and 19, however, place the bridge clearly in the middle of the front face, whereas, as discussed in note 45, that of the modern *banlu* is normally positioned towards the top rim.

The bow in figure 18 is not painted clearly, though its presence is undoubtedly implied; that in figure 19 has the elegant arc typical of many early examples [figs. 5 & 7]. Both players have low left wrists; however, the sleeve falling down from the left hand towards the elbow in figure 19 in a naturalistic manner suggests that this painter may well have captured his subject more precisely than most in this respect. Certainly, the right hand fingers are positioned in almost exactly the same way as they would be in the modern bow-hold, the hair cuts the string just above the sound-box – exactly as it should – and the bow itself is stroked at an almost exactly perpendicular angle to the string with the stick resting on the body of the instrument, all of which also implies an artist accurately observing his subject. Her face, whilst still virtually emotionless, is none-



23. *The decline of an opium smoker*. Chinese export watercolour, c.1860. © Martyn Gregory Gallery, London.

theless less winsomely lovely than many of the other ladies depicted here, and, compared with her younger and more exquisitely featured onlooker, she exudes a cooler and more concentrated air of maturity – perhaps she is also a better player!

FIGURES 20 & 21. These two watercolours, painted in a completely different style from those thus far encountered, illustrate once more the distinction between *baihu* [fig. 20] and *gaohu* [fig. 21]. The former is played by a man, which contrasts strongly with the ladies portrayed on most of the album leaves included here. Compared with the more overtly sexual overtones in many, both of these leaves exude a more wholesome feeling – the lady is less softly sophisticated and seductively sultry, and instead more freshly flirtatious and innocently lovely.

The man's eyes are intensely and firmly fixed on his bow-hand – *huqin* players often do this – whilst the string is stopped by his first finger, as if just about to execute the type of upward⁷⁷ glissando played with a flick of the wrist now commonly found in many regional repertoires, making this the only example here of a left wrist held at an angle possible for, and with a sense of the active alertness expected of, the modern player. His right leg is crossed over his left, and the front plate angled outwards towards his left. The bow-hair cuts the string just above the sound-box, on which the stick rests.

The lady is the only one here whose instrument is directed unequivocally to the player's right in the modern manner. Her eyes are sweetly and innocently – apparently – looking up into the air. Her bow has a curious curve: the tapered end of the stick should be in her hand, the arched end at the point, but the opposite is true here. As no bow could function in this way – the distance between hair and stick at the tip is simply too small for the player to be able to transmit enough energy into the hair for effective contact to be made with the string – this is simply a mistake on the part of the artist.



24. A group of musicians playing in front of an altar. Chinese export watercolour, early 19th century. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1877,7-14.1073. © British Museum.

FIGURE 22. Since it includes examples of all their main families, this picture is particularly important as a document of contemporary Chinese traditional instruments – only the *yangqin* (dulcimer) and *suona* (shawm) are absent. As such, it also suggests a possible ensemble formation and provides crucial information as to contemporary performance practice. The instruments present are as follows: back row: vertical *guzheng* (zither), drum, *yazheng* (struck zither), struck gong, bell tree, flute, antique cymbals, cymbals, *sheng* (mouth organ with pipes); front row: *ruan* (plucked), *baihu*, *pipa* (plucked), *sanzhen* (plucked), drum and clappers, struck gong, *guqin* (zither). All are played by male musicians and give accompaniment to a female dancer.

A sense of fraternity between the musicians should be noted: there is no conductor or soloist, and all seem to be contributing equally to the musical process. The *huqin* player has both arms extended as if fully engaged in the activity, but remains loose and flowing, the entire muscles of his upper body involved in the effort, which contrasts markedly to most of the ladies already discussed, whose playing is much less uninhibited and instead more concentrated and introverted, belonging to the close-knit, constrained fantasy of the female musician-entertainer, worlds away from this exuberant ensemble.

The *huqin* in figure 22 is clearly a *baihu*, its bow of the markedly arched early type, its spike held at a noticeable angle to the vertical, well away from the player's body, though its pegs still point sideways towards

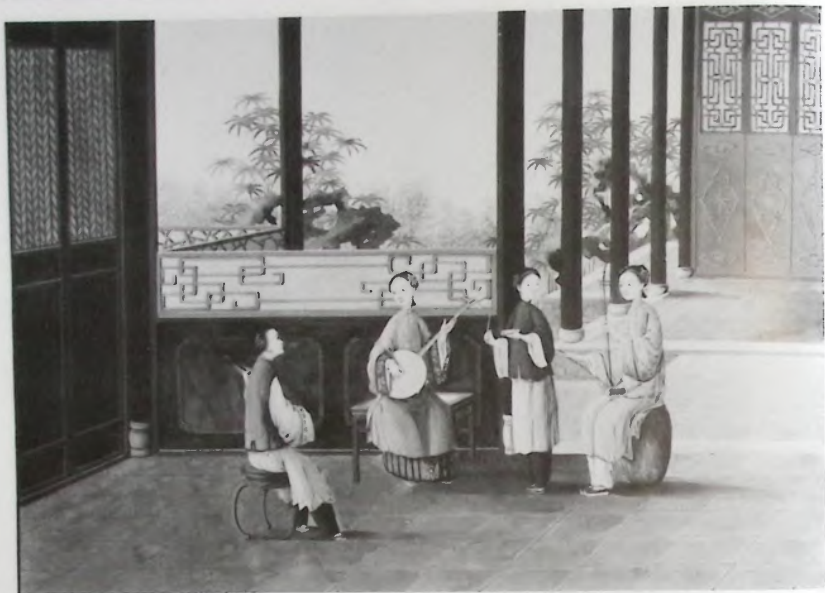


25. A lady playing the *banhu* and another a four-stringed plucked instrument in front of a lotus pool with servants in attendance. Chinese export watercolour, early 19th century. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1877,7-14.1284. © British Museum.

his head, as do those of the modern instrument. The left hand is located high up the spike in a manner which contrasts sharply with that of today's technique, as shown in figure 6, where the left hand is operating as high up on the spike as the fingered area of the string permits.⁴⁶ This strongly suggests that, on the *banhu* in figure 22, the block replacing the *qianjin* is placed extremely near the pegs, a notion confirmed by the old high-voiced *banhu* almost contemporary to this picture shown in figure 5 (the middle instrument), which actually has this attachment still fixed to the spike in this position.

FIGURE 23. This picture is the first of a series of twelve narrating the decline of an opium smoker, and confirms the corrupting influence of *luqin* playing. Each leaf has a text printed below it, that relevant to this one being: "(1) This is the first step towards the vice of opium smoking accompanied by women, music and singing." Our miscreant hero lounges on a raised platform surrounded by various temptations, including a man stroking a *gaohu* accompanied by a lady plucking a *pipa*. In subsequent pictures, the woeful tale of how opium smoking seduced, corrupted and destroyed him is portrayed in graphic detail.

As with so many of the examples included here, the *gaohu* is inserted between the legs with its face pointing outwards. The player has the whole of his torso bent forwards, a necessary function of holding the instrument in this position, and which can be compared to the photograph of the modern version in performance given here as figure 3. His left hand is loose and pliant – as it should be – even if his wrist is once again a little low, whilst his right has the index finger extended, a feature already noted in the context of figures 9, 10, 11 and 15. His bow cuts the string at a nicely exact perpendicular angle, and the stick rests on the sound-box.



26. Ensemble of musicians including a lady playing a *gaohu*. Chinese export watercolour, early 19th century. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1877.7-14.1295. © British Museum.

FIGURES 24, 25 & 26. These three pictures, all painted with a full background, include *huqin* players as part of ensembles of musicians. Figure 24 presents five male instrumentalists in front of an altar inside a temple, holding [from left to right] clappers, end-blown flute, *baihu*, *gaohu* and *saxian*. Unusually, the mood conveyed here has not even the faintest whiff of sensuality about it, and instead is serious and scholarly, with the three non-performing onlookers seemingly engaged in educated discourse. Both *huqin* are inserted between the legs facing outwards, though the *baihu* player has his legs crossed, right over left. Their left hands are both operating high up on their respective spikes, themselves slanted at a noticeable angle to the vertical in a similar way to that in figure 22, which is also held by a man. However, in other respects, their postures exhibit pleasing variations, their shoulders and heads are placed at different angles from each other, all of which gives each an important sense of individuality and adds to the liveliness of the picture as a whole.

Figures 25 and 26 both present ensembles of lady instrumentalists which include a *huqin* player: in the former, a particularly languorous and sensuous picture, two beauties – playing *saxian* and *baihu* – sit in front of a lotus pond, attended by two female onlookers; in the latter, four women – playing *saxian*, *ruan*, wood-block and *gaohu* – are inside a house. We should recognise these *huqin* players: that of figure 25 we met before in figure 19, and that of figure 26 in figures 9 and 10. Here, they have simply been transferred into their new surroundings and, as such, stand out somewhat incongruously against the converging straight lines of the background, painted rigorously according to the requirements of Western concepts of perspective.



27. Group of musicians in procession. Chinese export watercolour, early 19th century.
British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1944.11-20.06 (8). © British Museum.

FIGURE 27. This picture comprises a procession of uniformed young scholars belonging to the Imperial scholarly academy, the "Hanlin" college.⁴⁹ The lead instrumentalist is holding a *banhu* and is followed by others playing respectively flute, *saxian*, drum and clappers, bell tree, plucked instrument and *sheng*. These elegant young men exude a sober impression worlds away from the sensuous images of lady *huqin* performers which have constituted the majority of the watercolours examined thus far. Whilst in some circles, *huqin* may have carried strong overtones of sensuality and even debauchery, this picture gives them another role, that of a leisure activity suitable for the respectable young scholar. Here, the *banhu* is played freely, with shoulders, arms and legs all loose and fluent. Its pegs point sideways towards the player's face in the same way as do those of the modern instrument.

FIGURE 28. This watercolour is taken from an album containing a series of pictures of boats. In it, sheltered inside the craft, a lady is playing an instrument of the *huqin* family, probably a *gaohu*. Two other members of the ensemble can also be perceived: opposite is a *saxian* and adjacent a flute player. The setting recalls Zhu Ziqing's celebrated essay *Jiangsheng Dengying li de Qinhuai He* (The Qinhuai River amid the gentle swish of oars and the shadows of flickering lamps) – mentioned in note 42 – which describes a scene taking place in 1923, admittedly a little later than the period spanned by export watercolour albums, in which groups of prostitutes on boats are playing *huqin* in order to entice customers.



28. Chinese boat. Chinese export watercolour.
British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1877,7–14,0961. © British Museum.

FIGURES 29, 30 & 31. These three album pages are of the encyclopedic type and, as such, designed to provide an accurate record of Chinese musical instruments for a foreign public eager for knowledge of the exotic. Figures 29 and 30 are from the same album, figure 31 from another; the level of accuracy and detail in the first volume is very high, making figures 29 and 30 extremely important documents in the history of *huqin*: the former depicts a *gaohu* along with a four-stringed plucked instrument now obsolete, the latter a *banhu* together with a *saxian*; figure 31, from an album of a lower standard of workmanship, includes a *jinghu* and *banhu*, and also a wooden-fronted *saxian*,⁵⁰ the *jinghu*, the only example of this variant I have found in any album painting, clearly recognisable here by its much shorter spike and bamboo sound-box.

Both the *huqin* in figures 29 and 30 are labeled in English by a Western hand, the former “*yee yin*” or “*ajee yin*” – the handwriting is not entirely legible – and the latter “*Tai cun*”. Small captions in Chinese are also included with both album leaves, the first two characters of which indicate the instruments in question: the *gaohu* in figure 29 is called an “*erxian*”, the *banhu* in figure 30 a “*tiqin*”. As mentioned in note 1, the nomenclature of *huqin* prior to the May 4th movement of 1919 is a complex matter beyond the scope of this paper, which

is why the equivalent modern names for these instruments have been used throughout here; nonetheless, both of these terms are common enough words used to denote *huqin* in indigenous pre-Liu Tianhua sources.⁵¹ Although reasonably fluent in modern and Classical Chinese, I find the remainder of these captions unintelligible, presuming them perhaps to be a weird and indecipherable phonetic rendering of English or a Chinese dialect.

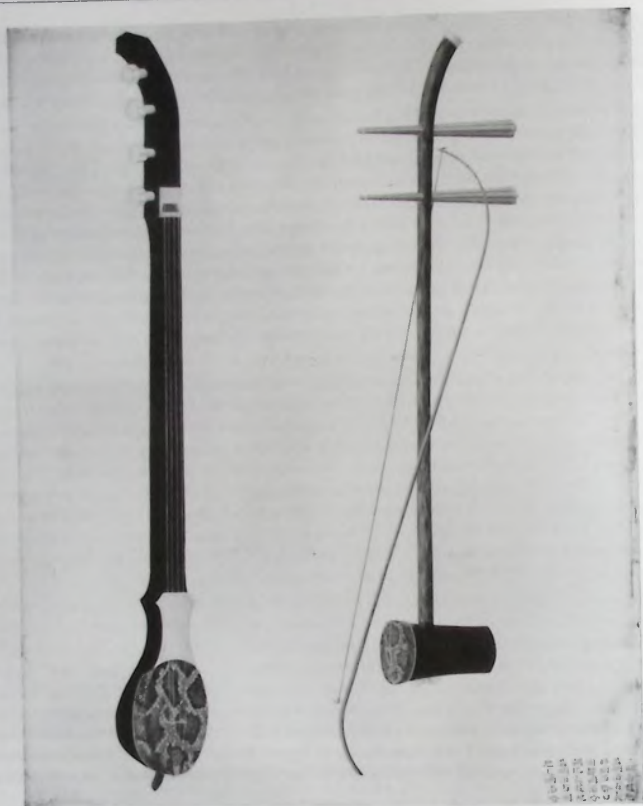
Much light is shed on the mystery of the lack of *qianjin* on the instruments in the album paintings thus far discussed by the presence of such an appliance on the *huqin* in both figures 29 and 31. In my opinion, this confirms their normal existence on old snakeskin-fronted *huqin* and their omission in album paintings as most likely an oversight on the part of the artist. However, the situation with regard to the two *banhu*, one each in figures 30 and 31, is more complex. As discussed above, the string *qianjin* on snakeskin-fronted *huqin* is usually replaced on *banhu* by a wooden block over which the strings pass. This seems to be present on both the *banhu* here but is not as clearly depicted as the string *qianjin* on the snakeskin-fronted *huqin*. Judgement may still need to be reserved in this case, but, to my mind, we still have enough to confirm the existence of this wooden block on early *banhu* – after all, it still survives on the old high-voiced *banhu* shown in figure 5 (the second instruments from the right). Probably, such playing traditions as may have existed without *qianjin* or wooden block were as rare then as they are now – in the vast majority of cases, *huqin* rely on these components to function effectively.

The *gaohu* in figure 29 has an uncanny resemblance to the contemporary version shown in figure 4: both share the same tip coloured a whiter shade, fluted pegs, spike made of a lighter-coloured oak-type wood and black sound-box. The bows in figures 5 and 7 evince remarkably similar curves to those of figures 29 and 30, a closeness of design evident even down to the presence on all these examples of small metal clasps at the heel to attach hair to stick. By comparison with the *gaohu*, the *banhu* in figure 30 is less close to its Edinburgh counterpart (the middle instrument in figure 5): it shares a similar lighter tip, peg-box design and pegs shaped by shaving strips along their length, but the sound-box is different in both cases, being smaller and deeper on figure 30 whilst flatter and larger on figure 5. The *banhu* in figure 30 also possesses an extension to the spike protruding some considerable distance from the base of the sound-box, whereas that of the equivalent instrument in figure 5, like most old *huqin*, simply emerges as a small stump.

Although I cannot interpret which Chinese characters the label for the *gaohu* in figure 29 written, none too legibly, as “*yee yiu*” or “*aje yiu*” are supposed to represent, interestingly, the *banhu* in figure 30 is clearly named as a “*Tai cun*”, this presumably the Cantonese pronunciation of “*da qin*”, the “*da*” meaning “big” and the “*qin*” the same as that of “*huqin*” denoting “stringed instrument”. Intriguingly this “*cun*” also occurs on a label stuck to the *gaohu* shown in figure 4, this time as “*ee woocun*” (meaning “*er*” [“two”] “*huqin*”), found inside the rim at the rear of the sound-box. This unusual recurrence of an obscure Cantonese romanisation of a Chinese character is certainly too thin a basis to suggest a direct connection between the old *gaohu* and high-voiced *banhu* in figures 4 and 5 and those drawn in figures 29 and 30, but it would certainly seem to indicate a commonality of provenance between them, as has already been hinted at by similarities in their appearance.⁵²

FIGURES 32 & 33. The first of these two is an example of an album watercolour which represents a bowed instrument not of the *huqin* type, the only such picture I have been able to find, and one which confirms the existence of this sort of instrument on Chinese territory at the time. In fact, it is Central Asian, as is also indicated by the dress, hats, boots, beards and horse also depicted. Although, like *huqin*, it is bowed, it cannot be considered to be of this type, simply because its bow-hair is not inserted between the strings; for this to be so, it must cut them just above the sound-box in order to produce the perpendicular angle required to be able to stroke both inner and outer strings independently, and this is clearly not the case here, as it intersects them midway down the sound-box. In other words, like all other families of bowed instruments other than *huqin*, this bow is loose from the strings. In addition, this example has three pegs, not the two, or occasionally four, normal for *huqin*, and a drop-shaped, wooden-fronted sound-box typical of many Central Asian stringed instruments, plucked or bowed.⁵³

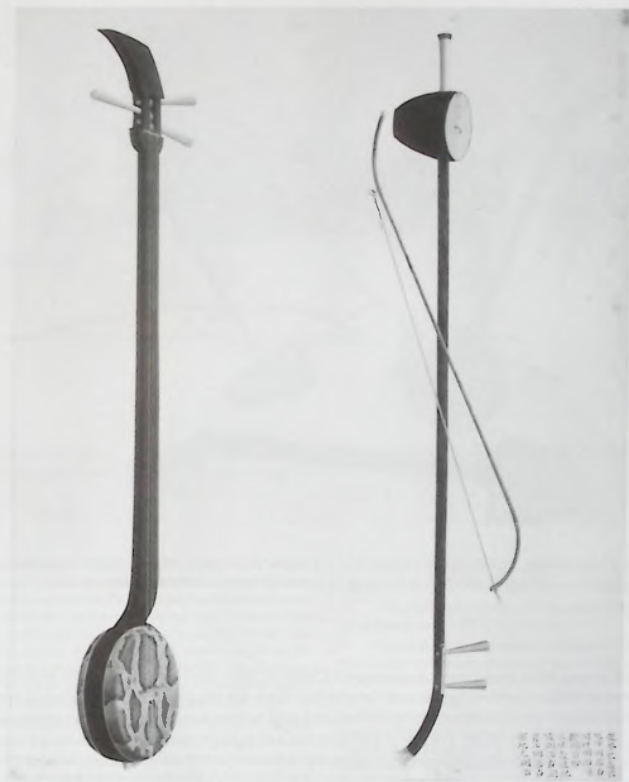
The painting itself is labelled as from “Jinzhou” and is one leaf of an album illustrating peoples from different regions of China. I have been unable to ascertain the modern place name for “Jinzhou”, but the instrument in question most closely resembles the modern *satar* of the Turkic Uighur people of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region. Figure 33 reproduces a photograph taken by the British expedition to Yarkund in southern Xinjiang



29. Two Chinese instruments, including a *gaohu* (right). Chinese export watercolour, c.1780 ("pre-1794"). David Rylands Library, Chinese album 27/9. © David Rylands Library, University of Manchester.

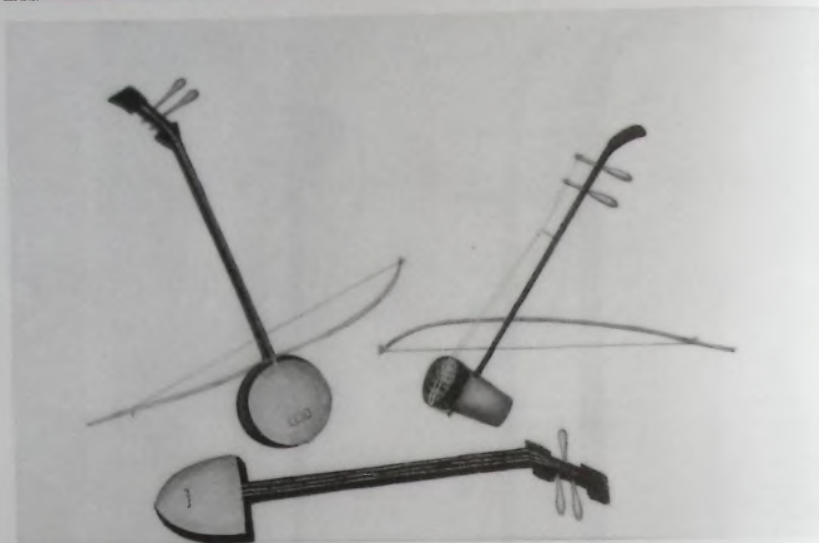
in 1873–74, only a few decades at most after this watercolour was painted, which includes an example of a similar instrument being played as part of a group of musicians.⁵⁴

The ensemble of musicians in figure 32 includes a *suona* (shawm), cymbals and drum, as well as the man holding the *sitar*. He himself is bowing lustily, with arms and shoulders free and loose, in a posture similar to that adopted by the *banhu* player in figure 22. Significantly, he is seated on the ground, whereas all the seated *huqin* players shown here, and virtually all in Chinese art of any sort, are perched on a chair or stool of some kind.



30. Two Chinese instruments, including a *gaohu* (right). Chinese export watercolour, c.1780 ("pre-1794"). David Rylands Library, Chinese album 27/14. © David Rylands Library, University of Manchester.

CONCLUSIONS. The connection between *huqin* players and the sensual is confirmed by the many watercolours discussed here showing lovely ladies stroking their instruments. Depicted with varying degrees of finesse and accuracy, most are finely executed, but others are more crude and homely. In some, the instrument is placed in its modern playing position, however, more typically, it is positioned between the legs with the snakeskin membrane facing outwards. Arm, wrist and fingers are found at various different angles, sometimes in accordance with modern performance practice, at others not. However, taken as a whole, this sequence does give us an important window into the *huqin* world as it was, as well as a fleeting impression of the context where the music was produced, a sound that is now lost.



31. Three Chinese instruments, including a *banhu* (top left) and *jinghu* (top right). Chinese export watercolour, 1840-1850. David Rylands Library, Chinese album 26/11. © David Rylands Library, University of Manchester.

When the Communists took power in mainland China in 1949, the fortunes of *huqin* were transformed. Instructed by Mao Zedong's ideology to seek inspiration from the masses, musicians turned readily to the previously outcast *huqin* as the instrument most redolent with socialist values in order to satisfy the demand for a new proletariat aesthetic in art. Formerly perceived as belonging to the underclass, now it was espoused by the revolutionary political élite resplendent in mastery. A new repertoire was written, reforms to instrument design instituted and a whole respectable structure of conservatoires, examinations and teachers created. The album paintings reproduced here give as complete a picture as we may ever have as to what *huqin* were before this transformation was enacted. We should treasure them a lasting and lovely reminder of a world which has long gone.

NOTES

¹ The author would like to thank the British Academy for their generosity in assisting with the costs of preparing this article for publication.

² The term "*huqin*" has acquired this definition in the period since the May 4th Movement of 1919, when Classical Chinese was replaced by the spoken language as the medium for literary expression, and this is now the standard modern Mandarin usage.

"*Hu*" means "Western barbarian", "*qin*" "stringed instrument", therefore "*huqin*" in its totality means "stringed instruments of the Western barbarians", which nowadays is taken as denoting only those that are bowed, though previously also included plucked ones. The nomenclature of *huqin* prior to 1919 is an extremely complex matter and largely beyond the scope of this paper, but it will be touched on at times; for the sake of consistency, modern



32. Group of musicians from Central Asia. Chinese export watercolour, early 19th century. British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, 1877.7-14.1312. © British Museum.

usages are maintained throughout here. The same "lu" of "luqin" is also the second character of most of the modern two-character names for members of this family – *erhu*, *baihu*, *jiuqin* and so on. The notion of *luqin* as originating in Central Asia is also an issue outside the remit of this article; suffice it to say that by the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – the period when export watercolours were produced – *luqin* had already been fully absorbed into the Chinese musical mainstream for several hundred years, and this association was by then in name only.

² Members of the *luqin* family also include the four-stringed *sihu* and three-stringed *saihu*, both of which are played with a bow equipped with two sheaves of hair, in the case of the former, one inserted between each pair of strings, whilst the latter has a yet more complex arrangement of hair and strings, which is beyond the scope of this paper to describe but is fully explored in my "Experimental and Traditional *Huqin*: the *Saihu* and *Erxiangzi*", *The Galpin Society Journal* LV1 (2003), 19-26 [9-12]; however, as I have not found any examples of either depicted in export watercolours, they need not be dwelt on here.

³ The "er" of "*erhu*" means "two" which denotes that this instrument is the "*lu*" with two strings; the "gao" of "*gaoqin*" translates as "high" – the modern *gaoqin* is pitched several degrees of the scale higher than the *erhu*.

⁴ There are many accounts of Liu Tianhua in the literature on Chinese music; for me, the best are in the notes to the CD recording: *Centenary Commemoration of the Birth of Liu Tianhua (1895-1995)* (Beijing: ROI Productions Limited, 1994).

⁵ Some of these are discussed in my "Dating Old *Huqin*: New Research on Examples of pre-1949 Instruments in Three Major British Collections", *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* XXVIII (2002), 118-173.

⁶ I have discussed these differences in more detail in "The 'Early Music' *Erhu*", *The Galpin Society Journal* LIV (2001), 56-61.

⁷ For a fuller discussion of the *luqin* in this collection, see the aforementioned "Dating Old *Huqin*".

⁸ I base this assessment on examination of numerous depictions in the visual arts, including the watercolours reproduced here, as well as the several hundred old *luqin* I have encountered, the vast majority of which are fitted with silk strings. Of these, the earliest example with a metal string – probably original – is a *jiuqin* in the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (inv. no. 1938.34.613), which first came to the UK in 1905; however, William B. Langdon in "Ten Thousand Things Chinese"; *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection* (London: "printed for the proprietor", 1842), amongst a list of the contents of "Case XXXII; Musical Instruments" (pp. 78-79), notes "The Chinese do not employ catgut in stringing their instruments, but substitute silk and wire," which suggests that metal *luqin* strings have a longer history than is sometimes assumed.

⁹ Here, "*zhong*" means "middle".

¹⁰ Here, "*ban*" means "board of wood".

¹¹ Their inventory numbers are: high-voiced: 434; mid-voiced: 435.

¹² There is no surviving bow specific to the Edinburgh *gaoqin* shown in figure 4. That shown in figure 5 has no particular association with any of the five older *luqin* in this collection and could therefore be used with either this *gaoqin* or the two *baihu* in figure 5.

¹³ The "*jing*" of "*jinglu*" is the same as that of "Beijing" and means "capital city" or, in this case, "the type of opera performed in the capital city".

¹⁴ This set also includes the *sihu* listed in note 16.



33. The "Dadkhwahs" band, Yarkund. From: Sir T.D. Forsyth's *Mission to Yarkund, 1873–1874* (Calcutta: Foreign Department, Press, 1875), fig. 89. Photo by Henry Trotter, The British Library, OIOC, photograph 997/89. © The British Library.

¹⁵ Here, "si" means "four".

¹⁶ Museum inventory no.: 438. This instrument is almost identical to the Edinburgh *gaolu* shown in figure 4, except that it has four pegs instead of two.

¹⁷ The etymology of "leilu" and "liulu" is obscure and beyond the scope of this paper to explore; nonetheless, both are still types of "lu".

¹⁸ The "er" is the same as that of "erlu" meaning "two", "xiati" is "string[ed]", "zi" a diminutive suffix commonly used in modern Chinese; hence, in its totality, "erxiati" means "a little two-stringed fiddle".

¹⁹ Here, "san" means "three".

²⁰ This generalised grip is applicable to virtually all *huqin* except the two-sheaved *silu* and *sailu*, for which different ones are employed.

²¹ The *jiugui* in figure 31 is depicted as an instrument in itself and is not being played.

²² Downward in pitch, upward in direction.

²³ But not so *silu* strings, which are stopped by the finger pad between the first and second joints in order that pairs of unison strings stroked simultaneously are cut to the same length and sound to the same pitch – employing the rounded fingertip for this purpose

will inevitably produce slightly different string lengths and thus undesirable small variations in pitch between the strings.

²⁴ I have a sizeable and growing collection of such photographs dating from the 1850s onwards, a period which overlaps with that covered by the export watercolours included here, and have prepared an article discussing them entitled *Six Strings and a Can of Corn: Thirty Early Photographs of Huqin* which has been submitted for publication elsewhere. Many such pictures are also collected in: Tuo Xiaotang, ed., *Zhongguo Jinsu* [Old customs of China] (Beijing: Zhongguo Shidian, 1997). There is moving image footage from the 1920s onwards in several archives in Europe and the US. Although all these have a bearing on the history of *huqin*, a full discussion of them lies outside the remit of this paper.

²⁵ These include the well-known treatise *Yue Shu* [Book on music] by Chen Yang, first produced in Kaifeng in 1101, which includes the first known depiction of an instrument of the *huqin* family, an illustration reproduced on page 125 of: Liu Ling, ed., *Zhongguo Yinyueshi Tujian* [A history of Chinese music in pictures], (Beijing: Renmin Yinyue Chubanshe, 1988). *Yue Shu* remained the standard textbook on musical instruments until the end of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) and underwent many reprints; for example, one of 1876 survives in the Cambridge University Library. However,

other than Chen Yang's important work, such mentions are extremely rare – I have only located a handful of them. Although all these have a bearing on the history of *huqin*, a full discussion of them lies beyond the scope of this article.

²⁶ Discussed in my aforementioned "The 'Early Music' Erlin" and "Dating Old *Huqin*".

²⁷ Including: Jonathan Stock, "A Historical Account of the Chinese Two-Stringed Fiddle Erlin", *The Galpin Society Journal* XLVI (1993), 83-113; the aforementioned *Zhongguo Yinyueshi Tujian* [A history of Chinese music in pictures]; Han Bing et al., ed., *Zhongguo Yinyue Wenwu Daxi* [An encyclopedic compendium of artefacts related to the history of Chinese music] (Zhengzhou: Daxiang Chubanshe, 1999-). This last text is produced in many volumes, eventually to include one for each Chinese province, and is a project still in progress.

²⁸ Reproduced on page 126 of *Zhongguo Yinyueshi Tujian* [A history of Chinese music in pictures].

²⁹ The British Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies in London University, the Department of East Asian Art at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and the University Library in Cambridge all have extensive collections of books on Chinese art both in Oriental and Western languages, including many volumes of reproductions of "thousand Buddha" murals.

³⁰ This is a phenomenon which first I noticed whilst on fieldwork for my PhD thesis *Music in Northern Pakistan* (University of Cambridge, 1992). Whilst in the region, I encountered several dozen excellent sitar masters but only one player of the local bowed instrument (known as a *jargini*), and his performance was of a comparatively poor standard.

³¹ I am especially grateful to Ming Wilson, Curator in the Far Eastern Department at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for directing me towards Chinese export albums. The example from this collection reproduced here as figure 11 was the first such representation of *huqin* which I encountered, and one she first put in front of me.

³² I have prepared an article discussing these entitled "The Instrument I Learnt On": *Depictions of Huqin by Western Visitors to China* which has been submitted for publication elsewhere.

³³ As discussed in my "Depictions of Huqin in the *Dianshizhuai*", *Journal of Asian History* XXXVI (2002), 74-98.

³⁴ For example, the infamous *Shanghai Sketch* (*Shanghai Manhua*), produced in the interwar years.

³⁵ Most notable of these is the sixteenth-century novel *Jiu Ping Mei*.

³⁶ For example: Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984); Carl L. Crossman, *The China Trade* (Princeton: Pyne Press, 1972); Margaret Joudain and R. Soame Jenyns, *Chinese Export Art* (London: Country Life Limited, 1950).

³⁷ Now no longer a British Colony.

³⁸ The British Museum is gradually restoring and remounting its Chinese albums, and this is a welcome step.

³⁹ Similarly, on pages 50-53 of his *Chinese Export Watercolours*, Craig Clunas reproduces two pictures, each painted in two versions, though these do not depict *huqin*.

⁴⁰ London: R. Phillips, 1798.

⁴¹ Those few examples found but not presented here are omitted because, for various reasons, it has not been possible to obtain satisfactory photography of them. These include: a *huqin* player on one of the twelve leaves of an album depicting musicians, now held in the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division (inv. no.: Ms Res MK+), a black-and-white reproduction of which is to be found on page 877 of *Asia* 29 (November 1929),

along with five other pictures from this volume, as illustrations to an article on pages 876-877 by Liu Tien-yün, translated by Arthur Waley, entitled "The Singing Girl"; on page 9 of *Instrumentenkunde* by Wilhelm Heinritz (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion M. B. H., 1929) is a rather grainy black-and-white photograph of an export watercolour showing a lady playing a *gaohu*, the original of which, because it is given as in a "private collection", has proved impossible to trace; The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has an album, inventory no.: 1990.289.1-21, comprising 21 leaves, including one depicting a *huqin* player, which is blessed with a frontispiece stating "The gift of John Howell, August 23, 1797"; I have identified two albums of musicians in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg which I would expect to contain pictures of *huqin* but which are currently unavailable for examination, one without a museum number, and the other no.: 49.624; one of the volumes in the British Museum, 1877.0714.0.604-621, which contains a leaf (609) showing a wedding procession including *huqin* players, comprises simply ink drawings, is probably a watercolour album acquired before it was completed in full colour, and for this reason is not reproduced here.

⁴² Zhu Ziqing's famous essay *Jiangsheng Dengyigang li de Qinhui He* [The Qinhui River amid the gentle swish of oars and the shadows of flickering lamps] describes a scene which takes place in 1923, admittedly a couple of decades later than the period spanned by export watercolour albums, in which groups of prostitutes on boats are playing *huqin* in order to entice customers. His elegant and seductive prose provides a literary confirmation of the link between these instruments and sensuality. As far as I am aware, this essay has never been translated into English; I read it in Chinese in a collection entitled: *Mingjin Jingdian Sanwen Xuan* [A selection of classic essays by famous writers] (Xi'an: Xi'an Chubanshe), 68-73.

⁴³ Excepting the old mid-voiced *banhu* in figure 5 (the instrument on the left) whose pegs are, as given already above, almost certainly inauthentic.

⁴⁴ For example, that of Sun Wenming (1928-1962), a folk musician of the pre-1949 mould.

⁴⁵ As with bowed instruments of any culture, bridge placement is crucial to *huqin* tone colour: on modern versions, those with snakeskin membranes have theirs positioned as near to the centre of the face as possible in order to obtain the desired "flat" frequency response over the entire pitch range, whilst *banhu* usually have theirs put near the upper rim, which makes the frequency response less "flat", and instead more biased towards certain notes, though still much less prone to peaks and troughs than the equivalent curve across the range of notes available to the violinist. This flatness is an important part of the *erhu* aesthetic, forcing the player to create all the expression in his music solely by the dexterity of his technique – he gets very little help from the instrument, which contrasts markedly with the situation pertaining to the violin, where, to a much greater extent, technique and music interact with the strengths and weaknesses of the resonances produced by the instrument itself for the sake of musical expression.

⁴⁶ For example, an article: G. Knosp, "Mission Officielle d'étude musicale en Indochine", *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* XXI (1913), 217-249, includes a reproduction (on page 244) of an indigenous drawing of a Vietnamese *huqin* player whose instrument is placed on a table and played with its face pointing towards him in a similar manner to that adopted in figure 17. Unfortunately, no more information is given in this essay as to the provenance of this drawing.

⁴⁷ Upward in pitch, downward in direction.

⁴⁸ This playing area extends from the wooden block, which, on *banhu*, has replaced the *qianjin* (in figure 6, obscured by the left

hand), to the bridge.

⁴³ The characters telling us this are written on the second paper lantern held preceding the musicians. Those on the first indicate that the musicians are representatives of an organ of government of some sort.

⁴⁴ *Sauxian* are normally snakeskin-fronted.

⁴⁵ "*Erxián*" has the same characters as the "*erxiánzi*" described above in note 18 but with the "*zi*" omitted; the "*ti*" of "*tiqin*" means "held [in the hand]", the "*qin*" is the same as that of "*huqin*" denoting "stringed instrument". Interestingly, nowadays, the Western violin is known as "*xiaoti*", the "*xiao*" meaning "small", the viola and cello as "*zhongti*" and "*dati*" respectively, the "*zhong*" and "*da*" respectively "middle" and "big".

⁴⁶ This strand links with a possible commonality of provenance of the Edinburgh instruments with a late-eighteenth-century drawing (not of the "export" type) of Chinese musical instruments found on 12v and 13r of the British Library manuscript add. 33931. This

connection, based on the recurrence of the word "*woocun*" as a label for *huqin* on this manuscript, is discussed in more detail in my aforementioned "Dating Old *Huqin*". The relevant section of the illustration in add. 33931 is also reproduced with this text [fig. 20].

⁴⁷ The three-stringed *sanhui* mentioned above is a modern experimental instrument so designed to increase the pitch range available, and has not achieved wide currency. For more on this variant, see my "Experimental and Traditional *Huqin*".

⁴⁸ Bowed instruments of this type are occasionally found in other art representing China, for instance, one such example can be seen in an engraving illustrating the Tatar conquests of the Emperor Qianlong, no. 8 of *Suite de 24 Estampes Representant des Conquêtes de l'Empereur de Chine, avec leur explication* [A series of 24 plates, from the original drawings by the Jesuit missionaries] D. Attiret, Joannes Damschenus a Sanctissima Conceptione and others], engraved by I.S.H. Helman (Paris, 1788).

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE WORDS USED IN THE TEXT

ban 板
banhu 板胡
Chen Yang 陈阳
da 大
datiqin 大提琴
Daxiang Chubanshe 大象出版社
Dianshihai 点石斋
er 二
erhu 二胡
erxian 二弦
erxianzi 二弦子
Feiyingge 飞鹰歌
gao 高
gao 高胡
guqin 古琴
guzheng 古筝
Han Bing 韩冰
Hanlin 翰林
hu 胡
huqin 胡琴
Jiangsheng Dengying li de Qinhuai He
浆声灯影里的秦淮河
jing 京
jinghu 京胡
Jin Pingli Mei 金瓶梅
Jin Wei 金伟
leihu 雷胡
Liu Ling 刘玲
Liu Tianhua 刘天华
Lu Jichua 吕捷华
Mingjia Jingdian Sanwen Xuan
名家经典散文选
pipa 琵琶
qianjin 千斤
qin 琴

Renmin Yinyue Chubanshe
人民音乐出版社
ruan 阮
san 三
sanhui 三胡
sanxian 三弦
Shanghai Manhua 上海漫画
shanshui 山水
sheng 笙
si 四
sihu 四胡
Sun Wenming 孙文明
suona 唢呐
tiqin 提琴
Tuo Xiaotang 拓晓堂
Wanwanqiang 碗碗腔
xian 弦
Xi'an Chubanshe 西安出版社
xiao 小
xiaoti 小提琴
yangqin 扬琴
yazheng 轧筝
Yue Shu 乐书
Zhongguo Jiusu 中国旧俗
Zhongguo Shudian 中国书店
Zhongguo Yinyueshi Tujian
中国音乐史图鉴
Zhongguo Yinyue Wenwu Daxi
中国音乐文物大系
zhong 中
zhonghu 中胡
zhongtiqin 中提琴
zhuihu 坠胡
Zhu Ziqing 朱自清
zi 子

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN AND DISSEMINATION OF THE MESOAMERICAN SLIT-DRUM

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The Mesoamerican slit-drum is one of a few quintessential pre-Columbian New World musical instruments [fig. 1].¹ (Others in this elite group would include Andean panpipes and the conch-shell trumpet.) The musicologist Robert Stevenson called the Mexican slit-drum, *teponaztli*, the "omega" of Aztec instruments and paired it with its "alpha" partner, the waist-high skin-drum, *huehuetl*.² Stevenson's designation agrees with long-standing reverence for the instrument held by Amerindians who continue to use it in Mexico and Central America. Early in the twentieth century, in the Sierras north of Mexico City, a shaman entrusted with a *teponaztli*, wrapped it in human clothes, gave it a human name, and kept it under the church altar.³ Today in Zinacantan, Chiapas, the slit-drum *t'ent'en*, is played only during the festival of San Sebastian.⁴ When it is stored, not only the instrument, but the mallets used to strike it, the tumpline that secures it in processions, and the bows and arrows borne by the bearer and beater are all given daily offerings of candles and incense.⁵

The slit-drum possesses qualities that make it a particularly revealing object for studies of the ancient music of the Americas. It can be investigated in archaeological contexts, examined through the documentation of its uses since the sixteenth century, observed in contemporary indigenous Latin-American communities, and analyzed acoustically. Much written in the past about the idiophone is accurate (such as the veneration in which it was held outside of its sound-making role), but some assumptions need reexamination, in particular, the instrument's origin and paths of dissemination. The first part of this essay reviews the earliest evidence for the slit-drum in Mesoamerica; the second examines indigenous concepts of time and the ritualized nature of trade, factors that influenced both the real and the imagined emergence of the instrument in Middle-American societies.

DESCRIPTION. The Mesoamerican slit-drum is a log hollowed out by fire and cutting tools (a construction method also used for dugout canoes).⁶ A rectangle, cut out of the bottom to accommodate the removal of the interior wood, is sometimes glued back. Incisions, generally resembling the letter "H" turned sideways, are chiseled from the surface to the hollow section, yielding two tongues, with pitches determined by variation in thickness. (In addition to the tongues, the drum body is sometimes struck, producing an additional tone or tones.) Mexican and Central American slit-drums include those constructed from the wood of the passion fruit, Spanish cedar, black cherry, walnut, *chicozapote*, oak, and *hormigo* trees.⁷ The sticks used as beaters are most often tipped with rubber derived from various tree types indigenous to low-altitude regions of tropical America.⁸

EVIDENCE FOR THE SLIT-DRUM IN MESOAMERICA. The slit-drum spread throughout the landmass of modern Mexico and Central America during pre-Hispanic times.⁹ The instrument's wide dissemination coupled with the retention of its unique stylistic traits are the reasons some organologists have proposed it as originating and spreading from a single source. Archaeologist Norman Hammond attributes its invention to northern powers like the Toltec (beginning in the early Postclassic era, around 900 A.D.), and explains its introduction to southern Mesoamerica through migration, trade, or invasion.¹⁰



1. Aztec *teponaztli*. American Museum of Natural History, New York, inv. no. 30.2.1972. Reproduced courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library.

During the 1960s, in San Pedro Jicora, Durango, musicologist Elsa Ziehm observed a large, house-beam-sized slit-drum (160 cm long by 60 and 40 cm high) that she termed a "prototype *teponaztli*". Normally serving as a headrest for sleeping dignitaries, during the maize festival it was used as a platform for dancing. The dance movements consisted of jumping upon the two sections of the beam, a pattern of kinetic activity yielding two tones matched by chanting singers.¹¹ Thirty years earlier, organologist Karl Izikowitz cited examples of large hollow logs (without slits) played in similar fashion by Californian Amerindians.¹² A performance technique like the ones Ziehm and Izikowitz observed in Mexico and California respectively currently exists in the four corners region (Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah), where Pueblo Amerindians play log-drums set into kiva floors using their feet. Floor grooves in ancient Mimbres pit structures channeled to receive such logs suggest this practice as beginning before 1000 A.D.¹³ Related practices were widespread as well as longstanding, with variations on a log-drum tradition known for ethnic groups up and down the Canadian and United States Western coasts.¹⁴ However, none of the North American percussive-logs appear deliberately cut so as to create tongues or other shapes that would yield pitch differences.

Presumably because the log-drum Ziehm observed in Durango produced two pitches is why she advocates a north Mexican source for the Mesoamerican slit-drum. The corollary is that the instrument evolved into its modern version as it was carried south by migrating Uto-Aztecan speakers (the language spoken at San Pedro Jicora). Ziehm's supposition is reinforced by the many Colonial-era reports that detailed the widespread use of the *teponaztli* in northern and central Mexico. Moreover, indigenous Central Americans who contemplate a source for the drum, presume it to be an ancestral object or one introduced by Preconquest Mexicans.¹⁵ In spite of the tantalizing nature of this supposition an excavation in Guatemala led by Alfred Kidder, in the early 1940s, casts doubt on Uto-Aztecan-speaking Mexicans as inventors of the instrument.¹⁶

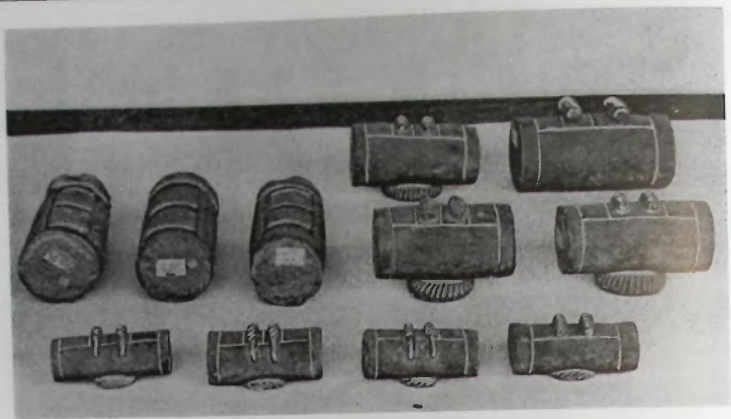


2. Kaminaljuyú anthropomorphic incense censer. Museo Nacional de Arqueología de Guatemala, A0VI, 20. Author's pencil and charcoal drawing.

Kidder excavating Kaminaljuyú (in the western corporate limits of present-day Guatemala City) found in a tomb ensconced in Early-to-Middle-Classic era stratigraphy levels (250–600 A.D.) – and at least three hundred years before the Uto-Aztec Toltec – a ceramic-incense-censer-lid featuring a figure playing a square-shaped slit-drum [fig. 2].

On the incense censer, the represented slit-drummer's sculpted clothing and accessories were the same as those worn by the elite at Kaminaljuyú, implying that the individual depicted was an historical person important in that society. In addition to the rich vestments the body was painted red, a color symbolizing supernatural power.¹⁷ The red paint found in a mortuary context associated with an animated figure, his movement captured in clay, may mean that the character represented a person who had died symbolically in order to be spiritually reborn. If so, the sculpture may depict a shaman or some other individual capable of communicating with occult forces. Perhaps the slit-drum was part of the paraphernalia used by this individual for such communication. Mesoamerican artworks that include slit-drummers often also include shamanistic elements such as themes of transformation and rebirth.

The Kaminaljuyú ceramic drummer is sculpted showing thick arm and wristbands, enormous earspools, and a heavy double-beaded necklace. Two components are especially prominent, an elaborate hat covering an oversized head and a long goatee, the beard curling up at its end. The large head – made more conspi-



3. Miniature *teponaztlis* with affixed (rubber) mallets excavated at Calle Escalerillas, Mexico City. From: Daniel Castañeda and Vincent T. Mendoza, *Instrumental precortesiano* (México: Publicaciones del Museo Nacional, 1933), appendix photo 1.

cuous by the hat and goatee – seems out of proportion to the small slit-drum that the figure is ready to play.¹⁸ The instrument's size is further diminished in that the drummer is using only his right hand to strike it. In contrast, his left one is palm up, posed so that an object can rest on it (perhaps an offering), but no item suitable for this purpose has been discovered in the tomb. The hand making the sound(s) is shaped into a fist that could hold the handle of a sculpted drumstick, but as with the missing component assumed for the left hand, no object that could be inserted into the fist opening has been found.

Despite its discovery at Kaminaljuyú, this type of large ceramic incense censer is more characteristic of Teotihuacán, a vast metropolis located in the Central Valley of Mexico, over 1000 km north of Guatemala. But regardless of the distance separating the two, Teotihuacán, the dominant Mesoamerican power during the Early-to-Middle-Classic period (250–600 A.D.), established close relations with Kaminaljuyú, primarily because of the latter's proximity to valuable jadeite deposits located in the vicinity of the nearby Motagua River.¹⁹

Cultural components shared between the two cities may hold answers for music archaeologists as an Aztec myth concerning the creation of both the *teponaztli* and its instrument companion, *huehuetli*, invokes ancient Teotihuacán. This myth, relayed to the Franciscan Geronimo de Mendieta in the sixteenth century, begins with the sacrifice of the old gods in order to appease a newborn sun god, lord of our current age. After the old gods were sacrificed, two priests wandered the country in grief. One eventually proceeded to the court of the new sun and sought musical instruments to allay his sorrow. The petitioned deity refused and forbade his retinue to listen to the man's supplications. Nevertheless, two of the god's servants disobeyed and in so doing were moved to sympathy by the priest's pleas, sung as sad songs. These two servants, named Teponaztli and Huehuetli, were consequently banished and transformed into the musical instruments that now bear their names.²⁰

There is no discernible written language and thus no recorded history attributable to Teotihuacán, but its diagnostic traits, like "thin orange pottery" and *talud tablero* motifs²¹ dispersed throughout much of Mesoamerica, attest to the city's widespread influence. Teotihuacán religious concepts, like the cult of the "feathered serpent", were similarly distributed. In fact, Teotihuacán-intrusive ideas often dominated or transformed societies that their emissaries contacted. For instance, the Mayan system of war changed after their Lowland city-state Tikal

came under the influence of Teotihuacán in 379 A.D.²² Kaminaljuyú, like Tikal, was similarly dominated early in its history, but by the beginning of the Middle-Classic era (approximately 400 A.D.) it emerged as Teotihuacán's near equal southern trading partner in a pan-Mesoamerican exchange network, exporting among other items cacao, rubber, sea shells, animal skins, feathers, cotton, jadeite, and perhaps the slit-drum.

Unlike the instrument sculpted on the incense-censer-lid found at Kaminaljuyú, no solid evidence for a slit-drum has been recovered from the site of Teotihuacán itself. Castañeda and Mendoza's 1933 *Instrumental precortesianos* includes a photograph of a miniature stone version of the instrument, which was then in the possession of the local Teotihuacán museum, but the authors do not explain the archaeological circumstances of its discovery; in particular whether this drum-model was found during controlled excavations at, or near, Teotihuacán.²³

Additional early evidence for the instrument can possibly be ascribed to Remojadas (in modern Veracruz), located on an eastern spur of the Teotihuacán-Kaminaljuyú trade routes. Attributed to this site – which is also important in music archaeology for its acoustically complex flutes – is a clay figurine slit-drummer (Shein Collection). The Remojadas ceramic drummer is nude except for a feline-shaped skullcap. This costume feature, the cap could indicate supernatural interaction, as is presumed for the red paint on the lid of the Kaminaljuyú incense censer. This individual, again perhaps a shaman, could be transforming into his *nagual*, or animal-spirit. Diagnostically, he wears the perplexing grin that characterizes Remojadas "smiling face" sculptures, and is posed positioning a pair of mallets in adolescent abandon above a barrel-shaped slit-drum resting between his outstretched legs.²⁴ The drumming technique demonstrated by this musician, who appears ready to strike the object with both beaters at the same time, differs from the less dramatic technique shown on the Kaminaljuyú censer. The Remojadas instrument is also larger in scale, more prominent, and more like known Mesoamerican slit-drums. And unlike the Kaminaljuyú musician-shaman, the one from Remojadas seems solely concerned with striking his drum.

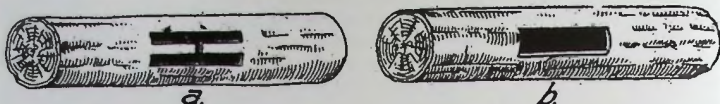
According to organologist Jose Franco, no pre-Hispanic slit-drums have been found in the Veracruz (middle Gulf Coast) region, although several figurine representations exist.²⁵ Despite this claim, the Remojadas example and possible Olmec ones discussed later are the only slit-drum figurines or related freestanding sculptures attributable to this area that I have thus far come across. Moreover, like many portable objects ascribed to pre-Columbian cultures, the Remojadas sculpture lacks a verifiable archaeological context. Assuming that the sculpture is from Classic-period Veracruz (400–900 A.D.), together with the Kaminaljuyú censer, it suggests slit-drum use among provinces involved in the Teotihuacán trade network. Excavations at other sites located on these routes will help to verify this theory.²⁶

RUBBER-TIPPED MALLETS. One way to conceive Mesoamerican idiophones is as a set of components: the instrument and the striking object. Pre-Hispanic and Colonial-era records concerning Mesoamerican slit-drums indicate that rubber-tipped drumsticks were most often used as beaters. (Analogous to the union of the *teponaztli* with rubber-tipped sticks is the coupling of tortoise-shell idiophones with deer antlers.)

No rubber-tipped drumbeaters have been found in archaeological contexts but there is good circumstantial evidence for their use in pre-Hispanic times. Such evidence is found at El Tajín, a large site located a few hundred kilometers north of Remojadas, which filled the power vacuum in northeastern Mesoamerica following the decline of Teotihuacán after 600 A.D.²⁷ On the southwest panel of its South Ball Court a relief-sculpture shows an important person (wearing an elaborate headdress and sandals) using a drumstick to beat a small, oblong, elbow-cradled slit-drum. The beater is shown as a short, narrow stick, topped with a conspicuously drawn ball, probably representing rubber. Also, a diorama-like scene on a terra-cotta piece in the Karl Stavenhagen collection (attributed to the Classic-era Pacific Coast Colima culture), has been interpreted by ethnomusicologist Samuel Martí as a shaman-led ceremony involving a three-piece instrumental ensemble:



4. Slit-drummer on southwest panel, South Ball Court, El Tajín, Veracruz, Mexico. Author's drawing.



5. Top and bottom view of Taino slit-drum, from Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1851).

slit-drummer, valveless trumpeter, and container-rattle player. While awaiting direction from the shaman, the slit-drummer brandishes two large ball-ended mallets with molded round tips that suggest rubber.²⁸ In addition to these Classic-era coast-culture artworks, a Postclassic Aztec votive offering of several miniature clay *teponaztlis*, sculpted with comparably sized pairs of ball-ended drumsticks molded onto the slits of each drum, was discovered in excavations under the Mexico City street, Escalerillas [fig. 3]. The ends of these small mallets are incised with cross-hatching, sometimes used to denote rubber balls in depictions concerning the Mesoamerican ball game.²⁹

Ethnohistoric reports provide additional evidence of a relationship between rubber-tipped mallets and the Mesoamerican slit-drum. The *Título C'oyoi*, an indigenous Guatemalan text written in the early-Colonial era, contains the phrase "(x) quik'oj quic", which Mayan document specialist Robert Carmack translates as: "They played the drum with rubber-tipped sticks."³⁰ In seventeenth-century Guatemala Fuentes y Guzmán wrote that the *teponaguastle* (a corruption of *teponaztli*) was "toca á golpe de unas baquetillas de madera sólida, calzadas por los extremos de ule, que es una materia resinosa."³¹ An even earlier (mid-sixteenth-century) account by Landa from the Yucatan included a description of Mayan slit-drum performance technique: "This (slit-drum) they hit with a longish stick at the end of which is a ball of a certain gum that exudes from a tree."³²

The principal source for Landa's gum is the rubber tree (*Castilla elastica*) found in the American tropics at altitudes of 700 meters or less, the typical environment of Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean, and southern Mesoamerican Pacific coastal zones.³³ In the past, the Gulf Coast was particularly important for rubber production. In fact, *olli* (Fuentes y Guzmán's *ule*), the Nahuatl name for rubber, is the root of the word *olmec*, which in Nahuatl means "the rubber people". The Pre-Classic Olmec heartland bordered the middle and southern Gulf of Mexico, and the earliest examples of extracted rubber, some molded into balls and associated with offerings, were recovered from a spring at the Early-Formative-Era Olmec site, El Manatí, located on the Gulf Coastal plain, not far south of Remojadas.³⁴ El Manatí rubber samples have been carbon 14 dated at 1200 B.C.³⁵

In his book, *Instrumentos musicales precortesianos*, Martí briefly comments on a pair of artifacts representing slit-drums sculpted in Olmec style, kept at the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia.³⁶ These sculptures are probably the same as those shown in photograph number 112 in Castañeda and Mendoza's *Instrumental precortesianos*. In the photograph, two crouching Olmec-style figures are shown hitting large oblong objects cradled in their left arms with beaters held in their right hands. The stone sculptures (likely carved from basalt) have weathered badly, and their appearance is too grainy to allow for a true determination of the nature of the object or the activity engaged in. Nonetheless, the Olmec-style figures closely resemble the slit-drummer sculpted on the South Ball Court at El Tajín [fig. 4]. In each case the sculpted subjects cradle an oblong object in the crook of an elbow while striking the respective object with a beater held in the other hand.

Based on the limited evidence available, I posit the Mesoamerican slit-drum (hollowed out from the bottom and with an "H" incised into its top) as having been initially developed on the east or west coast of Mexico or Central America (most likely the Gulf of Mexico), and at least by the Middle-Classic period (600 A.D.) but probably much earlier. There are three primary reasons for this proposition. The first concerns the fact that the inventors were probably from a land that had an abundance of rivers – indicating a need for dugout canoes – and an awareness of the woodworking techniques used in slit-drum manufacture. (The largest concentration of rivers in Mesoamerica drains the Gulf coastal plain, and these flood plains had copious wood supplies during most of the pre-Hispanic past.) Second, rubber used for slit-drum beaters grew wild

in the Gulf and southern Pacific Coast woods. People living in those regions would more likely have been familiar with this resinous substance than their neighbors in other parts of Mesoamerica. And third, the earliest, albeit minimal, documented evidence for slit-drums themselves comes from Kaminaljuyú near the Pacific and El Tajín near the Gulf of Mexico. The Remojadas and Olmec examples, if they are truly pre-Hispanic, further substantiate Mexican Gulf Coast invention.

CYCLING TIME. Having given some evidence for the Mesoamerican slit-drum as originating in a coastal region (most likely the Mexican Gulf Coast), in the second part of this essay I hypothesize why its invention has more often been associated with cultures located further inland. This exposition involves two aspects of Mesoamerican life that would at first appear only marginal to music. The first is a pan-Mesoamerican belief in the cycling nature of time, and the second is the complex reciprocal relationships involving the exchange of objects and cultural concepts between Highland and Lowland societies (sometimes called Cold and Hot Lands), which is referred to here as "cultural brokerage" (a term borrowed from Eric Wolf).³⁷

I begin with the concept of cycling time. Indigenous calendars were in use from the earliest periods of pre-Hispanic Middle-American civilization. They charted solar and planetary movements, and a 260-day cycle of twenty, 13-day months, possibly representing human gestation periods or corn growing cycles. These calendars were intended to revolve simultaneously, and the initial day name and day number of the 260-day calendar matched up with the initial month name and month number of the 365-day solar calendar only once every 52-years.³⁸ Auspicious dates within this and other cycling periods were noted by timekeepers and major events such as a city or dynasty founding could be situated so as to occur on important dates. These manipulations affected perceptions of chronology and the interpretation of history. Consequently time-cycles and the events and myths that sprang up to corroborate important dates within them came to be viewed by Mesoamerican populations as parts of a grand plan of predestination.

To illustrate how this view was manifest I relate one of the better-known stories concerning Quetzalcoatl, the anthropomorphic Mexican god who challenged traditional systems of belief, such as human sacrifice. After confrontations with a rival, Quetzalcoatl departed from the Gulf Coast in a year 13-Reed (according to the Aztec version of the 260-day calendar). He vowed to return from the opposite direction on the same date of the cycle to rule a prophesied future age. When Cortés landed at Veracruz in a subsequent 13-Reed year (coinciding with the Gregorian date 1519), the Spaniard was initially presumed by the presiding Aztec king Moctezuma II to be the returning Quetzalcoatl. Cortés learned about this assumption and used it to win over allies and to gain an audience with Moctezuma II, two factors, which were crucial in his conquest of Mexico. Moctezuma II's belief in an inherent power attributable to specific dates, a power that was expected to return when a date recurred in a calendar cycle, conditioned his acceptance of the inevitability of the unfolding events leading to Conquest. And although the Mexican king finally realized that Cortes was no god, the destruction the conquistador had by then wrought did end an old way of life and ushered in a new one. As did Moctezuma II, during that epoch other indigenous Mesoamericans abided by cyclical time systems and for them history – in essence – repeated.

As revealed in the first section of this essay, prior to Spain's arrival in the New World various ethnic groups from what is now modern Mexico intruded into southern Mesoamerica. These groups and the dates of their entrances include the Olmecs (1000 A.D.), Teotihuacanos (250 A.D.), Toltecs (900 A.D.), Gulf Coast Mexicanized-Mayans (1200 A.D.), and Aztecs (1450 A.D.).³⁹ Northern intrusion into southern areas was endemic and probably perceived by locals as cyclical, with each new occasion being a repetition of the first, or a prior one. Although some north-to-south incursions have been dated archaeologically, local oral histories often confuse(d) such specifics as which ethnic group intruded and when. For instance, for sixteenth-century K'iche' Mayans, the fifteenth-century Aztec takeover of Xoconochco at the southwestern border of Guatemala was probably perceived as analogous to the Teotihuacán intrusion into Kaminaljuyú which occurred over a thousand years earlier. And though as Ziehm and Hammond assert, the slit-drum may have been introduced into southern Mesoamerica from the north by one of these Mexican groups, its introduction there undoubtedly took place prior to Uto-Aztec presence in the region.

HIGHLAND-LOWLAND RELATIONSHIPS. Evidence in Mesoamerican etymology and imagery points to exchanges of objects and cultural concepts, like language and artistic aesthetics, among people in Highland and

Lowland communities.⁴⁰ A cursory study of the multiple meanings of certain Guatemalan Mayan words helps clarify the correspondences among some of these relationships. The K'iche' word *tum* has alternately been defined as "trumpet", "twisted rope", and "maguey cactus".⁴¹ The latter two definitions are related because Mayans sometimes used fibers from the maguey cactus to make rope. Since the plant was particularly prevalent in the Highlands of central Mexico, maguey imagery is presumed to have stood for cultural concepts developed there.⁴² In Mesoamerica, the use of rope for binding objects is associated with domination rituals. It is a message transmitted through the imagery sometimes included on slit-drums, and is in fact a rather common decorative motif on those instruments.

The correspondence among these specific elements is best demonstrated in the sculptured images on the South Ball Court at El Tajin (previously described regarding its inclusion of a slit-drum). On the ball-court wall an important figure, Lord Thirteen-Rabbit, is shown in several scenes near maguey cactus, and in one he is engaged in a sacrifice-related accession rite partly symbolized by a captive bound-up in rope.⁴³ An interpretation of this sculpture's meaning is that Mexican Highland powers, portrayed at Lowland El Tajin by an image of the non-local maguey plant,⁴⁴ had helped confer the authority of Rulership on Lord Thirteen-Rabbit. According to this explanation the dominant Highland culture's influence on the Lowland one is shown through the use of symbols representing objects understood by both cultures as associated with the former.

CULTURAL BROKERAGE. The Aztec merchant class, *pochteca*, organized as a caste, often preceded large-scale trading or military incursions into foreign territories. Because of their familiarity with the customs and languages of different groups, professional merchants were used by host polities to broker exchanges among groups living in different geographical and social environments.⁴⁵ The Mayan equivalent of the *pochteca* was known as *p'olom* and it is known that organized trade was a pan-Mesoamerican tradition that reached back at least to Teotihuacán and more likely Olmec times.⁴⁶

Outside of the Valley of Mexico, the *pochteca* probably deferred only to powerful kings and then only when that deference served their own agenda. As the society they lived in was predominately theocratic, it is possible that the power wielded by these merchants was perceived as partly derived from the will of a god, or gods, who was familiar, or made familiar, to the approached groups. The deity Yacatecuhtli protected the *pochteca* and therefore may have been perceived by all engaged in the exchange network as the authority that granted them their power. (If so, Yacatecuhtli functioned as a kind of patron saint for merchants).

RITUALIZED EXCHANGES. Anthropologist Nancy Farriss has presented evidence that in the period immediately after Conquest, a few pre-Columbian trade routes continued to be used. On one of these, Tabasco cacao was brought to Chicbul, Campeche, where it was purchased using a currency of objects given value by their association with the patron saint of Chicbul. Tabascan cacao growers agreed to this mode of exchange because Chicbul, the Chontal (Putun Mayan) Colonial-era political-religious center, was considered the Post-hispanic successor to the Late-Postclassic Chontal capital, Xicalango. Catholic images from Chicbul conferred power on their acquirers as the representations of pre-Columbian Xicalango deities apparently had for Mayans of the Late Postclassic era.⁴⁷ Some of this power was affirmed in the rituals associated with the delivery of merchandise. One can extrapolate that merchant movement along old Mayan trade routes evolved into modern saint day processions, characterized by office holders in *cofradías* (lay brotherhoods) who solemnly parade through important streets of a community holding aloft staffs topped with Christian icons and the symbolically charged images of patron saints. Included in the entourage of contemporary saint-day processions are the instrumentalists, like slit-drummers, who play the official music on these occasions. A question is did musicians playing similar instruments also accompany pre-Columbian merchants?

Pre-Hispanic relationships among Highland and Lowland societies possibly mirrored the ritualized commodity exchanges in Colonial-era Campeche and Tabasco, but on a grander scale. In fact, Farriss argues that the early success of the Spanish Christianizing enterprise, and the *cofradía* system's persistence into modern times, presupposes a pre-Columbian tradition underlying it. She suggests that originally many of the elite functionaries involved in these fraternities belonged to, by then, the defunct pre-Hispanic merchant classes. I take this suggestion one step further by proposing that music-making functions attached to pre- and early-Posthispanic trade at least partially accounts for the spread and acceptance of instruments, like the slit-drum.

Evidence indicating the extent of Highland and Lowland correspondence can be found in the names for a few objects from the pre-Columbian West Indies. There, paraphernalia used for the ball game along with

the slit-drum – both theorized as Lowland inventions – constitute the only major culture-related object types shared between Meso and Caribbean America; with the name used for the idiophone indicating its perceived association with Mesoamerican Highland iconographical concepts.

In his study of sixteenth-century Caribbean cultures Dominican friar Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés included two drawings of a West Indian slit-drum, one showing the instrument's top, with an H-cut, and the second, the bottom, with a large square access cutout, proving Mesoamerican influence on design [fig. 5]. Cuban folklorist, Rhyna Moldes states that the name for this Caribbean slit-drum was *mayohuacán*⁴⁸ and Ramón Pané, who translated the 1571 New World account of Alfonso Ulloa, listed Ulloa's name for a Taino (Caribbean) slit-drum as *maiohuacani*.⁴⁹ These may be different names for the same sound-producing object or the same word spelled differently, but in both cases the name(s) also means "maguay cactus". A Caribbean name used for both the maguay cactus and the slit-drum presupposes a correspondence between the two objects that mirrors their association as sculpted on the El Tajín ball court wall, with its implication of Lowland-Highland Mesoamerican relationships. (This suggests that Middle-American contact with west Indian cultures may have been a pan-Mesoamerican endeavor.)

ON THE ASSOCIATION OF OBJECTS TO CULTURES. Central Mexican diagnostics like Teotihuacán "thin orange pottery" and Toltec "plumbate ware" were manufactured elsewhere (Puebla or Veracruz for the former and the Chiapas-Guatemala border region for the latter), but to the ancient people who used or knew of these ceramics, the pottery types represented the aesthetics and ideals of the respective Mexican cultures disseminating them, and not those which made them. Assignment of Mesoamerican objects to distributing cultures helps to reconcile the conflict between the slit-drum's association with Classic-era Highland concepts (the fall of the old Teotihuacán gods, maguay cactus, maguay rope, and domination and accession rituals) with the lack of the instrument or its imagery at Classic-era Highland centers.⁵⁰

With the demise of the Olmec civilization (after 300 B.C.), subsequent Gulf Coast and Pacific coast Lowland cultures devolved into tribute states, beholden to more politically, economically, and militarily-powerful cultures, which from that time forward were generally centered in the Mexican Highlands. Nevertheless, the eastern Gulf-Coastal zone became fixed in the collective consciousness of Mesoamerica, as the home of the sun and even of civilization itself. Material objects associated with the Lowland – cacao, rubber, the ball game, and possibly the slit-drum – became imbued with pan-Mesoamerican religio-political power, which was used by Highland cultures to enhance their dominance.

NOTES

¹ "The ancient cultures of Mexico along with the Maya civilization comprise the larger entity known to archaeologist as 'Mesoamerica', a name first proposed by Paul Kirchhoff and including much of the great conurbation that separates the masses of North and South America." Michael D. Coe, *Mexico* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 17.

² Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley: Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 63.

³ Rodney Gallop, "The Music of Indian Mexico", *The Musical Quarterly* XXV/2 (1939), 217.

⁴ Evon Z. Vogt, *The Zinacantan of Mexico: A Modern Maya Way of Life* (Philadelphia: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990), 171.

⁵ Linda O'Brien-Rothe, "Maya", *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music. II: South America, Mexico, Central America, Caribbean*. Ed. by Dale Olsen and Daniel Sheehy (New York: Garland, 1998), 653.

⁶ Most existing Mesoamerican slit-drums I have examined have dimensions ranging between 10-40 cm in diameter and 35-90 cm in length.

⁷ Daniel Castañeda and Vincent T. Mendoza, *Instrumental*

precoltessino (México: Publicaciones del Museo Nacional, 1933), 11 and 14; Samuel Martí, *Instrumentos musicales precoltessinos* (Cordoba, México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1955), 27; Sergio Navarrete, *The Music of the Rabinal-Achi* (M.M. thesis, University of Maryland, 1994), 120; O'Brien-Rothe, *op. cit.*

⁸ Paul C. Standley, *Trees and Shrubs of Mexico* (Fagnone-Fabaceae). Contributions from the United States National Herbarium XXIII/2 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, 1922), 202.

⁹ Slit-drums are also found in South America, and early-Colonial-era descriptions prove that the instruments were in use there before the Conquest. However, morphological and functional differences between South American and Mexican-Central American slit-drums suggest that the two are independent inventions.

¹⁰ Norman Hammond, "Classic Maya Music I: Maya Drums", *Archaeology* XXV/2 (1972), 125-131.

¹¹ Elsa Ziehm, "Aztec Music in 16th-Century Mexico: Archaeological, Iconographical, Written Sources Compared with Modern Material", *Jahrbuch für Musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde* XV (1994), 21-22.

¹² Karl Gustav Izikowitz, *Musical and Other Sound Instruments of the South American Indians: A Comparative Ethnographical Study* (Göteborg: Elanders, Boktryckeri, Aktiebolag, 1935), 16-17.

¹³ Darrell Creel and Roger Anyon, "New Interpretations of Mimbres Public Architecture and Space: Implications for Cultural Change", *American Antiquity* LXVIII/1 (2003), 67-92.

¹⁴ Philip Drucker, *Cultures of the North Pacific Coast* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1965), 42-43.

¹⁵ Charles É Brasseur De Bourbourg, *Grammaire de la Langue Quiché suivie d'un vocabulaire et du drame de Rabinul-Acú* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1862), 105-107; Linda O'Brien, *Songs of the Face of the Earth: Ancestor Songs of the Tzulinil-Mayan of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1975).

¹⁶ Pablo Castellanos, *Horizontes de la música precortesiana* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1970); Alfred V. Kidder, Jesse D. Jennings, and Edwin M. Shook, *Excavations at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1946).

¹⁷ David Freidel, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker, *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path* (New York: William Morrow, 1993), 272.

¹⁸ Various sizes of Mesoamerican slit-drums have been documented. A famous example is the *tecompilón*, a small slit-drum with an attached gourd, which Stevenson describes as a woman's instrument (Stevenson, *op. cit.*, 61-62).

¹⁹ David Drew, *The Lost Chronicles of the Maya Kings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 240.

²⁰ R. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, 112-113.

²¹ *Talud tablero* is the name applied originally to a Teotihuacán architectural feature that includes a sloping base attached to a rectangular panel, often repeated in series.

²² D. Drew, *op. cit.*, 196-197.

²³ The small drum-effigy closely resembles the Aztec miniatures shown in fig. 3.

²⁴ Castellanos, *op. cit.* This publication includes a drawing of the Remojadas sculpture. My descriptions are based on this copy.

²⁵ Jose-Luis Franco, "Musical Instruments from Central Veracruz in Classical Times", *Ancient Art of Veracruz*. Ed. by Olga Hammer (Los Angeles: Ethnic Arts of Los Angeles at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, 1971), 18.

²⁶ Teotihuacán-influenced regions such as Matcacapan in the Tuxtla Mountains and sites in the Nautla River Valley have been recently studied or await excavation.

²⁷ M.D. Coe, *op. cit.*, 121; Esther Pasztor, *Teotihuacán: An Experiment in Living* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 243.

²⁸ Samuel Martí, *Alt-América: Musik der Indianer in präkolumbischer Zeit. Musikgeschichte in Bildern II/7* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1970), 68-69.

²⁹ Rex Ashley Kootz, *The Iconography of El Tajín, Veracruz, Mexico* (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 1994), 112.

³⁰ Robert M. Carmack, *Quichéan Civilization: The Ethnohistoric, Ethnographic, and Archaeological Sources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 343.

³¹ Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, *Recordación florida: Discurso histórico y demostración natural, material, militar y política del reino de Guatemala*. Biblioteca "Gopathemal 6-8 (Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, 1932-1933), 212.

³² Diego de Landa, *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest*. Transl. by William Gates (New York: Dover Press, 1978), 36 and 63.

³³ P.C. Standley, *op. cit.*, 215.

³⁴ Mary E. Miller and Karl Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 126 and 144.

³⁵ Jill Guthrie, ed. *The Olmec World: Ritual and Rulership* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1996), 23. According to Standley, an inferior rubber was also derived from the sap of certain fig trees (such as *Ficus petiolaris* and *Ficus padifolia*). Fig trees were useful as sources not only for rubber (and canoes) but also for the paper, found in many pre-Columbian codices. The Otomí in Hidalgo, Mexico, still made paper from *Ficus* trees in the early 1920s (Standley, *op. cit.*, 206). It is interesting to consider the communicative potentials of this single source material, canoes for transportation, paper as a writing and painting surface, and rubber-tipped drum sticks to beat out sounds.

³⁶ Samuel Martí, *Instrumentos musicales precortesianos* (Cordoba, México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1955), 32.

³⁷ Eric R. Wolf, *Sons of the Shinking Earth* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959).

³⁸ Bruce Byland introduction in the *Codex Borgia*. Ed. by Díaz Gisele and Alan Rodgers (New York: Dover Publications, 1993), xxii.

³⁹ Michael D. Coe, *The Maya* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987).

⁴⁰ J. Eric S. Thompson, *Maya History and Religion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970).

⁴¹ Munro S. Edmonson, *Quiché-English Dictionary* (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1978), 128.

⁴² M.E. Miller and K. Taube, *op. cit.* According to Dennis Tedlock, *Ki* (similar to *kik*, the word for blood and rubber) is a K'iche' word used for maguey cactus (Dennis Tedlock, *Popol Vuh: The Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life* [New York: Touchstone, 1996], 245).

⁴³ R.A. Koontz, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴⁵ E.R. Wolf, *op. cit.*, 243.

⁴⁶ M.E. Miller and K. Taube, *op. cit.*, 112; Drew *op. cit.*, 192.

⁴⁷ Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 154-155.

⁴⁸ Dale A. Olsen, "Approaches to Musical Scholarship", *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music. II: South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*. Ed. by Dale Olsen and Daniel Sheehy (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 13.

⁴⁹ Donald Thompson, "The Cronistas de Indias Revisited: Historical Reports, Archeological Evidence, and Literary and Artistic Traces of Indigenous Music and Dance in the Greater Antilles at the Time of the Conquest", *Revista de música Latinoamericana XIV/2* (1993), 188.

⁵⁰ E. Pasztor, *op. cit.*, 235.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ORGAN: CHANGE IN JEWISH THOUGHT AND MUSICAL LIFE

JOACHIM BRAUN

The organ and the lute – two musical instruments with negative associations in Jewish history of music mainly due to their strong pagan, secular (the lute) and Christian (the organ) affiliations – exemplify the processes of change in Jewish musical thought and practice. Since I have discussed the case of the lute in detail at another place,¹ we will concentrate here on the organ, a musical instrument for many centuries much disputed in Jewish-Christian religious circles.² Let us take a brief look at the transformation in the meaning and semantics of the instrument from its invention in the Hellenistic time (Egypt, middle of the 3rd century B.C.) to the time of the Jewish Emancipation in Europe (18th century), and examine the part which iconography played in this process.

Some time ago the *Freiburger Rundbriefe* (1998:4) published an article on the organ in Jewish synagogues of the nineteenth century by the noted musicologist Walter Salmen. This latest informative contribution to the history of this instrument in Jewish musical life, reflects two stereotypes in the discussion of the subject: (a) the organ was probably used in the Jerusalem Temple, and (b) in European Jewish communities the history of the organ did not start before the eighteenth century. Both conclusions are misleading. The history of the organ in Jewish culture and Jewish thought, being a highly perplexed problem, appears to be a “musical” reflection of Jewish intercultural acculturation.

The term *‘ugav*, which in contemporary Hebrew denotes the organ, appears four times in the Old Testament: in the mythological story of Gen. 4:21, as instrument of the godless (Job. 21:12), metaphorically as “voice of mourners” (Job. 30:31), and in the doxology of the Ps. 150:4. The root of the word *‘ugav* points to the Hebrew-Arabic *‘agavah* (sensuality, lust, lasciviousness; comp. Ezekiel 23:5). In the apocryphal Ps. 151 (probably, first century) an image of an orpheic-Christian David appears as builder of musical instruments and here chronologically the interpretation of the *‘ugav* (in the Hebrew version) as organ is a possibility.

The word *‘ugav* is rendered inconsistently already in the Septuaginta: *kithara* (Gen. 4:21) and *psalmos* (Job 21:12, 30:31) may be interpreted as string instruments, and *organon* (Ps. 150:4) could be a wind instrument or just any instrument whatsoever. The Peshitta (Syriac translation of the Bible, 1st-2nd century) follows the translation of the Septuaginta; the Targum (Aramaic translation, 2nd-7th century), however, consequently translates *‘ugav* as *abbuba* (the pipes of the Roman *ambubaine*-girls, musician-harlots), and in the Vulgata it is *organum* consistently all four times. While in the Targum is clearly meant a mono- or double-pipe read instrument, the interpretation of the Vulgata is uncertain: at the time when Jerome translated the Hebrew Bible (ca. 347-420), *organum* may have meant both a music instrument in general or an organ.³ Jerome's contemporary St. Augustin (early 5th century) gives us the following comments on the understanding of the word *organum*: “*Organum* is the general term used of all musical instruments, although nowadays it is customary to apply the word *organum* to those which operate by bellows...”⁴



1. Terra-cotta oil lamp (3rd-4th century). Ein Hashofet, Israel. Israel Antiquity Authority 71.5080.

It is quite obvious that the translators of the biblical text were not familiar with the real meaning of the word 'ugav, which probably was lost long before. We also can not avoid the feeling of a camouflaged repugnance – probably because of its amorous affiliation – towards the mentioned instrument by both the writers of the original text and the translators. Contemporary musicology interprets the biblical 'ugav as a flute-type instrument – the etymology and love symbolism, similar to all ancient and contemporary Near Eastern flute instruments, suggests a *und't* (Egypt), or *nay* (Israel/Palestine, Turkey) type instrument.⁵

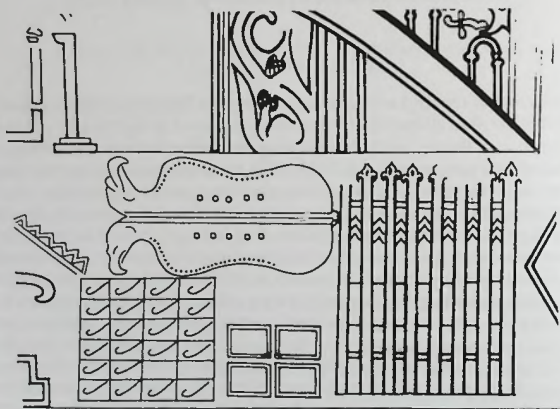
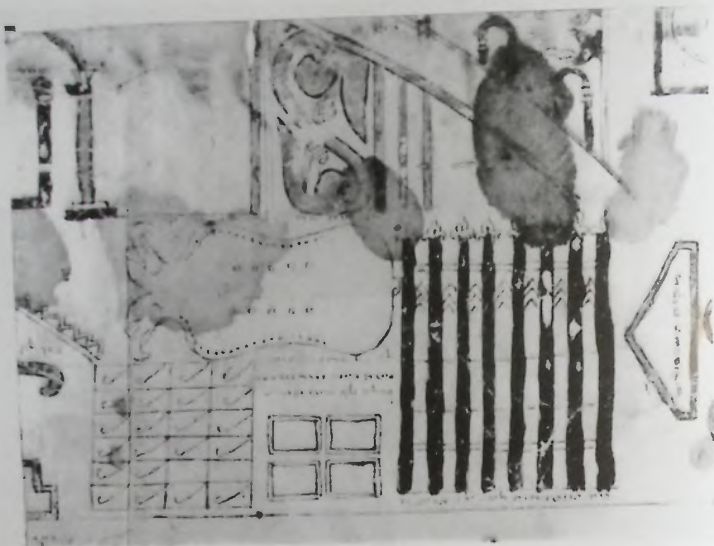
Although sources are not unambiguous, we may suggest that the identification of the biblical 'ugav with the organ transpired at the time of the completion of the Talmud (4th-6th century). In the treatises TB Arakhin 10b and TJ Sukkah 55c we find the terms *ardablis*, *adrabalin*, *hardolis*, *ardablis* – all distorted forms of the Greek *hydraulis* (water organ).⁶ In the TJ (Sukkah 55c) it says unequivocally: "Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish said: 'ugav – is an *ardablis*'. And Rabbi Shimon ben Gamliel adds to the same passage that there was not such an instrument in the Temple, because its sound "disturbed the melody" (TB Arakhin 10b, TJ Sukkah 55c). There is also no Greek or other evidence of an organ in the Temple or on the territory of Israel/Palestine. We believe in this *argumentum ex silentio*: such an unusual instrument as the organ certainly would be noticed and broadly attested by the Greek-Roman writers, as was the organ somewhat north, in Syria (see below). Jewish sources of this period, however, never display an outspoken repugnance towards the organ, and we have to note, that the unsuitability of this instrument for the Temple service was thought to be of a purely aesthetic nature.



2. The mosaic of Hama (the last quarter of the 4th century A.D.).

In the Mischnah (second century) and somewhat later in the Talmud is mentioned another sound tool – the *magrephali*. Rabbi bar Shila claimed that “there was a *magrephali* in the Temple” (TJ Arakhin 10b). The descriptions and function of this tool are quite confusing and contradictory in the Talmud, and later years brought about different interpretations.⁷ Rashi (1040–1105), the great commentator of the Talmud, and some later authorities stressed three main functions of the *magrephali*: to sweep together the ashes from the altar after burning the offerings (Hebr. *garaphi*, to scoop up); to produce a strong alarm sound for the priests by hurling the instrument, and to produce musical sounds similar to the *hydraulis*.⁸ The well-known Renaissance scholar Abraham Portaleone (Mantua, 1542–1612), was probably the first to claim that this instrument had pipes.⁹ The discussions about the *magrephali* went on till the second half of the twentieth century without reaching any definitive opinion.¹⁰ The musicologist and expert in Jewish studies Joseph Yasser claimed in the 1960s that the *magrephali* was not a musical instrument in the modern sense, and even less so an organ, but in older times (2nd–1st century B.C.) was a shovel to scoop away the ashes of the burned offerings, and later (1st century B.C.–1st century C.A.) a shovel-shaped sound tool.¹¹ Yasser suggests that the *magrephali* was built possibly by some of the famous Alexandrian craftsmen who used to be invited to Jerusalem for repairs of sound tools (TB Arakhin 10b) and that its strong sound-like sound of uncontrolled pitch was activated by a stream of air and a number of pipes. Its ritual sounding may have served as symbolic remainder of the impending judgment of God.

Be this as it may, we have good reasons to claim that during the pre-Christian and first Christian centuries the Jewish communities were acquainted with both – some kind of a Temple sound tool (*magrephali*) and the hydraulic or pneumatic organ. The last one is attested also by archaeological finds: a group of terra-cotta oil



3. A representation of the Talmudic *magreplah* in the Second Kennicott Bible (1366-1382). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Kenn. 2, fol. 1v. An outline of the drawing is provided below it (see note 23).



4. Farhi Bible (1366-1382). Sassoon Collection, Jerusalem, Ms. 1, 368 (6), fol. 186r.

lamps were discovered on the territory of ancient Palestine, which have on their front relief depictions of a framed row of seven organ pipes and two pairs of *crotala*. The artifacts are dated into the third or fourth century and attributed to the Samaritan culture [fig. 1].¹² Thus, a Roman Palestine community, in constant and close contact with the Jewish population (and sharing a related religion), was well acquainted with the organ, depicting it as a Temple implement and used possibly also for liturgical purpose. Another use of the organ in this Near Eastern area was documented in Hama (Syria), some 200 km north from Samaria, where a most remarkable mosaic from the third century shows its use in everyday music-making. The mosaic depicts a group of female performers with musical instruments and among them an organ player [fig. 2].¹³ Compared to the known third-century organ iconography, this instrument has remarkably developed features.¹⁴

Already from the time of the Mishnah (1st-2nd century) music in general and instrumental, particularly, was rejected by the Jewish clergy. Singing "ceased after the Sanhedrin", and the *crons* (wedding drum or bell)



5. Kaufmann Haggadah (late 14th century). Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, Kaufmann Coll., Ms. A 422, fol. 3v.

was forbidden (Sotah 9,11 and 14). Some two centuries later, the language in the Talmud changed fiercely: "The ear which listens to song should be torn off" and "Rabba said: when there is song in the house there is destruction on its threshold" (TB Sotah 48a). Rabbi Johanan warns in the same passage with reference to *Jesaja* 5:11: *kinnor, nebel, toph, halil* and wine makes you forget God (TB Sotah 48a-b). Especially strong is the censure of women's singing: "Samuel said: the women's voice is unchaste, sexual incitement" (TB Berakhot 24a).

The prohibition of music and particularly organ was not less severe by the Church Fathers. From the beginning on, this was not for aesthetic reasons, but rather because of the enticement of musical instruments. In this regard the depraving effect of the *organa* (the organ, or musical instruments in general) was stressed, especially for women: in his Epistle to Ps. 107 Jerome warns: "Let her be deaf to *organa*, let her not know why the *tibia*, lyre and *cithlari* are made".¹⁵

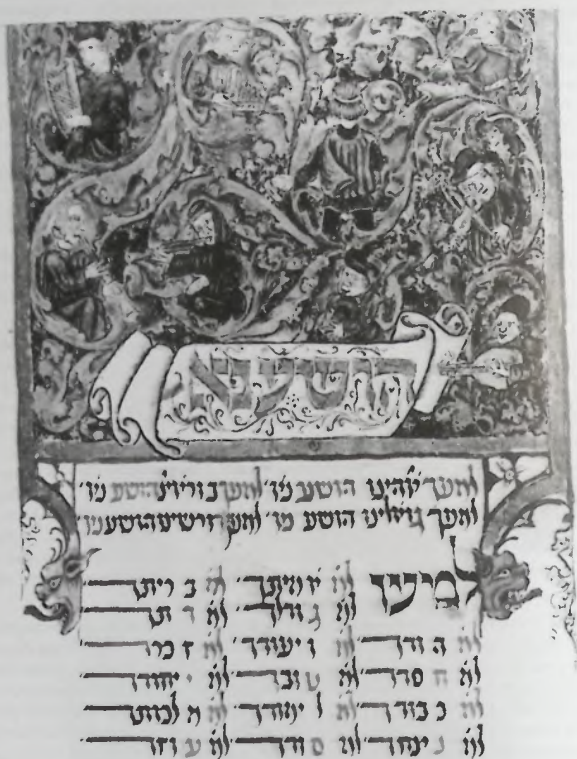
Regardless of this, history went its own way. The situation is best described by Jean Perrot: "...we may never know the truth of the matter, since at present there is no known official text among the pontifical archives which authorizes the use of the instrument in church."¹⁶ And there was a good reason for it: although considering all instrumental music suspicious, the clergy turned a blind eye when the small portable organ was used at the service to accompany the singing of the faithful. From the eleventh to thirteenth century a dual attitude toward the organ was apparent. While the Synod of Milan in 1287 declared organ music an important part of the service, the General Chapter of Ferrara (1290) ruled a strong *prohibitio* of the instrument.¹⁷ Many clerics, however, "succumbed to the charm of the new instrument and were attracted by its sustained sound, which was to some extent religious in character. ... And so the organ, though never officially acknowledged in the pontifical decrees, and tolerated rather than accepted by the hierarchy, gradually established itself until, by the fourteenth century, it was the established servant of Christian worship".¹⁸

A similar process took place in Jewish thought. There is no known written text, or rabbinical *p'saq halaha* (rabbinical ruling), which did forbid or denounce the use of organ in a more severe way than any other musical instrument. A classical rabbinical sentence, the *Responsium* by Hayya ben Šerira (939-1038, Ga'on of Pumbedita, Babylonia), is one of the basic preserved documents on music of the post-Talmudic literature. Ben Šerira's answer to an inquiry from Tunisia whether music is allowed at weddings ("here, at the houses of the bridegroom and the bride it is the custom to play the drum and dance, and *goyim* (gentiles) are brought in with *nebel* and *kinmor* and 'ugav to be merry"),¹⁹ contains a permission for songs and laudations in honor of God and on occasions such as weddings, but strictly prohibits love songs, such as the Arab "songs of love". Regarding instruments, only drums are permitted to accompany dance at pure women's gatherings, while instruments such as "*nebalim* and *kinmorot*, instruments with strings, 'ugavim and *halilim*" should be avoided, because "a prostitute is she who will use them".²⁰ We cannot be sure that in this context the word 'ugav denotes the organ, although this should be quite probable considering the date of the document, the affiliation of the instruments with non-Jewish musicians and the clear reference to a wind instrument.

From now on Jewish habits changed rapidly. Quite a number of preserved texts from the twelfth to fourteenth century deal with the importance in Judaism of both vocal and instrumental music, while the attitude to the 'ugav is ambivalent. Joseph b. Jehuda ibn 'Aqnin (Spain, ca. 1150-1220), for example, mentions in a positive way the "'ugav with cymbals"²¹ (the typical ensemble of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance), while Moses ibn Ezra (Spain, ca. 1055-1135) reminds his readers of the relationship between instrument and the "šir 'ugavim" (love songs, see Ezekiel 23:5 and 32), warning also about the *hinsoreali* (trumpet), *tophi* (drum) and *halil* (pipe).²² The greatest Jewish authority of this time Moses ben Maimonides (Cordova, 1135-Egypt, 1204) in his *Responsum* on music surprisingly does not mention the 'ugav at all.

The very beginning of the process which may be designated as full legitimization of the organ can be traced back to iconographic sources from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. A representation of the Talmudic *magrephah* appears in Hebrew sources for the first time as an illustration in the famous Second Kennicot Bible (Bodleian Library, Kenn. 2; fig. 3-3a).²³ Written and decorated in Soria (Spain) in 1306 by one of the most prominent Jewish scholars and manuscript authors Joshua ibn Ga'on (or his scribes), the manuscript presents on fol. 1v and 2r a detailed plan of the Temple, signed by Joshua himself. In the upper right corner of fol. 1v may be seen a fantasy drawing of a guitar-shaped body with a short, wide neck, ending in a double-faced eagle and accompanied by the inscription "a *magrephah* (was in the Temple) and it had ten holes, each of which produced a hundred kinds of songs amounting to the whole to one thousand kinds of songs" (TB Arakhin 11a).²⁴ Three lines (strings?) are drawn across its body, five round holes are placed on each side of the lines and the borders of the upper part are studded with dots.

Jewish writers who mention the *magrephah*, such as Ibn 'Aqnin (12th-13th century),²⁵ consider that the above quoted Talmud passages refers to the number of pipes (TJ Sukkah 55c and TB Arakhin 10c/11a), identifying



6. Arba'ah Turim (1435). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Rossiani 555, fol. 292/293.

the instrument as some kind of musical instrument, possibly organ. In Arabic sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,²⁸ however, there are also interpretations of the *magrephah* as string instrument which could explain the presence of strings on the Kennicot instrument. Joshua ibn Ga'on seemed to strive in his drawing for all at his time existing interpretations of the *magrephah* – as a wind instrument (organ), a string instrument (*ma'azif* type), and an instrument in the form of a shovel (see footnote 7). Nevertheless, there is not a slightest organological or any other reason to interpret this drawing as anything but a fantasy, grown out of the Talmudic passages and oral traditions about the *magrephah*. It is certain that Joshua ibn Ga'on regarded the *magrephah* as a musical



7. Siddur (early 15th century). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 776, fol. 79v.

instrument, but it is as well certain that he did not have the slightest idea what kind of musical instrument the *magreplah* was.

Starting with the thirteenth century several Christian manuscripts depict King David as an organ player (Belvoir Castle Psalter, Solomon Glossary) and even call him *organista*.²⁷ This Christian David-iconography and the Kennicot Bible, produced by a great Jewish authority, probably stimulated a century or so later the penetration of the organ into Hebrew manuscript illuminations. The oldest and best example is the Farhi Bible (Spain, 1366-1382; fig. 4): the illustration on fol. 186v under the heading "m'y klei sir b'mah š'haju mešorerim haleviim" (Hebr., some musical instruments which were played by the Levites) shows at the bottom the Jerusalem Temple and above it two trumpets with the inscription "hasoserot". In the center is a large vessel (the "jar of manna"), surrounded by two shofars, two lutes, two psalteries, and a portative organ with eight pipes and some kind of pneumatic arrangement consisting of bellows and a tube.

This almost official acceptance of the organ as a Temple instrument, similar to the lute,²⁸ made it possible for the organ to be reproduced in many other manuscripts. From the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth century the depictions of organs appear at least in three other manuscripts - first in a Sephardic, and several decades later in two Ashkenazi manuscripts. In the Spanish manuscripts the organ is depicted in a biblical context only as a Temple implement, while in the Ashkenazi paintings is evident a secular approach to the instrument.

An illustration in the Kaufmann Haggadah (Spain, late 14th century, fig. 5) shows a group of women, three of them playing the drum, lute and organ, and eight maidens below, depicted as a choir, rather than in a dance movement as the tradition of this topos requires. A portative organ has seven or eight pipes, placed probably in two ranks, with a lowest pipe nearly twice as long as the shortest pipe, indicating a rather low sound (a similar instrument is depicted on the Belvoir Castle Psalter²⁹). The organ player is shown at the performance, actually pressing the organ keys.

In the Vatican *Arba'ah Turim* (a codex of *halakhic* rulings, first half of the 14th century, North Italy; fig. 6), on the wide frame of an illuminated page is depicted in a pure secular manner, as part of the ornamentation,

an organ player surrounded by musicians holding instruments. An illustration in the Oxford *Siddur* (prayer book, early 15th century, Germany; fig. 7) shows a musician with a portable organ among a group of musicians with a variety of instruments (lute, harp, fiddle, bagpipe, S-shape trumpet, shawm, vertical flute). It is impossible not to notice the close parallels of this illustration and the one in the French Bible from 1411 (British Library, Royal 19.D.iii, fol. 458; fig. 8).³⁰ However, regardless of the relationship (the composition, the placing of each musician in an ornamental frame of leaves), the differences are obvious: all direct Christian images and some musicians (Joseph, Maria with child, musicians with psaltery and *naqqara*) are missing, others (musicians with portable organ [!], bagpipe and lute) are added or slightly changed. It seems quite certain, that the basic elements of the illumination were transferred from one manuscript to the other. At present, the exact date of the Jewish manuscript is not known and this prevents us to draw more definitive conclusions on the genesis of this item. It is this presence of the organ in biblical manuscripts, that paved the way for the instrument to be accepted into some synagogues, paraliturgical literature and extra-religious levels of Jewish social life.

The organ, similarly to the lute, migrated from West to East of Europe, from the Sephardic to the Ashkenazi communities and, just as the lute, first appeared in the iconography of the Holy Scripture and religious literature, only somewhat later entering Jewish musical life as a result of the written affirmation, "purified" and even as "sanctified" Temple implement.

Towards the second half of the fifteenth century intellectuals and partly the leadership of the European Jewish community accepted the organ as eligible musical instrument of high artistic esteem. Acknowledged as Temple instrument in Jewish art, and merged with the concept of the ancient Levite music's elite nature, Jewish Rabbis and scholars, such as Ibn Sahula (13th century), Anonymous Milan (15th century), Jacob Farissol (early 15th century), Judah ben Samuel Archivolti (1515–1611)³¹ came to consider the organ as a suitable, in fact preferable musical instrument. The Jewish-Italian philosopher and biblical exegete Joahanan Allemanno (15th century) wrote in a most enraptured manner about the performance of the famous blind organist from Germany, Konrad Paumann at the Mantua court (ca. 1470).³² A century later, also in Mantua, the prominent Rabbi, preacher and scholar Judah ben Joseph Moscato (1530–1590)³³ discusses the theological aspects of music in one of his sermons: men were created according to musical proportions; the biblical *kinnor*, interpreted by Moscato as organ, is compared to the human soul and affiliated to King David's "spiritual *kinnor*" (= organ). Just as the *kinnor* (= organ) player has to master his art to obtain perfect harmony, so the human soul has to act in accordance with the laws of harmony.³⁴

This way of thinking was developed by the Venice Rabbi and scholar Leon Modena (1571–1648), who in the early seventeenth century introduced choral chant and musical instruments in the synagogue.³⁵ The Modena Rabbi Abraham Solomon Graziani (d. 1684) permitted in the middle of the seventeenth century the use of the organ in the synagogue.³⁶

The reforms of the rabbis came to meet the requirements of the Italian Jewish communities, their musical taste and social behavior. In this context the testimony by Giulio Marosini (former Samuel Nahmias [1612–1683], a converted Jew) is quite indicative. In his memoirs he recalls a visit to a Venice synagogue in 1628: "Tra gl'istrumenti fù portato in inagoga anche l'Organo, il qual però non fù permesso da I Rabbini, che si sonasse per essere strumento che par ordinario si suona nelle nostre chiese. Ma che? Tutto questo fù un fuoco di paglia, durò poco l'Accademia..."³⁷

During the next century changes occurred in the attitude to the organ also in some other European Jewish communities. Johann Jacob Schudt in his *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten* (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1714), for example, tells us about "Amsterdam ... Jews (who) quite frequently visited churches to enjoy for hours organ music".³⁸

The first evidence about the presence of the organ in a Prague synagogue is an iconographic source from as early as 1494. The drawing in Lobkovitz Prayer Book [fig. 9]³⁹ shows an organ in a Prague synagogue, which is, surprisingly, depicted in a rare ensemble together with *naqqara* (small kettle drums) and a *Rauschpfeife*.

In the oldest synagogue of Prague – the Pinkas synagogue – built according to some sources at the end of the thirteenth century, a portable organ was used already before the fire of 1689 and rebuilt after it.⁴⁰ In the *Alt-neue Synagoge* in Prague the organ was played at least from 1714, although only "for the Friday-Night Shabbat-welcoming prayer."⁴¹ Organ music was part of Jewish festivities and ceremonies, as for example, in the 1678 procession of the Jews of Prague honoring the coronation of the Emperor Leopold I of Austria, or



8. French Bible (1411). London, The British Library, MS Royal 19.D.iii, fol. 458.

the *Freuden-Fest* on the occasion of the birth of the Crown-Prince in 1716 in Frankfurt, where the organs were carried by two boys in front of the Torah.⁴²

Recalling the first depiction of the organ with *crotalum* on Samaritan clay oil lamps, it is not without surprise that we find the tradition of this ensemble not only in the late Renaissance, but also in eighteenth-century Prague. The traveler d'Abraham Levi (Ben Menahem Tall), who visited Prague between 1718 and 1724 describes in his memoirs that on a Sabbat day he listened in a synagogue the performance of *Orgelpfeifen* with the accompaniment of *klappen-zymbels* or *klappcymbels*.⁴³ Without hesitation we can claim that the first is an organ and the *klappencymbels* are cymbals or *crotalum* (forked cymbals), rather than "tympanons" or "clavicymbals" as thought by some modern musicologists. The profession of a "klapzymbalist" was known in the early Prague Jewish community, as attested by epitaphs from 1636 at the old Prague cemetery.⁴⁴ We may suppose that this name was used for



9. Lobkovitz Prayer Book (1494). Prague, Klementinum Universitni Knihovna, Ms. XXIII F202.

Jewish musicians/*klezmerim* in general and not only for cymbal players. In the following centuries, with the Jewish Reform movement, the organ became a widely used instrument in the reformed synagogue. This, however, is a new chapter in the history of Jewish musical culture.

I will limit myself here to the suggestion that the organ, similar to the lute, is a musical instrument that has changed its function, meaning, and symbolism in Jewish musical thought and musical reality as result of change or rather misinterpretation in Jewish visual arts. It seems that the prohibition in Christian communities was dictated by theological-practical reasons and the permission accepted by esthetical considerations; in the Jewish world it was the theological aspect which ruled both prohibition and acceptance while the change was provoked by extra-musical factors. We witness here a unique phenomenon of musical culture—change in musical life resulting from change in theological written and visual sources.



9a. Outline of the illustration in the Lobkovitz Prayer Book shown in fig. 9

NOTES

¹ Joachim Braun, "The Lute and Organ in Ancient Israel and Jewish Iconography", *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling zum 65. Geburtstag*, Ed. by Axel Boer et al. Mainz: Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 37 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), 1:163-188.

² For a concise summary of this frequently heated discussion, see Eric Werner, *A Voice Still Heard: The Sacred Songs of the Ashtkenazic Jews*. Leo Baeck Institute series (University Park: London: Pennsylvania State University, 1976), 116 and 195-198.

³ For the interpretation of the music instruments, see Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources*. The Bible in its World (Cambridge: Gran Rapids:

William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 12-32. The Greek term "organon" is used in the Septuaginta for the translation of the Hebrew "kinnor" (Ps. 137:2), "nevel" (Amos 5:23 and 6:5) and the appellation "kleishir" (verbatim "instrument of singing"; 1 Chr. 15:16; 16:5, and five times in 2 Chr.); the Vulgate used the Latin "organum" for "kinnor" (Ps. 137:2), "ugav" (Gen. 4:21, Ps. 150:4, Job 21:12 and 30:31), and seven times "kleishir" at the verses the Septuaginta used the expression.

⁴ James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 160.

³ Curt Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1940), 106; Joachim Braun, "Biblical Instruments", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, New York: Grove Dictionaries, 2001), vol. 3, 524-535.

⁴ At this time the commonly accepted word *hydraulicon* was frequently used also for the bellows organ. Friedrich Jakob, "Orgel. IV: Die Orgel des westlichen Kulturkreises im Mittelalter", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, Ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997), Sachteil, vol. 7, 918.

⁵ Among the most popular Talmud passages which mention the *magrephah*, are the stories about its 100 holes with ten sounds from each, or ten holes with 100 sounds from each (TJ Sukkah 55c; TB Arakhin 10b-11a), and the story on the possibility to hear its sound in Jericho, which is some 30 km from the Jerusalem Temple (M Tamid 3.8). Some sources mention the shovel form of the *magrephah* (idem.).

⁶ Alfred Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), 397.

⁷ Israel Adler, ed., *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music in Manuscripts and Printed Books from Geonic Times up to 1800*. RISM B/IX/2 (München: G. Henle Verlag, 1975), 259-260, Ms. 570, VI/6-42.

⁸ Even such distinguished scholars as Curt Sachs wrote that the *magrephah* is an organ, and consequently was used in the Temple (C. Sachs, *op. cit.*, 124).

⁹ Joseph Yasser, "The Magrephah of the Herodian Temple: A Five-Fold Hypothesis", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIII/1-3 (1960), 24-42; see also *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica; New York: Macmillan, 1971), vol. 12, 566.

¹⁰ Varda Susmann, "Samaritan Lamps of the Third-Fourth Century A.D.", *Israel Exploration Journal* XXVIII/4 (1978), 238-250. Unfortunately, the iconography of the oil-lamps by archaeologist was interpreted as depicting lyres, which for years confused the correct interpretation (see J. Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 238-239, and ch. V/6).

¹¹ Abdul Rizaq Zaqqyq and Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin, "La mosaïque de Maramin", *Annales Arabes Syriennes*, XX/1 (1970), 93-125, pl. 1/2.

¹² See Jean Perrot, *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pl. iii/2, iv, vi, viii, xiv.

¹³ J. McKinnon, *op. cit.*, no. 324.

¹⁴ J. Perrot, *op. cit.*, 218-219.

¹⁵ F. Jakob, "Orgel. IV: Die Orgel des westlichen Kulturkreises im Mittelalter", Sachteil, vol. 7, 917.

¹⁶ J. Perrot, *op. cit.*, 219.

¹⁷ Quoted from I. Adler, *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music*, 144.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 157.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 163.

²¹ See Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities; London: British Academy, 1982), vol. 1/1, 24-30, and vol. 1/2, pl. III-IV.

²² See also *ibid.*, 26.

²³ I. Adler, *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music*, 157 and 158.

²⁴ Amnon Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900-1900): Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Libraries of Europe and the U.S.A.* RISM B/X (München: G. Henle Verlag, 1979), 25. To the best of my knowledge no explanation for this interpretation was ever presented and in my opinion it is based on a misunderstanding, as well as the judgement of Joshua ibn Ga'on.

²⁵ J. Perrot, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII:2 and XXVIII: 2.

²⁶ J. Braun, *The Lute...*

²⁷ J. Perrot, *op. cit.*, 282.

²⁸ See Jeremy Montagu, *The World of Medieval & Renaissance Musical Instruments* (New York: The Overlook Press, 1976), pl. VI.

²⁹ I. Adler, *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music*, nos. 120, 180, 260, 360.

³⁰ Hanoah Avenary, "Ein hebraisches Zeugnis für den Aufenthalt Konrad Paulmanns in Mantua (1470)", *Die Musikforschung* XVI (1963) 156-157.

³¹ See Herzl Schmuely, *Betrachtung zum Lautenspiel des Jehudal Mosento* (Ph.D., Universität Zürich; Tel-Aviv: author, 1953).

³² I. Adler, *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music*, no. 530.

³³ *Ibid.*, nos. 520 and 530.

³⁴ A. Sendrey, *op. cit.*, 272.

³⁵ Quoted from Israel Adler, *La pratique musicale savante dans quelques communautés juives en Europe aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. École pratique des hautes études. Sorbonne. VI section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Études juives 8 (Paris: Mouton, 1966), 65.

³⁶ Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten* (Frankfurt: Leipzig, 1714; repr. Berlin: L. Lamun, 1922), part II, book VI, 284-285.

³⁷ Klementinum-Universitni Knihovna, Prague, Ms. XXIII F202.

³⁸ A. Sendrey, *op. cit.*, 340.

³⁹ J.J. Schudt, *op. cit.*, part I, book IV, 218.

⁴⁰ J.J. Schudt, *op. cit.*, part IV, continuation III (Frankfurt am Main, 1717), 147.

⁴¹ See Abraham Zvi Idelsohn, "Songs and Singers of the Eighteenth Century", *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Jubilee volume (1925), 403; see also I. Adler, *La pratique musicale savante...*, 25; E. Werner, *op. cit.*, 116 and 307.

⁴² The Hebrew-Italian dictionary *Dmarr Tav* by David Ben-Siyyon ben Abraham de Modena (Venice, 1587-1588; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris A.6011/4) gives the following translations: *kinmor* = luth, *nevel* = viole and *minim* = orgue (see also I. Adler, *La pratique musicale savante*, 44, note 174, and 112).

ORGAN ICONOGRAPHY IN HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript	Location	Folio	Origin	Date	Topos
Farhi Bible	Jerusalem Sassoon Coll., Ms. 1, 368 (6)	186r	Spain	1366-1382	Temple Instruments: 2 trumpets, 2 shofars, psallery, gittern, fidel (?), organ
Haggadah	Budapest Kaufmann Coll., A422	3v	Spain	late 14th century	Miriam with maidens: drum, lute, organ
Arba'ah Turin	Vatican Bibl. Apostolica Cod. Rossiani 555	292-293	Northern Italy	1435	Court scene: among others, lute and organ
Siddur	Oxford Bodleian Library Opp. 776	79v	Germany	early 15th century	Folk musicians (?): among others lute and organ

SOUNDS OF THE PSALTER: ORALITY AND MUSICAL SYMBOLISM IN THE LUTTRELL PSALTER

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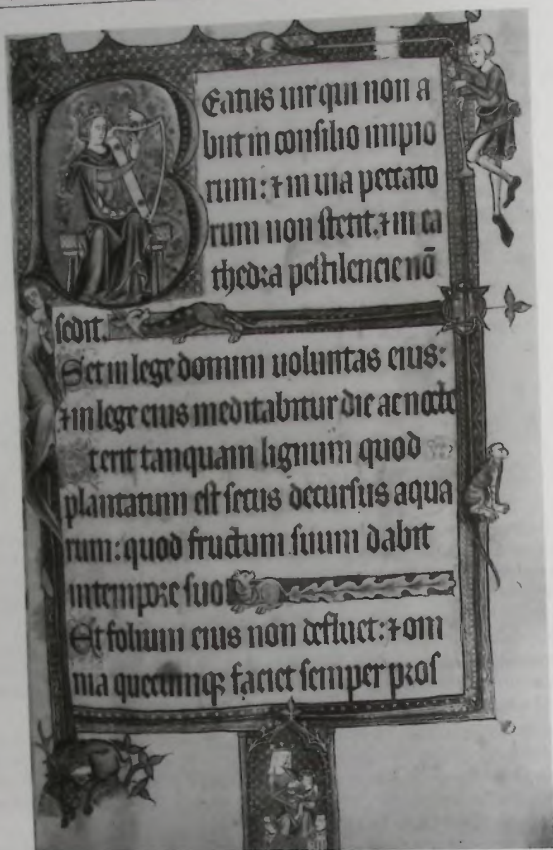
Sing aloud to God our strength; shout for joy to the god of Jacob.
Raise a song, sound the tambourine, the sweet lyre with the harp.
Blow the trumpet at the new moon, at the full moon on our festal day.
[Psalm 80 (81)]

One of the major themes in the psalms is sound, that is to say making supplication or giving thanks to God through the raised voice or music-making. The fourteenth-century English manuscript known as the Luttrell Psalter echoes and reinforces this message through the prominence within it of sounds and rhythms, the voice and music. The orality of the verbal composition and its performance is not lost through conversion into a textual form, as might be expected, but rather is maintained by means of the textuality of the written and illuminated codex. I shall begin by considering the nature of the psalms as poems, and the formal qualities of the visual schema employed in this particular psalter. I then move into an extended discussion of the role of music and its symbolism in the Luttrell Psalter, and finish with a brief consideration of how text and image on the page stand ultimately only as signs of the actual performance of the psalms.

The Luttrell Psalter (36 × 24.5 cm, British Library, Add.42130) was produced over a number of years some time between 1325 and the early 1340s.¹ This time frame and precise knowledge of its patron can be obtained thanks to the inscription above the dedication miniature on f.202v, "Dns Galfridus louterell me fieri fecit" (Lord Geoffrey Luttrell caused me to be made). Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, born 1276, was a knight whose principal property was at Irnham in Lincolnshire, in the region of East Anglia.

Although the text of the psalms was done in full and by one hand, the illumination was executed in a number of stages, and was not completed in a consistent manner. Only fourteen gatherings out of a total of twenty-six were given full illumination. Gatherings 2 through 9 (ff. 13-108) contain decorative surrounds and marginal depictions of New Testament scenes, saints and contemporary activities, while gatherings 13-18 (ff. 145-214) were completed as a unit, with foliate decoration, secular activities and a remarkable number of imaginative creations executed in vivid colors. Michael Camille suggests that the production of the Psalter was halted for a few years, and was given over to the so-called "Luttrell master" for completion, which, however, the latter was unable to carry out.² The calendar and only two pages in the final gatherings later received hasty attention. Although after the psalms there follow canticles, a litany and musical notation for the Office of the Dead, the last breaks off part-way through.³

The fragmented process of creation of the Luttrell Psalter has been reflected in its study. A full facsimile has never been published, and the 1932 black-and-white partial reproduction includes out of the 288 pages before the "master's section" only fifteen full pages, with only details from the others and one full page from after this section. Further, Camille critiques the plundering of the manuscript for supposedly "authentic"



1. Luttrell Psalter, f.13r.

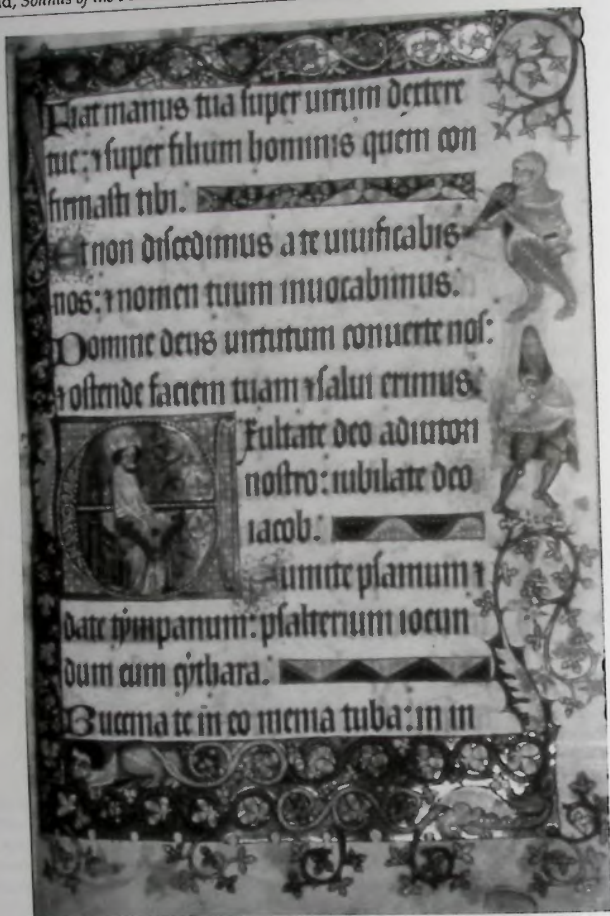
representations of everyday fourteenth-century life, and this holds too for how the images of instruments also have been taken out of context.⁴

The Psalter was one of the most frequently illustrated texts in the Middle Ages, and expenditure in order to commission a lavish volume could serve as an expression of pious devotion. In addition to its liturgical employment, however, the Psalter also came to be the prime devotional text, as the hymns of praise, the laments and the personalised appeals provided an ideal form for the individual to interpret on a personal level and employ in self-guided worship. It is for this reason that we see a relatively large number of luxury Psalters being produced for wealthy patrons during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.



1a. Luttrell Psalter, f.13r. Initial B of Psalm 1. King David tuning his harp.

STRUCTURE AND RHYTHM OF THE PSALMS AS POETIC FORMS. The Hebrew *Tehillim*, or Songs of Praise, consist of one-hundred-and-fifty sacred poems designed originally to be sung to musical accompaniment. Though authorship was traditionally ascribed to King David by St. Augustine (354–430) among others, the collection as a whole dates from various periods in the history of Israel. Study of the psalms has produced a variety of classificatory systems, but they can be divided broadly into eight types: hymns, laments, songs of trust, of thanksgiving, of sacred history, royal psalms, wisdom psalms, and liturgies.⁵ Medieval writers saw the psalms as “the direct record of David’s own thoughts and feelings, manifested repeatedly through the complementary postures of praise and penance”. The presence of such artistically beguiling forms within the Bible was used by poets as justification for writing verses in the face of injunctions from the Church Fathers.⁶ The psalms are characterized by their rhythmic structure and parallelism. The basic rhythm depends on the expression of a single thought in a single line, with the initial part usually followed by a restatement, a contrast, or an expansion of the idea.⁷ Each verse of a psalm is generally comprised of two such parts, and when performed in a liturgical context the psalm came to take the form of line and response (known as antiphon) alternating between two groups of singers.⁸ As Owain Tudor Edwards explains, “the parallelism is enhanced musically through the inconclusive nature of the midway resting point, and by the finality of the ending”.⁹ The text of the Luttrell Psalter has clear punctuation indicating these divisions: each verse begins with a one-line high decorated initial, and a colon separates the two parts.



2. Luttrell Psalter, f.149r.

Connections are also made among the psalms themselves, with repeated phrases and ideas, examples being "Dominus regnavit" commencing Psalms 92 (93), 96 (97), and 98 (99); and the phrase "Laetentur coeli et exultet terra" (Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice) appearing towards the end of Psalm 94 (95), with "exultet terra: laetentur insulae multae" (Let the earth rejoice, let the many islands be glad) in the very first line of Psalm 95 (96). In this way a rhythm of repetition and reiteration is established through the Psalter as a whole, reinforcing the messages contained therein and sustaining a momentum.

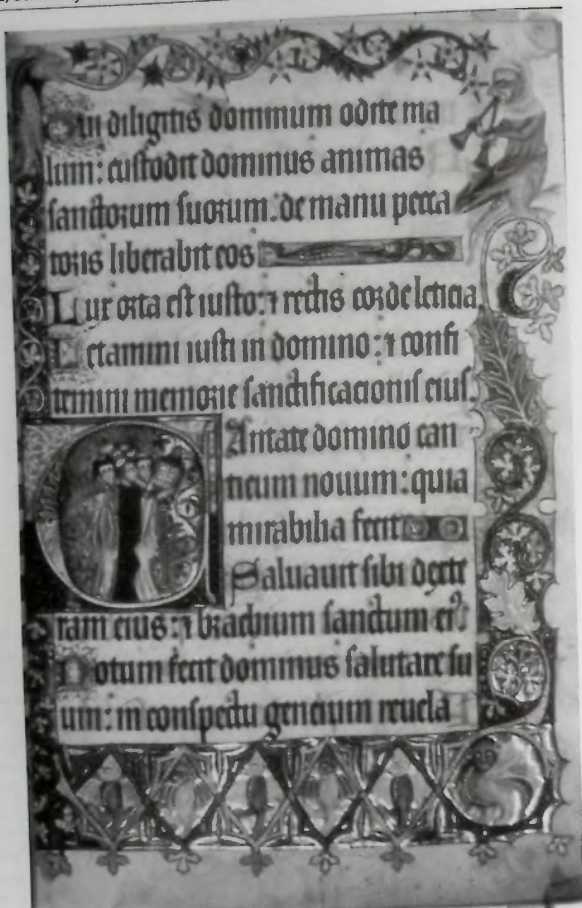


2a. Luttrell Psalter, f.149r. Initial E to Psalm 80. King David playing the psaltery.

Although we view the Luttrell Psalter today in the form of a written text, it is important to remember that the psalms were experienced primarily in an oral form. Edwards stresses the dynamic and dramatic quality of the medieval liturgy, listing "the ambience, the kind of actions, the subject matter and the kind of music, all of which constitute a literary/liturgical creation affording aesthetic satisfaction". He stresses the need when studying medieval liturgical texts for the reader to develop "his inner ear".¹⁰

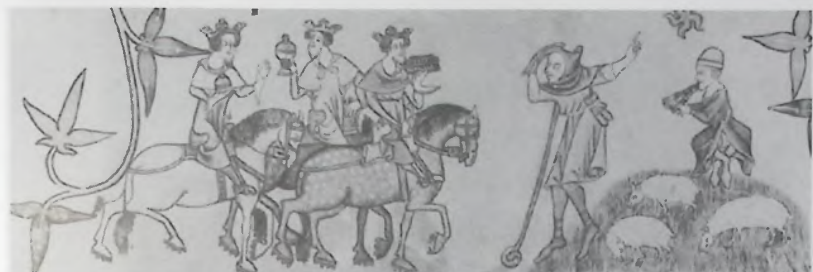
Around 526 A.D. St. Benedict had prescribed in the Rule for his own monastic community the complete performance of the psalms over the course of a week, and this practice came to be widely adopted in both monasteries and churches.¹¹ The psalms were sung in monophonic chant, and when recited during an individual's devotions they would have been read aloud, if only *sotto voce*, constituting another kind of oral performance. As van Dijk explains, "the medieval reader understood by listening to himself. Hence in his mind the differences between *legere* and *cantare*, in so far as the voice was concerned, were only differences of degree, i.e. of vocal intensity and intonation".¹² Even today when read off a printed page silently, as poetic forms structured by stanzas, lines, and phrases, the psalms necessitate a particular kind of rhythmic reading in order to be intelligible.

FORMAL RHYTHMS ON THE PAGE. The appearance of the text itself in the Luttrell Psalter is worthy of remark. Completed by a single scribe in lower-case letters as was standard by this time, it is beautifully written in a bold, extremely regular "precissa" script, with delicate curled rising embellishments on nearly every line.¹³ A number of contemporary Psalters share the same format of single-column text, decorated initials for each verse opening, and line-fillers; for example the Ramsey Psalter (Lavanthal), the Barlow Psalter of 1321-38 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), and the Tenison Psalter (British Library).¹⁴ There is extreme clarity and boldness in the lines of text in the Luttrell Psalter, which can perhaps be seen as the equivalent of the raised voice used in the recitation of the psalms. Although the marginal decoration is indeed profuse, it never threatens to overwhelm the text proportionately. The multiple line-fillers on every page contribute to the impression of a solid block of text, which is reminiscent of staves of music, a form of notation that was in use from the thirteenth century.¹⁵



3. Luttrell Psalter, f.174r.

Knowledge of the psalms, as we have seen, was gained through both oral and textual channels, and when we consider the illustration of an early fourteenth-century manuscript we must bear this in mind. In what is unanimously considered to be the finest section of the manuscript, ff. 145r–214v, with marginal imagery executed by the illuminator termed “the master”, the basic decoration consists of a mixture of more geometrical marginal “bars” and the curlicue foliate borders, for example the opening ff. 172v–173r. The illuminator supplements the richness of sound that the psalms themselves create by providing luscious natural growth around three sides of the text. Only the pages where the main divisions of the Psalter fall have a more rectilinear, enclosed



4. Luttrell Psalter, the bottom section of f.87v.

border design. Although such foliage is to be seen earlier in the Psalter, it is often thinner and less elaborate, such as in f.62v. In the "master's section" on the other hand it is insistent and, we may say, rhythmical in its repeated patterning, as for example in the opening ff.178v-179r. The outer margins, as is customary, are always wider, allowing space for the endlessly diverse and fantastical "babewyns", or hybrid creatures, from whose body parts the plant forms often originate. The inner margins have narrower detailing, which nonetheless retains the sense of a rhythmic progression down the page, and catches the eye as it reaches the end of each line. The rhythms of the line-spacing and of the foliage as it tumbles down the page are sometimes very closely aligned, as for example in ff. 181v-182r, the famous carriage depiction, where in the very left margin the spacing of the blossoms and the lines of text concur.

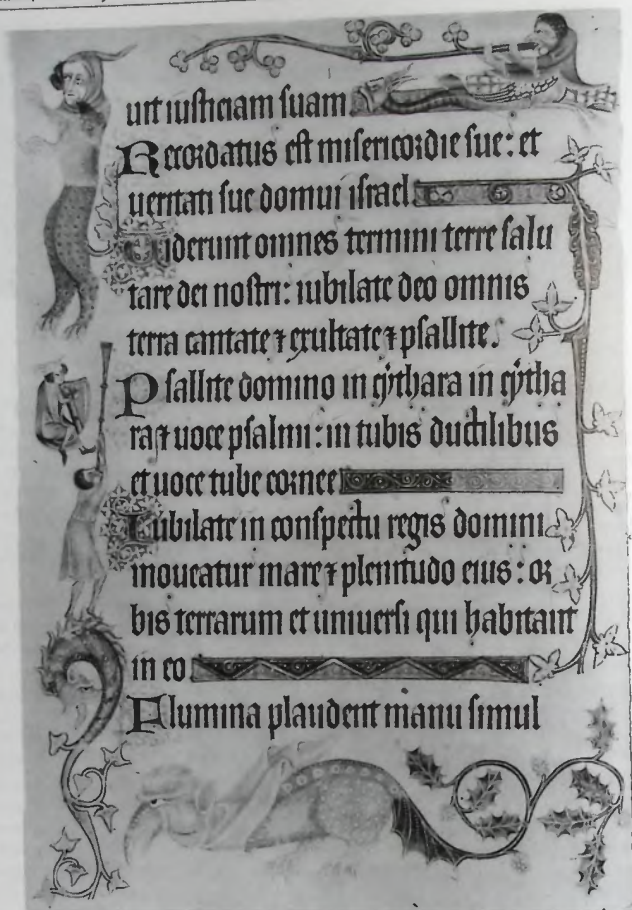
Randall, in her landmark 1966 study of marginalia, spoke of the effect produced when repeated motifs occur through a coherent program of illumination by a single artist, likening it to "a reiterated musical note giving unity and alleviating uniformity".¹⁶ Carruthers, too, explains that "movement within and through a literary or visual piece is performed, as it is in music".¹⁷

The overall impression of the appearance of the folios in this section by the master, then, regarding text and images as an integral whole, is one of structure, consistency, and order, as in a well-performed musical composition. An illuminator would have been familiar with the rhythmic and musical qualities of the psalms, and I suggest there are parallels between the structure of the text passages, and that of the marginal decoration.

MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES. The Luttrell Psalter, in common with other examples of the period, contains many representations of music-making. Millar lists in his index a total of seventeen different types of musical instruments.¹⁸ The marginal images of music-making in the Luttrell Psalter usually appear in response to relevant words in the psalms, but the instruments portrayed are not necessarily the same ones as are mentioned. Although, as Christopher Page details, there was interest on the part of medieval scholars in gaining a more accurate understanding of biblical instruments, the music-making we see here is neither a historical rendering of the performance of the psalms from the time of their composition nor a depiction of contemporary performance from the period when the Psalter was produced.¹⁹ As Tillman Seebass expresses it, the instruments help represent "the idea of music where its symbolic power has clearly reached beyond the musical reality of the time".²⁰ We must acknowledge the marginal images as iconographic forms within both religious and social contexts, and investigate the messages they contain.

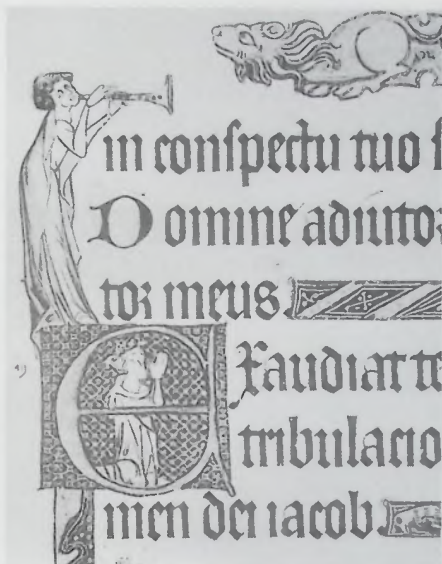
These choices of imagery do not constitute neutral renderings, either, as the instruments carry a variety of meanings, according to their associations of social rank, their evaluation in learned thought, the symbolism of their formal appearance, the etymology of their name, their appearance in or absence from the Bible, and their worth in exegesis.²¹

The relationship between music and Christian beliefs was not a simple one during the first half of the fourteenth century. Clerical attitudes towards music in the later Middle Ages saw two distinct levels of engagement. On



5. Luttrell Psalter, f.174v.

a conceptual, theoretical level, scholars regarded music as a science, having a place among the liberal arts. It was believed that a study of the numerical proportions of harmonies could reveal truths about the order and structure of the cosmos. "Musica" thus held an important place within medieval philosophy as well as theology, offering a means of comprehending God's creation. These principles, of Greek origin and attributed ultimately to Pythagoras, were codified and recorded by Boethius (470?–525) in his treatise *De institutione musica*, which provided the main source for later interpretations.²² Such esoteric considerations were a long way from



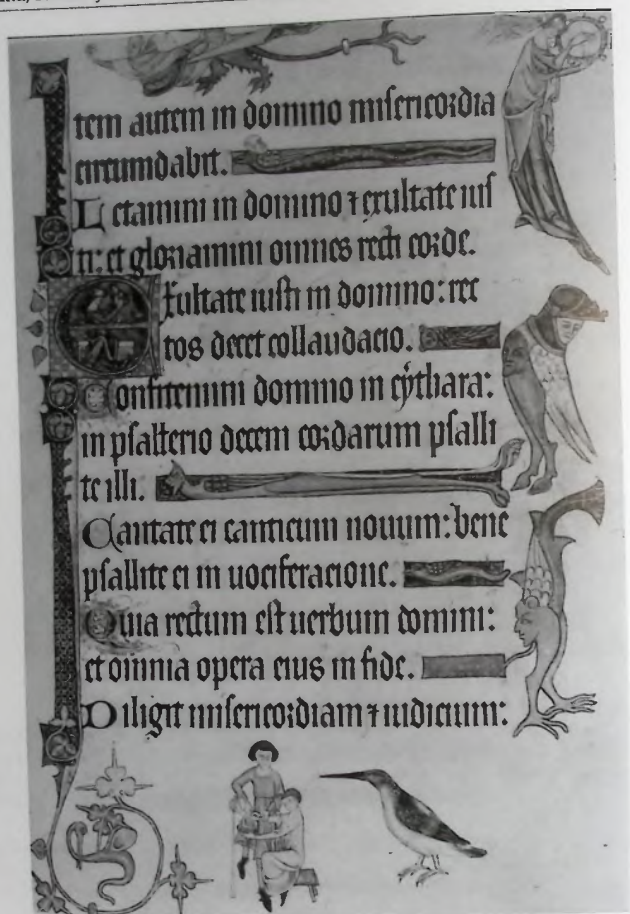
6. Luttrell Psalter, f.40r. Initial E to Psalm 19. King David in prayer; at the top of the initial is a man playing a shawm.

the practical performance of music, which was relegated to an inferior position. Religious doctrine went so far as to condemn instrumental music and minstrelsy in general as lewd and corrupting, and a social stigma attached to actors, singers, instrumentalists and *jongleurs*.²³ A sharp distinction could be drawn between the *cantor* who performed music for his own and others' sensual enjoyment, and the *musicus*, who understood the philosophical basis of such pleasure.²⁴

The metaphysical underpinnings of music, however, legitimized it as a suitable form in which to worship God, and it therefore played an essential role in the liturgy. Music was mainly found in the form of plainchant, unaccompanied singing, but there has been much dispute among scholars over whether and to what extent musical instruments were employed in the medieval service.

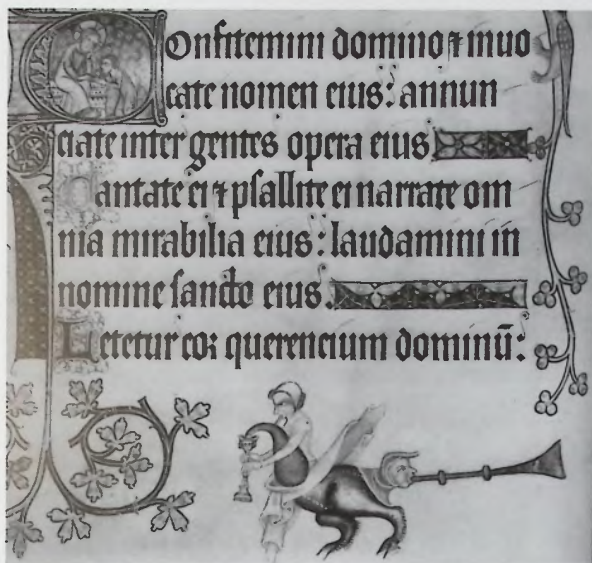
The early Church Fathers opposed instrumentation for its associations with paganism, and their condemnation has been cited as the guiding factor in medieval opposition. Upon hearing psalmody, that is the singing of psalms, St. Augustine in his *Confessions* described himself as being "firmly entangled and subdued [by the] delights of the ear". He stated it were safer if "the reader of the psalm utter it with so slight inflection of voice, that it was nearer speaking than singing".²⁵ His warning against the dangers of the sensuous enticements of music influenced thought throughout the Middle Ages. Within Christian doctrine the Word had absolute priority, and therefore text-driven music (song) was valued over text-less (instrumental) forms.²⁶

Edmund Bowles asserts that the prohibitions remained in place and that they were in the main part observed, with instruments being excluded from services. Richard Pestell, on the other hand, is among several who argue that "the frequent occurrence of texts condemning the use of instruments in church can really only be taken



7. Luttrell Psalter, f.61r.

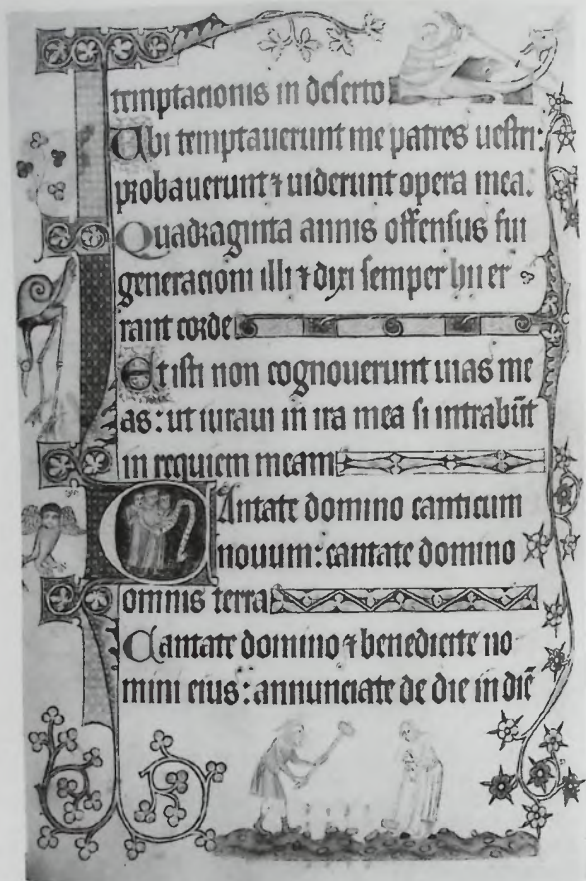
as evidence of their prevalence".²⁷ Richard Rastall quotes several instances of minstrels performing in churches, explaining that here and in monasteries the music was justified as being a real enactment on earth of the divine minstrelsy of the angels: "Instrumental music was symbolic of divine order and hence of God's kingdom itself."²⁸ In a similar way the church was able to condone musicians who performed Christian songs, and pieces in praise of saints and heroes. Pestell points out that "the distinction ... is not between two different types of musician but between two different types of activity of the same performer, one acceptable to God and the other not".²⁹ The question of context was crucial in deciding whether instruments carried positive or negative associations.



8. Luttrell Psalter, the bottom section of f.185v.

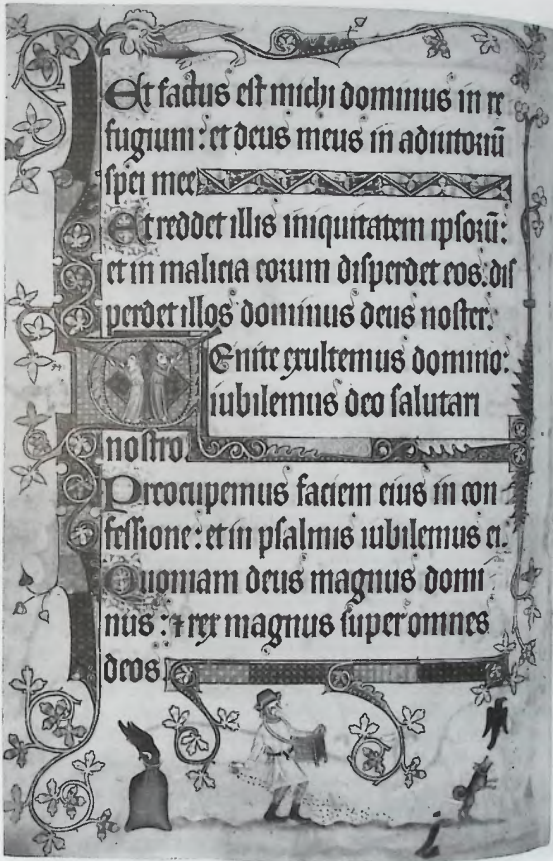
Bowles suggests (quoting Smoek) that the performance of music during the Middle Ages can be divided into four types: religious, ceremonial, courtly, and popular, each with its associated instruments.³⁰ He asserts that just as there was a belief in a divinely ordained social structure, there was also a hierarchy of musical instruments, wherein each type was limited to a specific class of players, be it noble, clerical or common, and had fixed status associations. Although many instruments found favor in a variety of contexts and do not admit of such fixed classification, the use of some was indeed regulated.

These associations were based largely on a division of instruments according to volume and therefore context, a classification that supposedly arrived with the older forms of the instruments themselves as they were brought from the Middle East. Wind instruments such as horns, reed pipes, trumpets, bagpipes, together with drums and cymbals were 'loud' or high (*haut*), and were used out of doors, in processions and on ceremonial occasions. Stringed (harp, lute, psaltery, rebec, hurdy-gurdy, rote) or keyboard instruments, as well as flutes, flageolets and crumhorns, on the other hand, were 'soft' or low (*bas*), and suitable for smaller, indoor ensembles. McGowan stresses that the distinction went beyond questions of mere volume, with the spatial and class associations providing a means whereby the powerful could reinforce the existing hierarchies of rank. As Bowles points out, however, sociological associations cut across both groups, for while trumpets might be restricted to aristocratic, heraldic use, the bagpipes were a lowly instrument. Similarly, the harp and psaltery had biblical and courtly associations, but the rebec and hurdy-gurdy were the province of minstrels and *jougleurs*.³¹ Although instruments of both categories could be found in some contexts, such as mystery plays, the division was generally maintained according to grandeur/extravagance, or intimacy/solemnity.



9. Luttrell Psalter, f.171v.

TEXTUAL MENTION OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE PSALMS. The Book of Psalms contains many references to instruments and music, and places great emphasis on the need to praise God with song and a variety of instruments. The Latin word *psalterium* can refer to both the stringed instrument, the psaltery, as well as to the Psalter itself, giving an etymological indication of the historical basis of the psalms as hymns of praise. There are repeated exhortations such as "Praise the Lord with the lyre (*cithara*), make a melody to him with



10. Luttrell Psalter, f.170v.

the harp of ten strings (*psalterium decem chordarum*) [Psalm 32 (33)]. These two instruments occur the most frequently, but Psalm 150 invokes trumpet, lute, harp, tambourine, dance, strings, pipe, and cymbals as forms of worship. Fifteen psalms in all make mention of musical instruments, in addition to the frequent commands of *psallite*, *exultate*, or *jubilare*, all of which can translate to song or praise.

In their assiduous study and interpretation of the scriptures, medieval commentators were forced to confront this biblical approbation of instrumental music that was apparently at odds with their own carefully worked



11. Luttrell Psalter, the bottom section of f.101v.

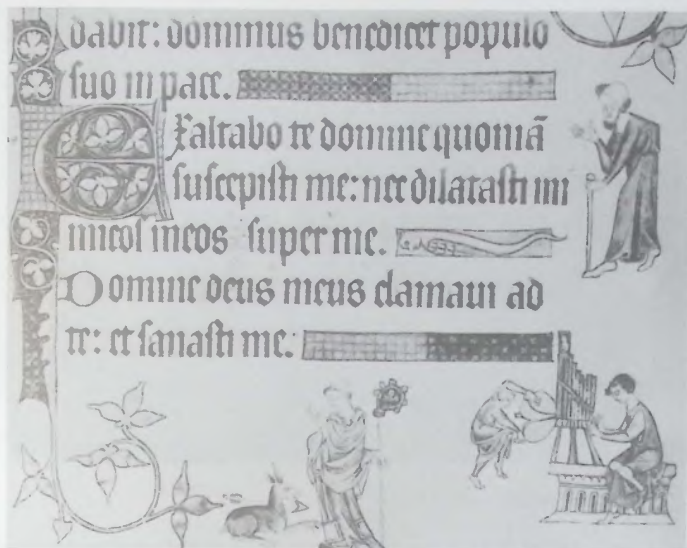
out beliefs. Complex forms of biblical exegesis had developed since the early centuries and the writings of the Church Fathers, which understood and explained the contents of the Old Testament as foreshadowings of Christian truths. For example, King David was generally interpreted as a prefigurement of Christ (*figura Christi*), whose words and actions were indicative of events that were to occur in the life of Jesus. For many, such allegorical interpretations held the clue to understanding the musical references also. McKinnon gives as an example the explanation of Pseudo-Athanasius, that in the verse "Awake psalterium and cithara" the former represents the soul and the latter the body: the cruciform cithara symbolized the Passion and therefore the human nature of Christ, whereas the psalter stood for the divine nature of Christ and the spirit trying to raise itself upwards because the descant had the most resonance.³²

These allegorical explanations were established relatively early in the Church's history, and were transmitted in their basic forms unchanged down to the Middle Ages.³³ McKinnon points out that the symbolism of musical instruments worked out in the psalm commentaries bore little relationship to the practical medieval hierarchy of instruments, which depended rather on the sociological associations of their employment.³⁴

Although the textual references to music-making meet with neither literal rendering in contemporary performance of the psalms, not with direct pictorial representation in the illuminations, they nonetheless are an important means by which music remains present in the psalter, even if only on a metaphorical or symbolic level.

MUSICAL SYMBOLISM. Having examined as background the attitudes towards music during the Middle Ages, we can now turn to the actual depictions in the Psalter under examination. Although music was viewed as a potentially seductive and corrupting force, we shall see how it was co-opted in order to transmit a doctrinal message. As Möller states, "musical instruments were not added as a random detail in a decorative whole. They are as important as other ingredients in the overall images, and require an explanation".³⁵ McKinnon asserts that "virtually all medieval references to instruments can be classified within well-defined literary and iconographical categories".³⁶ However, rather than examining individual motifs in isolation from each other, it is only by taking a folio as a whole, by considering its parts in their inter-relationship that the religious symbolism becomes clear.

At the very beginning of the psalms we find in the historiated B of 'Beatus', the first word of Psalm 1, a representation of King David tuning a harp [fig. 1-1a]. Authorship of the psalms was customarily ascribed to David, and the psalmist's voice is in many cases understood to be his. David is described in the Old Testament as having played music himself and directed musical performances, and the practice of portraying him with an instrument began as far back as the eighth century, and lasted throughout the Middle Ages. Teviotdale suggests the motif "may well ultimately reflect the ancient *topos* of the poet accompanying himself on a



12. Luttrell Psalter, the bottom section of f.55r.

stringed instrument". The figure of David with the harp not only presents him as poet and singer of the Psalms, constituting a kind of author-portrait, but also contains a symbolism deriving from biblical exegesis.³⁷

As mentioned above, King David was understood within exegetical interpretations as the prefigurement of Christ, and the events surrounding him were likewise regarded as prophecies of Christian truths. This association may well be alluded to by the inclusion in the bas-de-page of f.13r of an image of the Virgin holding the Christ-child.³⁸ Based on the biblical text of I Samuel 16:23, where David is described as playing the harp to calm Saul's angry spirit, he was believed to perform the harmonious arrangement of music, which equated in contemporary theology with the ordering of the cosmos, and in this he foreshadowed Christ. The Beatus initial which shows David with a harp resting on his knee, his left hand holding the tuning key and his right plucking the strings, can thus be interpreted as symbolic of this imposition of harmony on the whole of creation. Van Schaik points out that the vertical placement of the tuning peg is erroneous for harps of the time, and argues that it "serves exclusively to clarify the tuning symbolism".³⁹

But we also find on this page another representation of music, the young man in the opposite margin who plays a bagpipe as he dances, and this is no chance 'decorative' element. In their postures the two figures face each other, and the positions of their arms are somewhat mirrored. Psalm 1 contrasts the blessed man "who walks not in the counsel of the wicked" with the wicked and the sinners, and the two types of music on f.13r can be seen as reflecting this opposition of the righteous and the godless. The harp was one of the instruments that could be used to demonstrate the mathematical theory of music which revealed the harmony of the cosmos, and was thus suitable for praising the Lord. The bagpipe, on the other hand, lacked regularity and served only sensual performance. Wind instruments in general (*fistula*) had negative connotations in the later Middle Ages, being absent in any form from the Psalter, and among them bagpipes were "the devil's instrument *par*



13. Luttrell Psalter, the bottom section of f.75v.

excellence", having clear phallic associations and being reminiscent of the fool's bauble, as seen in the initial on f.98v. The crowned head at the top of the chanter on the bagpipe here is a common feature of the instrument, but there is also a suggestion of the perversion of the real crowned head – of King David – at the left, a form of appropriation and inversion commonly employed to suggest demonic forms. Just as Hammerstein traces through a series of Beatus initials, there is here too an opposition established between the liturgical sphere of King David within the initial and the devilish world of players outside.⁴⁰ The distinction between the two is thus presented clearly at the very top of the very first page of the psalms, emphasizing the sacred nature of the Word that exists within the borders of the illumination, and the profanity of the world outside.

Van Schaik explains that the trio of initials for Psalms 1, 80, and 97 almost universally featured music – originally King David playing harp (*cithara*), chime-bells (*cymbala*), and organ (*organum*) – in a schema which reflected the medieval classification into stringed, percussion, and wind instruments. These three instruments were associated respectively with the concepts of measure, number, and weight through which the proportions of musical intervals could be understood.⁴¹ In time, singing of clerics was substituted by the organ (the human voice also being acknowledged by the eleventh century as possessing the necessary properties), and on f.149r of the Luttrell Psalter King David is depicted with a psaltery instead of chime-bells [fig. 2–2a]. He holds it on his lap, plucking the strings with his fingers, in the only instance where an instrument actually mentioned in the psalm is pictured. Although the psaltery does not fit within the schema explained above, it was invested with symbolic meaning, the triangular shape seen here being regarded as expressive of the Trinity.

The same symbolism seems to be present here as on the opposite side of the page from King David in the initial there is a hybrid playing a rebec. This stringed bowed instrument with a rounded back, was closely associated with minstrels and lower-class music.⁴² Fittingly, in all the instances of this dynamic musical juxtaposition of sacred and profane occurring within the master-illuminator's section, the players of the unholy music take the form of babewyns.



14. Luttrell Psalter, the bottom section of f.164v.

In the Luttrell Psalter the third initial in this trio, that of Psalm 97 on f.174r, portrays a group of five monks singing before a book on an eagle lectern [fig. 3]. The words "Cantate domino canticum novum" (Sing to the Lord a new song), which occur frequently in the psalms, may well have directly inspired this theme. According to Christopher Page, this iconography began in the second half of the twelfth century and was used till 1500. He goes on to explain how the words and notation visible on the roll of music in the Psalm 97 initial in the fourteenth-century Howard Psalter (British Museum) are from a motet, one type of the polyphony that was gaining ground at the time, and they therefore represent the "canticum novum" of the first line.⁴³ The notation in the book on the lectern may similarly represent the new polyphonic song, and the monk at the left is cupping his hand to his ear perhaps in order to establish the intonation.

Against this sacred singing a profane version is again achieved on this folio by the inclusion of a hooded hybrid supported at the top of the margin by the curling foliage, who plays a double pipe. The sound of this strident, "loud" instrument is to be understood as an unholy cacophony compared with the holy chant of the monks below. We see the same instrument earlier in the psalter in an associative rather than symbolic form. In the bas-de-page of f.87r where the angel announces the Nativity each shepherd has a double pipe slung from his waist, and over the page (f.87v, fig. 4) when the Magi appear, one shepherd plays his pipe. There was a long tradition linking shepherds with music, and the pipe here is used as a symbol of their identity.

The composition on f.174r can be analyzed structurally in three divisions: the chanters of the holy music are confined within the rather claustrophobic space of the initial, and around them on three sides there is the Word, but beyond this the margins are filled with an unholy jangle of visual interruptions such as the piper-babewyn discussed, the creature in the top-left corner who is either emitting or consuming a strand of foliage, and the lozenges at the bottom that echo the heraldic motifs on f.203r. Camille, in his *Image on the Edge*, argues that neither center nor margin exists independently but rather that the two are inextricably linked and must be considered as an integral unit.⁴⁴ Perhaps, then, we can conceive of the surrounding embroidery of foliage and creatures as the mental detritus that has been siphoned off from the text. Profane elements that conflict with the message of holy scripture and present the opposite are pushed to the edges, but are never completely excluded, in a combined acknowledgment of their continued existence and abject status. The New Testament



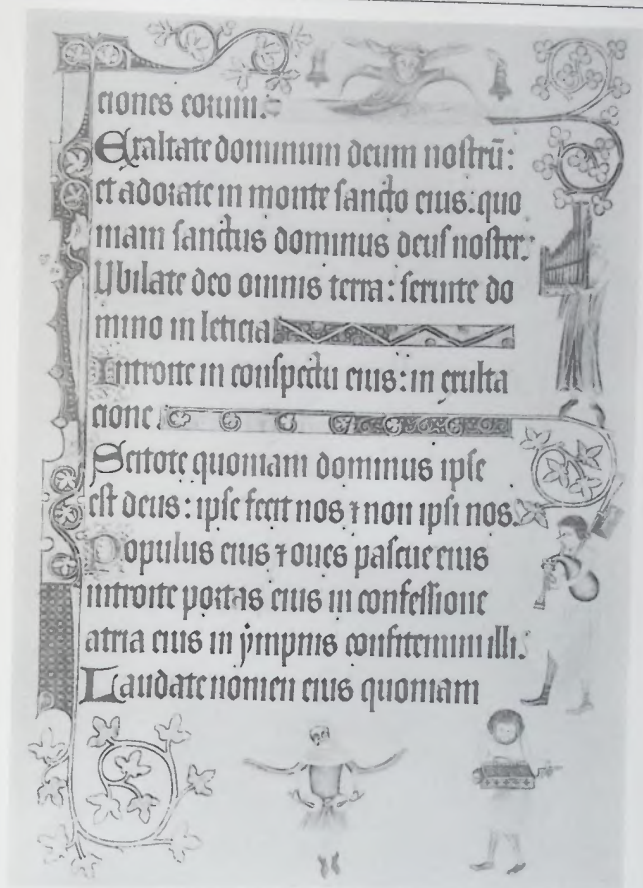
15. Luttrell Psalter, the bottom section of f.161v.

teaches that the Word was made flesh, but that this is an inherently fallen state given towards sin. In this context the lines of text form the bare bones of spirituality, which however cannot exist without the fallen fleshliness of the luxuriant imagery, just as religious belief cannot exist in isolation, but is embedded within a world or corporeal experience.

The continuation of the musical theme in Psalm 97 (98) appears to have prompted the imagery on the following page (f.174v), where vv5-6 read "Sing praises to the Lord with the lyre, with the lyre and the sound of the melody. With trumpets and the sound of the horn make a joyful noise before the king, the Lord". Next to these lines a small seated figure plucks a harp, and a man standing on the back of a serpentine *babewyn* raises a trumpet up the left-hand margin [fig. 5]. Again in the top-right corner there is a hybrid form with foliage sprouting from his mouth. He holds the stem as if it were a trumpet, and maybe produces his own response to the sounds of the figures in the opposite margin.

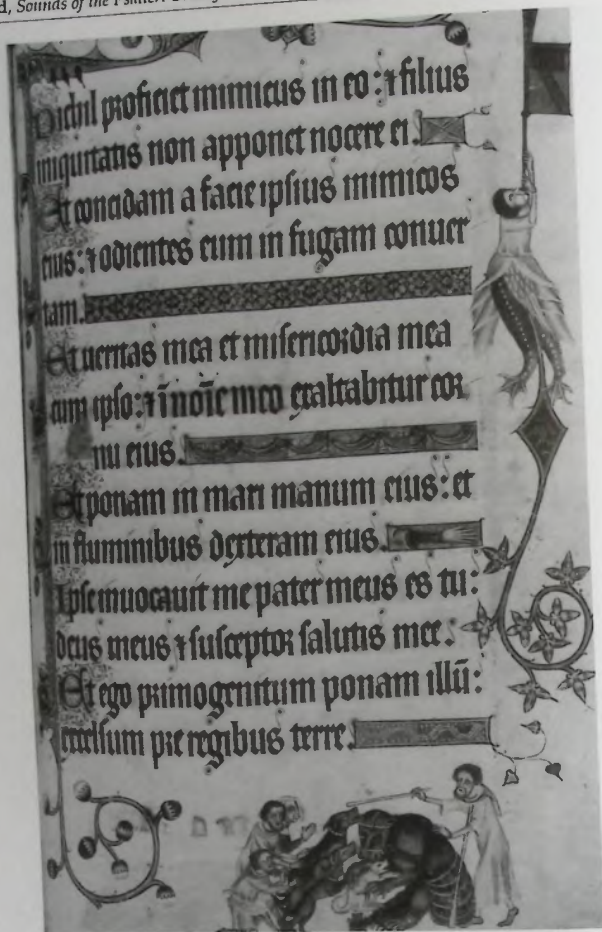
On f.40r a perversion of the sacred forms occurs through echoes in the formal structure of the illuminated initial [fig. 6]. In the initial to Psalm 19 (20), which begins "The Lord answer you in the day of trouble!", and continues on the Lord responding to cries for help, a man is kneeling in prayer. Standing on the form of the historiated initial, meanwhile, and towering more than three lines high, is a figure playing a shawm, a conical double-reed instrument. His position as he holds up his fingers to the holes of the instrument echoes that of the man below, but rather than being engaged in communication with God, he is producing music on a "loud" wind instrument strongly associated with dance and therefore sensuous enjoyment.⁴⁵

This theme of the sacred music-making which is an expression of praise to God set against the worldly music which delivers sensual pleasure can be found at least twice more. On f.61r, Psalm 32 (33), v2 reads "Praise the Lord with the lyre, make melody to him with the ten-stringed psalter", and as the Latin *cithara* is translated in pictorial terms in the initial E into a type of lyre known as a *rote*, being played by a seated lady [fig. 7]. Contrasted with this demure and tiny figure of a maiden producing music on a "rational" instrument, across the page there is a towering woman, with the flying head-dress that Camille finds symbolic of wantonness.⁴⁶ She beats a *timbrel* (a type of *tambourine*), and sways to her own licentious rhythm.



16. Luttrell Psalter, f.176r.

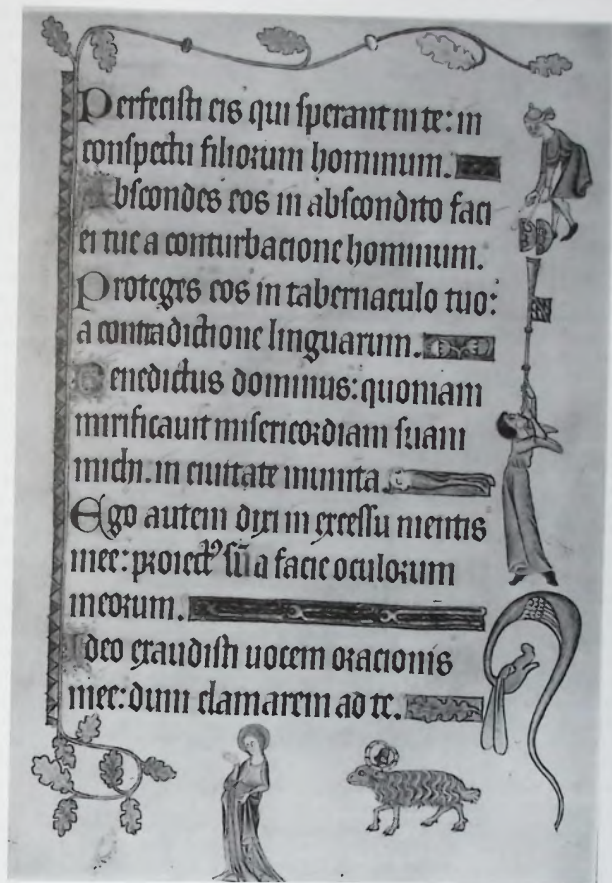
The final, and perhaps most imaginative, example of this perversion through echoed forms appears on f.185v [fig. 8]. Psalm 104 (105) begins "Confitemini domino" (Confess to the Lord), and in the initial Christ hears the confession of the man knelt before him. The placement of their heads, faces turned towards each other, finds a twisted parallel, however, in the music-making monster in the bas-de-page, where the faces are inverted and turned away from each other. Just as the figures in the initial are joined through the touching of hands, the musical mouths are joined into one monstrous babewyn. According to Camille, this hybrid "sounds his own anti-confession ... from both ends of his body".⁴⁷



17. Luttrell Psalter, f.161r.

FURTHER INSTANCES OF MUSIC-MAKING. There is one more instance of liturgical singing, on f.171v, where Psalm 95 (96) again begins with the words, "Sing to the Lord a new song" [fig. 9]. In the initial C are depicted three monks standing and singing from a scroll bearing illegible musical notation.⁴⁸

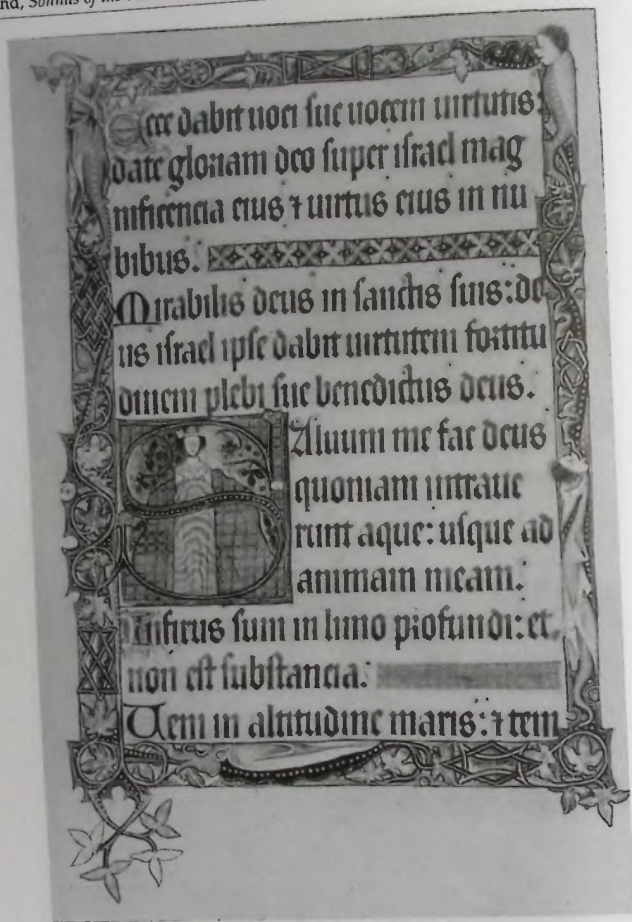
One final initial contains musical instruments, on f.170v where two men sound trumpets to illustrate Psalm 94 (95), "Come, let us praise the Lord, let us make a joyful noise to the God of our salvation" [fig. 10]. The



18. Luttrell Psalter, f.59r.

trumpet was the instrument of choice to make loud proclamations and to herald events, and is mentioned in Psalm 150 being used in this way. Although employed at court rather than in religious contexts, there are records of it being used to announce the elevation of the host during the Mass.⁴⁹

Trumpets are played for the same reasons by the angelic host who declare the glory of God, or specifically by angels who announce the Last Judgement. On f.101v three angels sound trumpets above the heads of the group of naked souls they are escorting to the final verdict [fig. 11].



19. Luttrell Psalter, f.121v.

The only instrument to gain official acceptance within religious service was the organ, which by the thirteenth century was in wide use during the liturgy.⁵⁰ Church authorities acknowledged the sacred character of its music, and singled it out as the only instrument permissible for use in services.⁵¹ On f.55r of the Luttrell Psalter a man is shown seated at a positive organ [fig. 12]. Smaller than the church organ but larger than the portative organ, this instrument could be moved with relative ease and was suitable for both church and court.

An assistant worked the bellows so that the player could use both hands.⁵¹ Its presence here may be due to association with the abbot in the center of the bas-de-page.

The penetrating sound of the long trumpet had made it suitable to accompany armies onto the battlefield, and it developed associations with proclamations and fanfares, and its primary use was ceremonial. It came to be limited to the nobility and as official heralds the trumpet players had a higher position than other musicians and formed their own guild.⁵² Due to its official nature, a banner was attached bearing the coat-of-arms of the lord in order to emphasize his power and prestige, and it appears in this way in most instances in the Luttrell Psalter. On f.75v [fig. 13] we see the trumpet in the courtly context, being sounded by a lady from the top of the castle of love, perhaps to send out a summons to the knights. In the scene of a group of garlanded men dancing their way out of the city walls on f.164v [fig. 14], the event is heralded by two trumpets emerging from the gate which bear the Luttrell and Sutton arms. The pipe-and-tabor and shawm played by two figures who dance ahead were the standard accompaniment for dances from the thirteenth century on. The heads of soldiers in chain-mail and the two bowmen positioned in the castles of the ship in the bas-de-page of f.161v [fig. 15] make it clear that this is a warship and that the trumpets here are used for battle cries.

Psalm 150, the last in the Book of Psalms and one which drew much attention from medieval commentators, is wholly concerned with praise-giving through music, and one might understandably expect some accompanying imagery of instruments and music-making, but in the Luttrell Psalter it falls within the gatherings that were completed hastily at a later date, and contains no marginalia.

WORD ILLUSTRATION. The remaining instances of musical representations can be explained partially by their direct reference to the content of the psalm, a connection made either by the actual illuminator (which suggests he or she was literate) or by someone else directing the project. Mary Carruthers discusses this in terms of *imagines verborum*, mnemonic images (either mental or on the page) of the narrative content of the text. She cites the Utrecht Psalter as the best-known and most detailed example of this, where large illustrations precede the text of the psalm and visualize much of the content. Although the approach to illumination in the Luttrell Psalter is not of the same direct nature, there are still many places where there is apparently a connection between a word and a neighboring marginal image.⁵⁴

Psalm 99 (100) contains many invocations to praise the Lord – *Exultate... adorete, jubilate, and Laudate* all occur on f.176r – although it contains no specific references to musical instruments [fig. 16]. Nevertheless, the portrayal of music-making here is the fullest in the entire manuscript. At the top a hybrid form sprouts from the filler-fill and rings a pair of hand-bells, and in the right margin one man sings as he plays a portative organ. Beneath him another plays a bagpipe as he strides towards the text. In the bas-de-page a hunched figure plays a hurdy-gurdy (*symphonia* or *chifonie*) as he walks, and another bangs naakers suspended at his waist as he dances. It is also interesting to note that this is one of only three psalms in the so-called “master’s section” that does not have an illuminated initial.⁵⁵ Without the opposition to the content of the initial, it is difficult to theorize what significance these figures could have. In Camille’s interpretation they represent the minstrels who play for an “earthly lord”, and stand as a critique of the excesses at court.⁵⁶ It seems equally plausible, however, to understand them rather as representations of the sort of musicians Sir Geoffrey would have had in his own household. There is also a certain ambiguity in the selection illustrated: the hand-bells and organ are instruments legitimized through mention in the psalms, but the others are of the loud, outdoors variety that was used in popular festivities and entertainments, and not appropriate for holy worship of any kind. Neither are all five suitable to form an ensemble, and they thus appear to represent more of a cumulative idea of instrumental music.

Camille finds in the Luttrell Psalter many elements to connect it with contemporary mumming plays and other theatrical performances, citing the emphasis on elaborate costumes and the frequent mask-like appearance of the babewyns in particular. He goes so far as to suggest that the master-illuminator “must have had experience designing masks and costumes for festivals”.⁵⁷ This is an interesting suggestion in light of the musical depictions, and it is possible that some of the choices of instruments to be depicted were inspired by such practices. Further, Bowles points out that although the details of musical imagery might have little or nothing to do with use in the liturgy itself, they do draw on liturgical dramas, or mystery plays.⁵⁸

Another example of word-illustration appears on f.161r when Psalm 88 (89), v24 reads “in my name shall his horn (*cornu*) be exalted” [fig. 17]. A *cornu* was a Roman curved trumpet, but the word in medieval Latin

was used to designate a horn. The illuminator has chosen it here as a prompt for the web-footed hybrid with puffed out cheeks who holds a straight trumpet bearing the Scrope arms up the right margin.

One final example that defies explanation at present is f.59r [fig. 18]. Although Psalm 30 (31) makes no reference to music, the illuminator has depicted a man leaning over to play the *nakers* and a figure beneath him sounds a trumpet with a banner bearing the Luttrell arms. Meanwhile, in the *bas-de-page*, St. Apollonia stands about to pull out her teeth, as according to the legend (with the result on the following page).

SPEECH WITHIN THE PSALTER. The psalms are different from much of the rest of the Scriptures in that rather than being accounts or teachings, they are designed to be performed, recited, sung, or read aloud, as audible prayers. Camille stresses that "performed speech, or prayer spoken out loud, forms the major mode of devotional expression in the psalter". He points out that there is an open mouth on nearly every page, of which f.121v can stand as just one example [fig. 19].⁵⁹ As seen earlier, the figure at the top left plays a foliage-trumpet, producing a physical embodiment of Psalm 67 (68), where God "sends out his voice, his mighty voice", and five other little creatures here have gaping mouths. One can also point to the unusual subject matter in the initials for Psalms 26, 38, and 51 of the Luttrell Psalter, all of which pick up on words in the first verse to do with the tongue, and sins committed in speech.

TEXT/IMAGE AS REMINDER OF SOUND. Carruthers, in her *Book of Memory*, relates how Richart de Fournival in 1240 distinguishes between *painture* and *parole*. *Painture* consists of the visual aspect of the sign, that is the word as marked on the page, which serves as a reminder of the *parole*, the spoken word. As a painted image could just as well be used to substitute for the *parole*, written word and image thereby stand in equal relationship. The spoken word itself, however, serves only as an aid to *memoria* to recollect the ideas themselves. Thus, "the sensory gateway is always dual ... for all words are both shape and sound, by their very nature, and all sensory impressions are processed so as to act upon the memory in the same way, making what is no longer physically before one present to the mind's eye".⁶⁰ She cites the Utrecht Psalter "as an excellent example of what Gregory the Great meant when he said that images are a form of *litteratura*, which, like graphemes, recall not meanings directly but the words ('voces') which are the signs of meaning".⁶¹

The visual presentation of the Luttrell Psalter can thus be seen holistically, with the inscribed text and painted imagery both merely an indication of the actual performance, either the recitation of the psalms by Sir Geoffrey or the singing by his friars. This *parole* and the *painture* on the page which facilitates it together form a "carefully fabricated aural-visual synaesthesia".⁶² Camille concurs in this respect, stating that both word and image "would have been thought of as conventional and secondary representations, external to, but always referring back to, the spontaneous springs of speech".⁶³

CONCLUSION. We have seen how important is the nature of the psalms as poetry and song in determining their performance and reception, and how even the appearance of the text and illumination on the page is influenced by their spoken and sung rhythms. The elements of orality retained in the Luttrell Psalter extend beyond this, with the frequent depiction of instruments helping to create a pervasive presence of music. This instrumental music, however, does not provide a direct link to the daily enactment by the patron (and his clerics), but instead transmits through symbolic oppositions a lesson concerning the diametrical forms in which music and sound can appear: the rational and liturgical vs. devilish and corrupting. In this way the idea and representation of music is employed to express a profound ontological and religious truth about the choices that confront the Christian.

In such an area of shifting signification as the margins, however, it is perhaps too hasty to make so clear-cut a distinction between the two realms of holy vs. unholy. The portrayals that crowd the edges of the page with their cacophony of instruments and embodied utterances incorporate elements which, as we have seen, would have featured in the entertainment of the lord and thus are symbols of his wealth. Do they therefore constitute an acknowledgment that a temporal lord, because he is unable to abandon his attachment to worldly possessions and pleasures, can never in fact attain a truly holy state? If so, what we see here is an attempt to discipline their unholy power by recruiting them in the service of a higher ideal, whereby the morally suspect secular music-making is transformed by its presence within the pages of the Psalter into a form of sacred praise.

NOTES

¹ Lucy Freeman Sandler places the manuscript for stylistic reasons between 1325 and 1330, and Michael Camille goes for the 1330s to early 1340s.

² Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion, 1998), 327. Sandler suggests, however, that this section was the result of a collaboration between two illuminators. Cf. Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385* (London: H. Miller, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), II:120.

³ M. Camille, *op. cit.*, 123.

⁴ M. Camille, *ibid.*, 26-38. Instrument details are included in Nicholas Bell, *Music in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) and Jeremy Montagu, *The World of Medieval and Renaissance Instruments* (Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 1976).

⁵ Bruce M. Metzger and Roland M. Murphy, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books* (New York, 1991), 674. Numbering of the psalms differs between the Authorized Version and the Vulgate due to the use of different Hebrew sources and different divisions in the psalms.

⁶ Michael P. Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 120-121.

⁷ As analyzed by Robert Lowth: *Encyclopedia Britannica* CD 2.0 (1995), "Psalms" entry.

⁸ Charles Alexander Lamb, *The Psalms in Christian Worship* (London: Faith Press, 1962), 83.

⁹ Owain Tudor Edwards, "Dynamic Qualities in the Medieval Office", *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of C. Clifford Flanagan*, ed. by Eva Louise Lillie & Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press; University of Copenhagen, 1996), 50.

¹⁰ O.T. Edwards, *op. cit.*, 38, 53.

¹¹ Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 225.

¹² S.J.P. van Dijk, "Medieval Terminology and Methods of Psalm Singing", *Musica disciplina* VI (1952), 8.

¹³ M. Camille, *op. cit.*, 316.

¹⁴ Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Feinland Manuscripts* (London: H. Miller, Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1974), figs. 84, 122, 297.

¹⁵ N. Bell, *op. cit.*, 27.

¹⁶ Lilian Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 20.

¹⁷ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 117.

¹⁸ E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: The British Museum, 1932), 60.

¹⁹ Christopher Page, "Biblical Instruments in Medieval Manuscript Illustration", *Early Music* V/3 (July 1977), 299-309.

²⁰ Tilman Seebass, "The Visualisation of Music Through Pictorial Imagery and Notation in Late Medieval France". *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. by Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 26.

²¹ Reinhold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1974), 22.

²² Albert Seay, *Music in the Medieval World* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 15-21.

²³ Richard Rastall, "Minstrelsy, Church and Clergy in Medieval England", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 97 (1970), 83; Edmund A. Bowles, "Were Musical Instruments Used in the Liturgical Service during the Middle Ages?", *The Galpin Society Journal* X (1957), 45.

²⁴ R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, 14.

²⁵ Edward B. Pusey (transl.), *The Confessions of Saint Augustine* (London: Collier Books, 1961), 176.

²⁶ E.A. Bowles, *op. cit.*, 47; A. Seay, *op. cit.*, 73; R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, 21.

²⁷ E.A. Bowles, *op. cit.*, passim; Richard Pestell, "Medieval Art and the Performance of Medieval Music", *Early Music* XV/1 (February 1987), 66.

²⁸ R. Rastall, *op. cit.*, 83.

²⁹ R. Pestell, *op. cit.*, 68, fn.23; R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, 24.

³⁰ E.A. Bowles, *op. cit.*, 41.

³¹ Keith McGowan, "The Prince and the Piper: Haut, Bas and the Whole Body in Early Modern Europe", *Early Music* XXVII/2 (May 1999), 211-212; E.A. Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages", *Musica disciplina* VIII (1954), passim.

³² James W. McKinnon, "Musical Instruments in Medieval Psalm Commentaries and Psalters", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXI/1 (1968), 6; Dorte Falcon Møller, *Music Aloft: Musical Symbolism in the Mural Paintings of Danish Medieval Churches* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Falcon, 1996), 56.

³³ J.W. McKinnon, *ibid.*, 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁵ D.F. Møller, *op. cit.*, 11.

³⁶ J.W. McKinnon, *op. cit.*, 3.

³⁷ Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, "Music and Pictures in the Middle Ages", *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. by Tess Knighton and David Fallows (London: Dent, 1992), 180, 182.

³⁸ Martin van Schaik suggests this with regard to the Beatus initial in the manuscript Bodley 284 at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dating from the early thirteenth century. Cf. Martin van Schaik, *The Harp in the Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 101.

³⁹ M. van Schaik, *ibid.*, 40-45, 58.

⁴⁰ R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, 29, 35, 58-59. For the significance of bagpipes, see also Emanuel Winternitz, "Bagpipes for the Lord", *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1967), 129-136.

⁴¹ M. van Schaik, *op. cit.*, 136-139.

⁴² Howard Mayer Brown & Stanley Sadie, eds., *Performance Practice: Music before 1600* (New York: 1990), 25.

⁴³ C. Page, "An English Motet of the 14th Century in Performance: Two Contemporary Images", *Early Music* XXV/1 (February 1997), 9-11.

⁴⁴ M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1992), 10.

⁴⁵ David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 8.

- ⁴⁵ M. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment*, 109.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.
- ⁴⁷ C. Page, "An English Motet, 11.
- ⁴⁸ R. Rastall, *op. cit.*, 92.
- ⁴⁹ E.A. Bowles, "Were Musical Instruments...," 49.
- ⁵⁰ E.A. Bowles, "La hiérarchie des instruments de musique dans l'Europe féodale", *Revue de musicologie* XLII (1958), 160-161.
- ⁵¹ D. Munrow, *op. cit.*, 16.
- ⁵² J. Montagu, *op. cit.*, 41; E.A. Bowles, "La hiérarchie des instruments...", 157-159.
- ⁵³ See L.F. Sandler, "The World in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* LIV (1996), *passim*, for a discussion of other

examples.

- ⁵⁴ The other two psalms are 85 (86) starting on f155r and 113 (114) on f206r.
- ⁵⁵ M. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment*, 114-115.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 246ff.
- ⁵⁷ E.A. Bowles, "Were Musical Instruments...", 45.
- ⁵⁸ M. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment*, 144, 336.
- ⁵⁹ M. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, 223-224.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 227.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 230.
- ⁶² M. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment*, 174.

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TANZEN IM 15. JAHRHUNDERT DER REIGEN IN DEUTSCHLAND: REALITÄT ODER IMAGINATION?

IRMGARD JUNGMAHN

Heilbronn

»Kommet zum fröhlichen Reigen herbei!« so heißt es noch heute im deutschsprachigen, sogenannten Volksliedgut. »Jauchzen die Geigen, spielen zum Reigen, drehet Euch im Kreis nach der alten Weis...«. Texte solcher und ähnlicher Art finden sich zahlreich in deutschen Liederbüchern. Meist geht es dabei um Fröhlichkeit angesichts des Frühlings, des Sommers, um Lebenslust und Frohsinn. Eine Befragung der Singenden, welche Tanzweise man denn mit dem Begriff »Reigen« eigentlich verbinde, zeigt jedoch, dass die Antworten durchaus divergierende Vorstellungen beinhalten. Übereinstimmung scheint zumindest darüber zu bestehen, dass es sich um gemeinschaftliche Tänze im Kreis handelt und dass die Tänze irgendwann »früher« einmal, vielleicht im Mittelalter, ganz besonders von der einfachen, ländlichen Bevölkerung getanzt wurden.

Woher stammt diese Auffassung? Walter Salmen konnte aufzeigen, wie schon Nietzsche den Reigentanz als ein zentrales Bild für Lebensfreude, Freiheit und Glorifizierung des menschlichen Körpers gebrauchte, wie die Wandervogel- und Jugendbewegung das kommunikative Moment im Reigentanz betonte, wie darstellende Künstler eben der Zeit, nicht nur im Jugendstil, den Reigentanz als ausdrucksstarkes Sujet wählten und wie Gedichte, aber auch Kompositionen diese Tänze zum Thema erhoben.¹

So verwundert es nicht, dass auch Franz M. Böhme 1886 in dem ersten wissenschaftlichen Werk zur *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland* den Reigen – »die uralte Lieblingsbelustigung tanzender Bauern«² – wie selbstverständlich als Urform des Tanzes in Deutschland beschrieb, sogar aus germanischer Zeit stammend. Im wesentlichen hat sich in der Tanzforschung bis heute an dieser Auffassung nicht viel geändert. Hier einige Zitate: 1994 schreibt Birgit Fassbender: »Im Mittelalter stellte der Reigen für die Menschen aller Gesellschaftsschichten die beliebteste Tanzform dar.«³ Der geschlossene Kreisreigen habe vermutlich den Anfang der Entwicklung des menschlichen Tanzens gebildet. Ebenso formuliert Walter Salmen 1995: »Der Reigen mit seinen vielfältigen Choreographien war das gesamte Mittelalter hindurch überall in Europa von der antiken Tradition her die dominante Tanzformation.«⁴

Diese These konnte Salmen ikonographisch insoweit stützen, als man in größerer Zahl zumindest seit dem 14. Jahrhundert bildliche Reigendarstellungen besonders aus dem französischen, italienischen und flämischen Raum fand, die gleichgeschlechtliche ebenso wie gemischtgeschlechtliche Reigentänze zeigen, auf denen man sich gegenseitig an den Händen hält. Einige vereinzelte Zeugnisse aus voranliegender Zeit wie beispielsweise die spanische Darstellung der sündhaften Freude des Tanzes des Meisters Ermengol aus dem 14. Jahrhundert scheinen zusätzlich den Befund zu untermauern [Abb. 1].

Das 15. Jahrhundert gilt bislang in der Tanzforschung als der Zeitraum, von dem man annimmt, es habe sich ein bedeutungsvoller Wandel in der Tanzformation vollzogen. »Mit Beginn der Frührenaissance wurden zunächst bei Hofe, später auch im Bürgertum sowie bei der Landbevölkerung die getretenen oder gesprungenen Reigen abgelöst durch Paartänze. Anstelle der Aktion Aller oder Vieler in der Gruppe trat die Präsentation einzelner Paare vor Zuschauern. Gleichzeitig damit wurde die vielerorts üblich gewesene Trennung der Geschlechter im Tanz aufgegeben. Dieser Prozeß der Individuierung wurde wesentlich von Italien aus befördert.«⁵ Tatsächlich



1. Meister Ermengol, *Breviarium der Liebe* (14. Jahrhundert). El Escorial, Real monasterio de San Lorenzo, S.I.3, fol. 215v.

finden sich ikonographische Zeugnisse höfischen Paartanzes im wesentlichen seit der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts in Italien und Frankreich, doch ist es nicht leicht einsehbar, warum hier vom Prozess einer Individuierung gesprochen wird, da es sich doch niemals um einzelne Paare, sondern um Gruppentänze handelt, d. h. immer um Tanzpaare, die wie in einer Prozession hintereinander her tanzen. Parallel zu dieser Tanzweise bestimmen jedoch nach wie vor bis weit ins 16. Jahrhundert hinein in Italien, Frankreich und im Flämischen der ländliche ebenso wie auch der höfische Reigen die Tanzikonographie. Anhand der bildlichen Darstellungen lässt sich verfolgen, dass sich spätestens zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts hin in diesen Ländern zusätzlich zum Reigen der Paartanz als Prozessionsaufzug einführt, dort aber ausschließlich als Tanz der höfischen Gesellschaft dokumentiert ist. Hier also hat nachweislich eine Wende des Tanzverhaltens stattgefunden.



2. Peter Drach, *Spiegel menschlicher Behalt-nisse* (Ausgabe von 1492), f. 156 r. Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Incun. 14938.

Die These, der Paartanz habe sich von Italien aus ins übrige Europa hin verbreitet, wurde besonders von der Überlieferung der ersten Tanzbücher italienischer Tanzmeister gestützt. Hatte doch Antonio Cornazano (ca. 1430–1484) in den 60iger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts schon die *Bassa Danza*, *Saltarello* und *Quaternaria* als spezielle Paartänze der gesellschaftlichen Oberschicht beschrieben. So lag es nahe, die europäische Tanzkultur im wesentlichen in zwei unterschiedliche Tanztypen einzuteilen: einerseits in die Reigentänze, andererseits in die Tänze in einem Aufzug Paar hinter Paar, die man insgesamt dem Typ der höfischen *Basse Danse* zurechnete.

Im Rahmen einer musiksoziologischen Arbeit zum Tanz im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, die die Tanzzeugnisse der deutschsprachigen Gebiete nördlich der Alpen gesondert betrachtete, ergaben sich nun Befunde, die nicht in das Bild der bisherigen Auffassung der Tanzentwicklung passen.⁶ Die ikonographischen Quellen deutscher Provenienz erbrachten nämlich das erstaunliche Resultat, dass es für das 15. Jahrhundert keinerlei Nachweis eines Reigentanzes gibt. Es konnte keine bildliche Darstellung gefunden werden, auf der gemischtgeschlechtlich Hand in Hand getanzt worden wäre.⁷ Auf allen bildhaften Zeugnissen tanzen Paare hintereinander entsprechend der Abbildung 2. Dargestellt ist hier das Gleichnis vom Verlorenen Sohn: »Hie tanzet der verlorn son vnd vertut sein gut mit frawen vnd mit pfeiffen vnd trumeten«. Drei Paare tanzen im Kreis hintereinander. An der eingezäunten Tanzfläche



3. Fränkische Dekaloghandschrift (um 1460). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 565, f. 148v.

spielen drei Musikanten zum Tanze auf. Einer der Tänzer hält seinen Arm erhoben, wohl als Zeichen, dass er den Tanz anführt. Es scheint sich bei den Tanzenden gemäß ihrer Kleidung sowie gemäß des Tanzortes um die durchschnittliche städtische oder ländliche Bevölkerung zu handeln, keinesfalls tanzt hier die höfische Gesellschaft.



4-5. Neidhart Fuchs (Druck zwischen 1491 und 1497 in Augsburg), Hamburg, Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, In Scrinio 229c, f. 6v und 15v.



6. Herzog Herpin, anonymer Schreiber (um 1475). Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 152, f. 234r.

In meiner genannten Untersuchung konnte besonders anhand von bildlichen Darstellungen zu den Zehn Geboten, dem Dekalog, gezeigt werden, dass bereits in der erste Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts im ländlichen Bereich die von mir jetzt »Prozessionstanz« genannte Tanzformation üblich war. Aus den in der Veröffentlichung abgedruckten Wandmalereien und Glasfenstern ist ersichtlich, dass gerade nicht nur die höhere Gesellschaftsschicht den Prozessionsstanz pflegte, sondern dieser auch auf dem Lande üblich war. Den Dekalogbeispielen kann übrigens hier eine weitere Zeichnung zum Thema der Zehn Gebote hinzugefügt werden, die in einer fränkischen Dekaloghandschrift zu finden war [Abb. 3].

Die Miniatur versinnbildlicht das dritte Gebot: »Du sollst den Sabbat heiligen«. Wie auf zahlreichen bildlichen Dekalogen üblich zeigt die Zeichnung das von der Kirche geforderte Tun und andererseits das sündhafte Verhalten. Zur Linken feiert der Priester den Gottesdienst am Altar und hält die Sonntagspredigt vor den andächtigen Gläubigen, während auf der rechten Bildhälfte zwei Paare munter zur Schalmel tanzen, der Vortänzer hoch springend. Der Narr im Hintergrund unterstreicht die Sündhaftigkeit des Tanzvergnügens zur Zeit des sonntäglichen Gottesdienstes.

Es ist also besonders augenfällig, dass nicht nur die höfische Gesellschaft die Tanzformation Paar hinter Paar ausführt, sondern dass in Deutschland offensichtlich auch schon im 15. Jahrhundert in der ländlichen und unteren städtischen Bevölkerung der Prozessionsstanz die gängige Tanzpraxis war. Seit der Veröffentlichung meines Buches war es möglich, weitere ikonographische Tanzquellen ausfindig zu machen, die meines Wissens bislang der Tanzforschung noch nicht zugänglich waren, den Befund aber nochmals unterstreichen, dass wir



7. *Pontus und Sïdonia*, anonymen Schreiber (um 1475), Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Pal.germ. 142, f. 16r.

in der deutschsprachigen Region nördlich der Alpen von einer anderen Tanzentwicklung ausgehen müssen, als dies für Italien, Frankreich und im Flämischen gilt.

Aus der Fülle der deutschen, mittlerweile auf über fünfzig bildliche Tanzdarstellungen angewachsenen Sammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts sollen die teilweise neu »entdeckten« Zeichnungen und Holzschnitte zeitlich rückläufig vorgestellt werden, da ja weiterhin die Frage der Beantwortung harrt, seit wann es in Deutschland den Prozessionsanz gegeben haben mag.

Zunächst zeigen zwei Holzschnitte vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, wie in gleicher Weise einmal in höfischen Kreisen, einmal im bürgerlichen Leben der Prozessionsanz ausgeführt wurde. Die Holzschnitte illustrieren zwei Szenen aus dem »Neidhart-Fuchs« [Abb. 4-5].

Einmal geht es um die berühmte »Veilchen«-Geschichte, bei der der Ritter Neidhart für seine Herzogin das erste Veilchen des Jahres auf der Wiese gefunden hat und es mit seinem Hut abdeckt, um es später seiner verehrten Dame zeigen zu können. Ein Bauer, der ihn dabei beobachtet und ihm schaden will, »scheißt« auf das Blümchen und deckt es seinerseits wieder ab. Als die Herzogin und ihr Gefolge mit Musik und Tanz auf die Wiese ziehen, um den Frühling zu begrüßen, dann auch den Hut lüftet, fühlt sie sich von Neidhart gekränkt und in ihrer Ehre verletzt. Es handelt sich bei dem Holzschnitt also um die Darstellung eines höfischen Tanzes. Zwei Tanzpaare schreiten hintereinander her, auch hier wieder ist der Vortänzer an der erhobenen Hand erkennbar.



8. *Pontus und Sidonia*, anonymen Schreiber (um 1475). Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Pal.germ. 142, f. 101r.

Kleine Unterschiede in der Kleidung, z. B. der Stiefel und der Haartracht illustrieren dagegen den Tanz der Bauern, an denen Neidhart Rache nimmt, indem er ihnen beim Tanz einen Bienenkorb öffnet, um sie damit erfolgreich in die Flucht zu schlagen. Auch sie bewegen sich in der Formation des Prozessionsstanzen.

Eine Zeichnung höfischen Tanzes haben wir einer Handschrift zu verdanken, die die Historie vom Herzog Herpin erzählt, einem Roman, in dem der Hauptakteur seinen Mut in zahlreichen kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen beweist, daneben aber auch höfische Repräsentation zum Ausdruck kommt. Das Manuskript wurde mit 260 Illustrationen von einem Zeichner ausgestattet, der der Werkstatt des Ludwig Hennflin zugerechnet wird [Abb. 6].⁶

Im städtischen Tanzsaal schreiten drei herrschaftliche Paare hintereinander her. Mit Trompeten und Pommer wird ihnen zum Tanz aufgespielt. Der einzelne Mann hat wahrscheinlich die Funktion des »Aufsehers« übernommen, der für die angemessene Reihenfolge der Paare zu sorgen hat, wie sie ihrer gesellschaftlichen Stellung entspricht.⁹

Vom selben Schreiber und vermutlich auch vom selben Illustrator und damit aus der selben Zeit stammt eine weitere Handschrift, die die Geschichte von Pontus und Sidonia beinhaltet. Der um 1400 in Frankreich verfasste Ritterroman wurde in der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte mehrmals ins Deutsche übersetzt und in verschiedenen Dialekten aufgeschrieben. Nur eine der Handschriften enthält auch Zeichnungen. Das Blatt 16r illustriert, »Wie die kunigin Pontus an der hende nam vnd in in den sal zu dem dantze firet« [Abb. 7].

Und noch ein zweites Mal wird in dieser Geschichte getanzt, als der Ritter Pontus heiratet. Das Bild ist überschrieben »Wie her Pontus ein grosse hochzit hatt mit dantzen vnd ander kurtzwile«. In beiden Fällen findet die Tanzveranstaltung in prächtigen Räumlichkeiten statt [Abb. 8].



9. Apokalypse-Handschrift (zweites Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts), London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 49, f. 12v.

In einem besonders seltenen Zusammenhang steht eine weitere Tanzzeichnung, deren Entstehungszeit auf das zweite Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts datiert wird.¹⁰ Es handelt sich dabei um eine deutschsprachige illustrierte Apokalypse-Handschrift, die Offenbarung des Johannes.

Die sehr weltlich-realistisch dargestellte Szenenfolge zur Vita des Antichrist enthält die folgende Zeichnung, die Gertrud Schiller als »Der Tod der Zeugen und Triumphzug« tituliert. Ähnlich wie auch auf den umgebenden Bildern sind mehrere Vorgänge gleichzeitig ins Bild gesetzt. Hier findet auf der linken Seite die Enthauptung der »Zeugen« statt, während der so genannte Triumphzug sich offensichtlich als Tanz erweist. Drei Paare bewegen sich zur Blasmusik, die Frauen jeweils beim Manne untergehakt. Der Vortänzer erhebt seinen linken Arm. Die Kreisformation wird durch die zwei nur von hinten sichtbaren Köpfe eines Tanzpaares ins Bild gesetzt. Es fällt nicht leicht zu entscheiden, ob der Zeichner hierbei eher an die »durchschnittliche« Gesellschaft seiner Zeit oder an höfische Kreise dachte, zumal die tanzenden Personen auf deutschen Abbildungen fast immer »herausgeputzt« anzutreffen sind. Die zwei Musikanten jedoch entsprechen aufgrund der Kopfbedeckung und ihrer Körperhaltung weit eher dem Genre bäuerlichen Tanzes.

Eine große hier vorzustellende Tanzbildfolge entstammt der Schrift *Der Renner* des Hugo von Trimberg. Diese in Versform gehaltene, um das Jahr 1300 geschriebene Dichtung gehört zu den meist überlieferten mittelhochdeutschen Dichtungen überhaupt. Der aus Schweinfurt stammende Trimberg veröffentlichte sein Werk in Bamberg. Es ist Sündenklage, Bußpredigt, Sittenlehre und popularisierendes Wissenskompendium in einem. Ein Abschnitt darin handelt »von tanzen vnd springen«, worin sich der Autor in der in den katechetischen Texten damals üblichen Weise über die Ungebührlichkeit, Unkeuschheit und Sündhaftigkeit des Tanzes auslässt. Es kommt der Tanzforschung zugute, dass in neun Handschriften der Text zum Tanz illustriert wurde. Besonders wertvoll sind die Handschriften aber, weil sie sich tatsächlich über das ganze 15. Jahrhundert hin erstrecken, in verschiedenen Mundarten verfasst und somit trotz der benutzten Textvorlage fast als eigenes »Original« gelten können, was ganz besonders für die Zeichnungen gilt, die nur in wenigen Attributen der Tanzenden Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen. Damit stellen sie gerade für die erste Hälfte des Jahrhunderts, einer Zeit, in der die ikonographischen Tanzzeugnisse noch relativ rar gestreut sind, wichtige Quellen zur Tanzgeschichte dar. Stammt



10. Der Renner (1472). Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- u. Hochschulbibliothek, od. 2779, f. 186r.

doch die früheste *Renner*-Handschrift mit reicher Illustration schon aus dem Jahre 1400, die folgenden aus den Jahren 1402, 1411/13 und 1419.

Der Text befasst sich mit dem Tanz der durchschnittlichen Bevölkerung. Es gibt keinerlei Andeutung, dass Hugo von Trimberg mit seinen moralischen Vorhaltungen die gesellschaftliche Oberschicht gemeint hätte. Ganz im Gegenteil: Der Autor beklagt sich, wie die jungen Leute zum Teil schon zur Gottesdienstzeit zusammenlaufen würden, um in der Nähe der Kirche zu tanzen, dabei würde der Bläserklang bis zum Altar hin dringen und die Andächtigen stören. Ausgiebig wird von den Verführungskünsten der jungen Mädchen und Frauen gehandelt, die sich mit besonders prächtigen Kleidern und falschen Haaren herausputzen würden, dabei all ihre Scham und Tugend vergessend. Das Springen und Laufen beim Tanze wird mit Pferden und Kälbern verglichen. Es wird daher wohl mit Recht davon auszugehen sein, dass auch die Zeichnungen eher den Tanz der durchschnittlichen Bevölkerung als den höfischen Tanz illustrieren wollten.



11a. *Der Renner* (1468). Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cod. Bodmer. 91 fol. 103v.



11b. *Der Renner* (1468). Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cod. Bodmer. 91, f. 104r.



12. *Der Renner* (um 1460). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 763, f. 145v-146r.

Hier nun sollen die Tanzzeichnungen der *Renner*-Handschriften wiederum in rückwärtig chronologischer Reihenfolge vorgestellt werden.¹¹

1. Handschrift aus dem Jahre 1472 (Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Cod. 2779). Als Schreiber und Zeichner wird der Österreicher Seyfrid von Puch genannt [Abb. 10].

Vier Tanzpaare bewegen sich auf dem mit Steinen gepflasterten Platz vor einem Haus, auf dessen Balkon 3 Bläser aufspielen. Die Prozessionsanzweise, bei der die Paare im Kreise herumlaufen, ist deutlich erkennbar. Die Frauen mit ihren langen Rockscheppen haben sich offensichtlich zum Tanz herausgeputzt, auch die Kopfbedeckung des einen Mannes scheint ein besonderer Kopfschmuck zu sein. Der Vortänzer streckt seinen Arm in die Höhe.

2. Handschrift aus dem Jahre 1468 (Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cod. Bodmer. 91) [Abb. 11a–b].

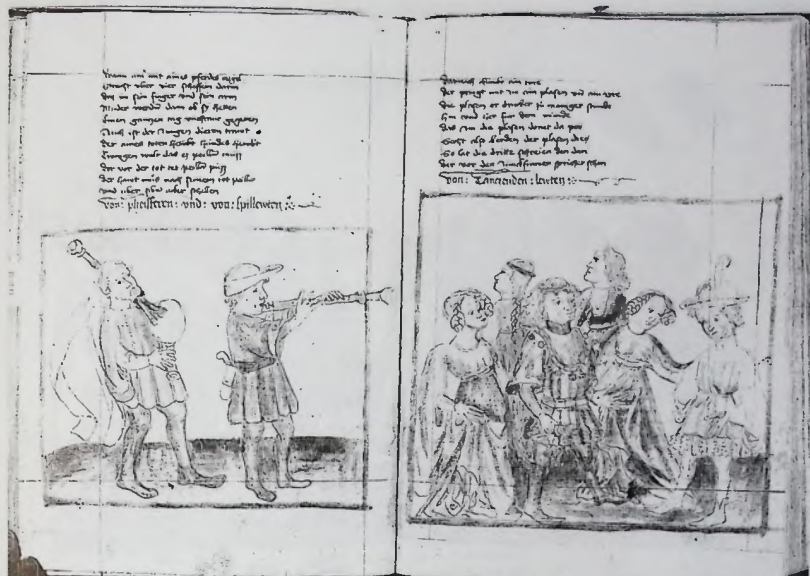
Die Handschrift entstand in Südtirol, der Zeichner blieb anonym. Das bäuerliche Genre fällt in dieser Handschrift geradezu ins Auge. Man tanzt auf der Wiese. Auf der Darstellung fällt die »Fassung« der Paare auf: Sie halten sich nicht an den Händen, sondern an ihren Gewändern.

3. Handschrift aus der Zeit um 1460 (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 763). Die Herkunft der Handschrift ist ungewiss. Schreiber und Buchmaler blieben unbekannt [Abb. 12].

Die mit langen Kleidern, mit Haarputz, Hüten und Kränzen »fein« gemachte Gesellschaft ist doch von Habitus und Körperhaltung her als ländlich-städtische Bevölkerung zu erkennen, was zusätzlich von den 3 auf einer Bank sitzenden, einfach gekleideten Musikanten unterstrichen wird. Die Tanzordnung scheint nur sehr lose zu sein, dennoch ist auch hier wieder die Kreisformation durch den Halbkreis angedeutet.

4. Handschrift aus der Zeit um 1450 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Germ. Monac. 7375). Schreiber und Buchmaler unbekannt [Abb. 13].

Die auch hier üblicherweise in zwei Einzelbilder zerlegte Darstellung von Tänzern und Musikanten lässt wiederum gerade durch Haltung und Kleidung der Spielleute auf die ländliche Bevölkerung rückschließen. Auch hier tanzt man im Freien und fasst sich nicht bei der Hand. Trotzdem ist die Paarzugehörigkeit bei näherem Hinschauen erkenntlich. Die zwei dem Betrachter zugewandten Frauen fassen mit dem linken Arm ihre Partner am Rücken an. Das Paar, das sich nach hinten zu wenden scheint, deutet wiederum die Kreisbewegung an.



13a-b. *Der Renner* (um 1450). München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Germ. Monac. 7375, f. 66v-67r.

5. Handschrift von 1446 (Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, MS Germ. quart. 6). Die Sprache des Schreibers ist schwäbisch [Abb. 14].

Diese Zeichnung fällt durch die Einfachheit und Schlichtheit der Gestaltung aus dem Rahmen der anderen illustrierten Handschriften. Sie zeigt zwei im Freien hintereinander herschreitende Paare. Gleichwohl verdeutlichen auch hier die langen Röcke der Frauen sowie der Überwurf des vorderen Mannes, wie man sich zum Tanze extra herausgeputzt hat.

6. Handschrift von 1419 (Leipzig, Universitäts-Bibliothek, MS Rep. II 21). Das Manuskript wurde in ostmitteldeutscher Mundart geschrieben. Der Zeichner wird einer elsässischen. Schreiberwerkstätte in Hagenau zugerechnet [Abb. 15].

In der Darstellung fallen die Musikanten besonders auf. Dass ein Trompeteninstrument mit einem Wimpel geschmückt ist, ist uns eher aus Abbildungen städtisch angestellter Stadtmusikanten sowie aus Veranstaltungen höfischer Art bekannt: von Turnierveranstaltungen, von Umzügen, feierlichen Einzügen und natürlich bei den fürstlichen Heerestrompetern. Sollte daraus abzuleiten sein, dass es sich bei diesem Vergnügen um Personen der oberen Gesellschaftsschicht handelt? Dafür spricht auch die Kleidung des vorderen Tanzpaares, wo die Frau mit ihren langen, verzierten Ärmelbahnen und der Mann mit seinen ebenfalls weit geschwungenen, stoffreichen, herunterhängenden Ärmelstößen den Eindruck von Wohlstand vermitteln.

7. Handschrift von 1411/13 (Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod Nr. 900). Die Mundart der Handschrift gilt als tirolisch [Abb. 16].

Hier läuft der Vortänzer mit erhobener Linker dem Prozessionszug voran. Beim folgenden Paar hakt sich diesmal der Mann bei der Frau unter. Das zweite Paar, das von hinten in leichter Seitwärtsdrehung zu sehen ist, deutet



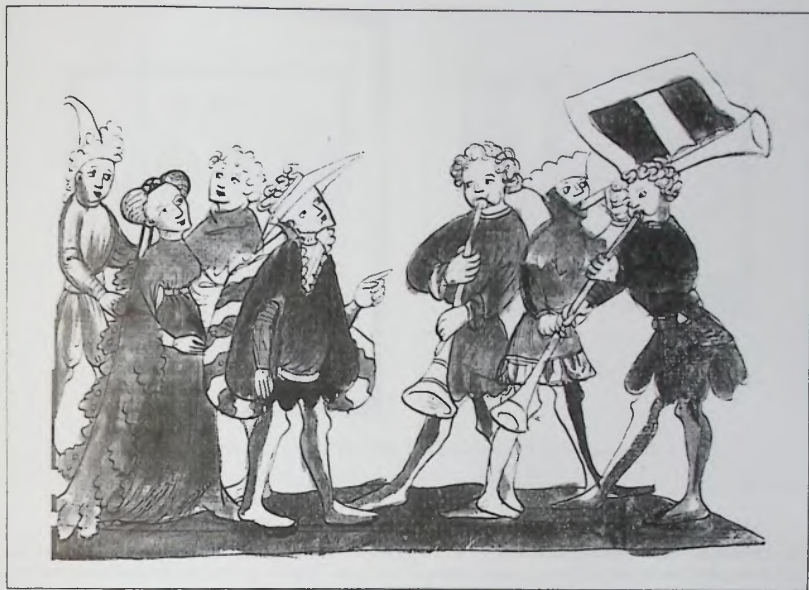
14. Der Renner (1446). Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, MS Germ. quart. 6, f. 111v.

wiederum in üblicher Weise die Kreisformation an. Trompeter und Pommerspieler lassen einen bewegten Tanz vermuten. Wieder ist die Kleidung der Teilnehmenden viel schlichter gehalten, die Frauen tragen keinen Kopfschmuck, die Hüte der Männer sind schwer bestimmbar.

8. Handschrift von 1402 (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Cod. Voss. Germ. F.4). Der Schreiber dieser Handschrift ist der Augsburger Notar Michael Althaymer. Die Mundart ist bayerisch [Abb. 17].

Der auf zwei Blätter verteilte Tanzzug zeigt diesmal zur Rechten die Musikantengruppe, während drei Paare untergehakt hintereinander herschreiten. Auch diese frühe Zeichnung am Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts illustriert also schon den Prozessionsstanz, sie allerdings lässt eher darauf schließen, betrachtet man die üppigen Gewänder und die Haar- und Barttracht besonders des hinteren Mannes, dass der Zeichner bei seiner Darstellung die obere Gesellschaftsschicht im Blick hatte.

9. Handschrift von 1400 (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Cod. Holm. V. u.74). Der Schreiber ist wiederum Michael Althaymer (vgl. Handschrift von 1402), der Buchmaler aber ist unbekannt [Abb. 18].



15. Der Renner (1419). Leipzig, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Mscr. Rep.II 21, f. 97r.

Die zierliche, kolorierte Federzeichnung der ältesten illustrierten Renner-Handschrift stellt die Kleidung der Tanzenden in einer Üppigkeit zur Schau, wie sie sich in keiner der späteren Handschriften mehr finden sollte. Die Männer tragen über ihren kurzen Socken weitärmelige lange Übermäntel mit reich gemusterten Stoffen und aufgenähten Absätzen, während auch die Damenmode der Zeit mit ihren langen, unter der Brust geschnürten Kleidern mit hohem Kragen und weit nach unten hängenden Ärmeln im Detail illustriert wurde. Der weitkreppe Hut der Frau, die Mützen der Männer, die schwungvoll fliegende Haarschleife, die in der Leidener Handschrift offensichtlich nachempfunden wurde, sowie die überlangen spitzen Schnabelschuhe, all das deutet auf Luxus und hohe Betonung einer vom Autor doch so verachteten Zurschaustellung von Äußerlichkeiten hin, dass sich schon die Frage stellt, ob möglicherweise diese Tanzenden nicht als Karikatur, zumindest als Mahnung unnützer Putzsucht gemeint sind. Deutet doch das spöttisch formulierte Schriftband (leider ist nur der Anfangstext erhalten) zwischen Bläser und Tanzenden wiederum darauf hin, wie hier zu sündigem Tun aufgefordert wird: »Pfeiff? lazz vns tantzen Vnd fröleich vmb...« Für die Interpretation der Zeichnung muss man allerdings wissen, dass die Miniaturen allesamt in diesem Stil gehalten sind, selbst die Allegorien von Geiz, Habsucht usw. werden als Damen in feinsten, zierlichen Kleidern dargestellt.

Die Renner-Handschriften von 1400 und 1402 sind europaweit wohl die frühesten bislang bekannt gewordenen Belege für die Existenz des Prozessionsstanzen, unabhängig davon, ob wir sie als höfischen oder ländlich-bäuerlichen Tanz interpretieren. Sie zeigen in eindrucksvoller Weise, dass im deutschsprachigen Raum eine andere Tanzkultur üblich war als in den umgebenden Ländern.

Gleichwohl wurde in der Tanzforschung immer wieder darauf verwiesen, dass ja schon terminologisch ein Unterschied zwischen »tanzen« einerseits und »reyen« andererseits bestanden habe. Doch gibt die Begrifflichkeit des Wortes »reyen« – ganz im Gegensatz zur allgemeinen Überzeugung – keinerlei Hinweis auf eine reigenmäßige



16a-b. *Der Renner* (1411-13), Innsbruck Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Nr. 900, f. 95v-96v.

Tanzformation. Schon Kurt Sachs hatte in seiner *Weltgeschichte des Tanzes* 1933 zurecht festgestellt, »daß das 14. Jahrhundert die Namen nicht mehr scharf auseinanderhielt«. ¹² Eine linguistische Untersuchung von Ann Harding aus den 70iger Jahren, ¹³ in der sie die mittelhochdeutsche Literatur auf alle vorkommenden Tanzzitate hin untersuchte, kam sogar zu dem Ergebnis, dass es nicht erst im 14. sondern auch schon in den vorangehenden Jahrhunderten literarisch keine Hinweise dafür gibt, dass man in einer Reigenformation getanzt hätte, sondern dass die Worte »tanzen«, »springen« und »reyen« synonym benutzt wurden. Zur Illustration, dass zumindest im 15. Jahrhundert mit »reyen« der Prozessionstanz gemeint war, mag als ein Beispiel von vielen ein oberdeutscher Totentanz von ca. 1465 dienen. Er zeigt einen in eine Vielzahl von Holzschnitten zerlegten Prozessionstanz, bei dem die Toten jeweils mit einem Menschen als Paar in die gleiche Richtung tanzen.

Text von Abb.19:

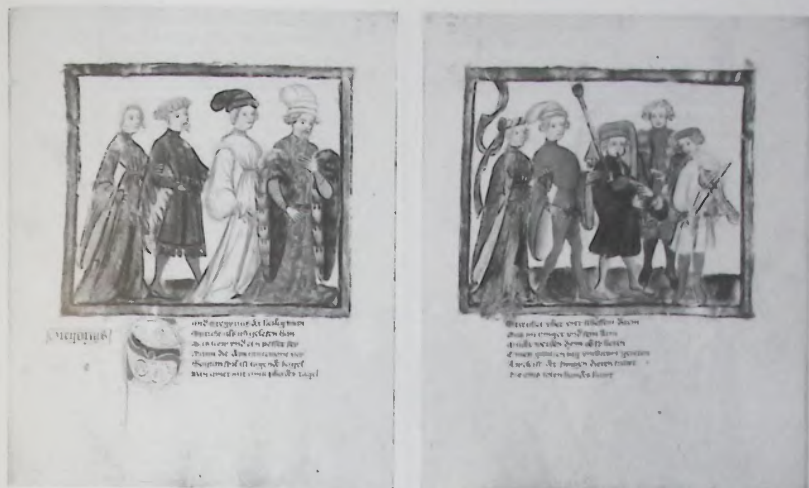
»Her keyser euch hilft nicht das swert
Czeptir vnd trone sint hy nicht wert.
Ich habe euch bey der hand genomen
Ir must an meynen reyen komen.«

Text von Abb. 20

»Springit off mit ewrem roten hutt
her cardinal der tanz yst gutt.
Ir hat gesegnet wol die leyen
Vnd must nu mit dem tode reyen« ¹⁴

Wenn die Toten den Kaiser und den Kardinal zum Tanze »bitten«, dann sprechen sie mal vom Tanzen, mal vom Springen, mal vom Reien, und doch ist immer der gleiche Tanz gemeint. In eben dieser allgemeinen und unspezifischen Weise, so A. Harding, haben offensichtlich schon die mittelhochdeutschen Dichter die Begriffe gebraucht – ein häufig genanntes Thema war der Tanz gerade bei Neidhart von Reuenthal (Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts) und seinen Nachahmern.

Über 100 Jahre lang, das ganze 15. Jahrhundert hindurch, scheint der Reigentanz in deutschsprachigen Ländern nördlich der Alpen keine Rolle gespielt zu haben. Zumindest lässt sich das aus dem völligen Fehlen entsprechender ikonographischer Zeugnisse entnehmen. Angesichts einer sich doch in diesem Jahrhundert entwickelnden Drucktechnik und der damit verbundenen rasanten Zunahme erhaltener Illustrationen ist es wohl nicht unberechtigt davon zu sprechen, dass im ländlich-bäuerlichen ebenso wie im städtischen Tanz, beim Tanz der Patrizier ebenso wie am Hofe der Prozessionstanz die Tanzform überhaupt gewesen sein muss.



17a-b. Der Renner (1402). Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Cod. Voss. Germ. F.4, f. 142v-143r.

Somit kann die Prozessionstanzweise nicht erst als ein Import italienischer Tanzmanier im Zuge der Übernahme höfischer Basse Danse verstanden werden, sondern muss als ein Tanz begriffen werden, der tatsächlich von »jedermann« getanzt wurde. Wissen wir doch gleichzeitig, dass sich italienische Tanzweisen an deutschen Höfen frühestens zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts einführen, wie uns verschiedene Berichte der Zeit nahelegen, wobei der Vorgang, dass man hier auf »welsche«, d. h. italienische Art zu tanzen lernte, eigens als Besonderheit hervorgehoben wurde.¹⁵ Es ist also nicht gerechtfertigt und ergibt keinen Sinn, jede Tanzabbildung deutscher Provenienz, die eine Prozessionstanzformation zeigt, als Basse Danse zu bezeichnen.

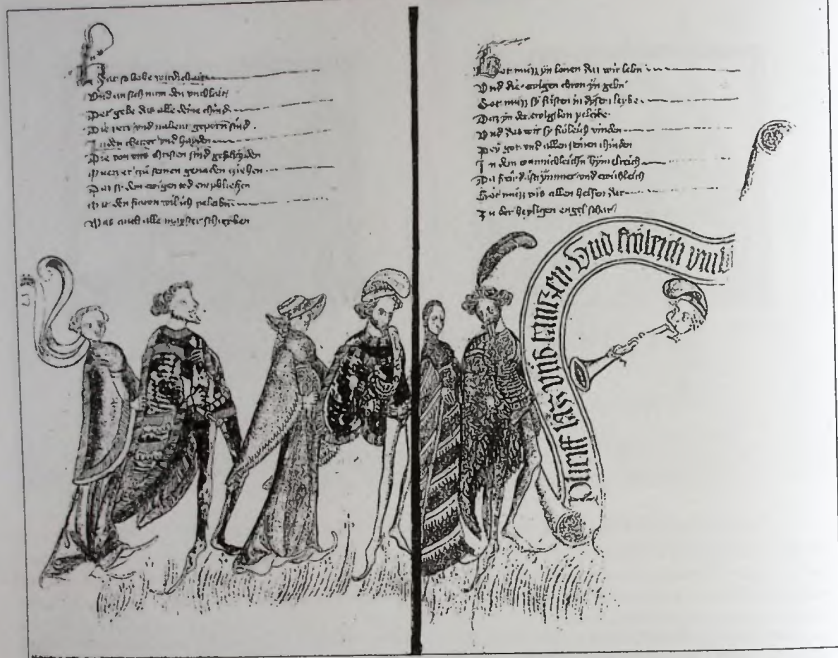
Interessantsind in diesem Zusammenhang einige Aussagen des folgenden 16. Jahrhunderts, die den Prozessionstanz als »den teutschen tanz« beschreiben.

In Johann von Münster's *Ein gotseliger Tractat von dem vngotseligen Tantz* von 1594 beschreibt der westfälische Autor die Eigenarten der Tanzweisen verschiedener Länder. Da behandelt er den Tanz der Schotten und Engländer:

»Welch ein närrisch vmblaufen / das einer ganß / welcher der kopf gedrehet ist / vnd noch auff der erden ligt zappeln / nicht sehr vngleich ist«, den der Friesen, die »seltzame geberden vnd worte gebrauchen«, den Tanz der Franzosen, ihren gaillard, »insonderheit aber ist vntr jhnen ein vnletiger Tantz / La volle geheissen ... das ist / in einen wirbel herum fliegen ... dass der tändler mit der tändlerinnen nicht wider zur erden komen könne / sie haben dann beyde halse vnd beine zubrochen.«

In diesem Stil ist sein ganzer Traktat gehalten, eine weitschweifige Auslassung zur Ungebührlichkeit und Sündhaftigkeit des Tanzes, nicht nur in deutschen, sondern auch in fremden Landen. Speziell den deutschen Tanz beschreibt er nun folgendermaßen:

»Des Teutschen allgemeinen Tantes form besteht hierinnen/ dass / nachdem bey den jetztgedachten pfeiffern oder spielleuten der Tantz zuvor bestellet ist / der tändler aufs zierlichste / höflichste / prechtigste vnd hoffertigste herfür trette / vnd auß allen alda gegenwertigen jungkfrauen vnd frauen eine tändlerinne / zu welcher er eine besondere affection tregt / jhme erwahlet.«



18. Der Renner (1400). Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Cod. Holm. V. u.74, f. 101v–102r.

Dann folgt die karikierend ins moralisch-Verwerfliche überzogene Beschreibung des Prozessionstanzes. »Wann aber die person bewilliget hat / den Tanz mit dem tändler zu halten / treten sie beyde herfür / geben einander die hende / vnd vmbfangen vnd küssen sich nach gelegenheit des Landes / auch wol recht auff den mund / vnd erzeigen sich sonsten mit worten vnd geberden / die freundschaft die sie vor langer oder kurtzer zeit gewünschet haben / einander zu erzeigen... Diß aber haben sie gemein / beyde der Vortantz vnd der Nachantz / daß die tändler / wann sie zum end des gemachs / in welchem sie tanzen / kommen sind / wider vmbkehren / vnd sich zu beyden seyten / zur rechten vnd zur linken / so lang wenden vnd treiben / vorgehen vnd folgen müssen / biß der pfeiffer auffhöret zu spielen...«¹⁶

Für typisch deutsch erklärt der Autor also das paarweise »folgen« mit dem Umkehren am Ende des Raumes, wohl eine Beschreibung der Kreisformation.

Schon sechzig Jahre zuvor hatte Jacob Ratz, Pfarrer des schwäbischen Städtchens Neuenstadt am Kocher, in seinem Tanztraktat den Prozessionstanz als typische deutsche Tanzweise bezeichnet: »...do Mann und Fray neben und miteinander Tanzen wie wir Teutschen thunt.«¹⁷

Umso auffälliger ist darum, dass im 16. Jahrhundert der Reigen in einigen, wenn auch vergleichsweise sehr wenigen ikonographischen Zeugnissen erscheint. Jetzt nimmt er – abseits der höfischen Tanzhierarchien – offensichtlich eine Spielfunktion innerhalb des höfischen Freizeitvergnügens ein. So verwundert es auch nicht, dass die ersten dieser Bildzeugnisse vom kaiserlichen Mummenschanz und von Maskentänzen stammen.



19–20. Oberdeutscher Totentanz: Kaiser und Kardinal (um 1465). Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 438. Aus H.F. Massmann, *Atlas zu dem Werke »Die Baseler Totentänze«* (Leipzig, 1847).

Kaiser Maximilian hatte den »Freydal«, eines seiner autobiographischen Werke, größtenteils selber diktiert mit der Absicht, damit der Nachwelt lebendig zu bleiben. Er beschrieb darin seine Turnierveranstaltungen, Wettkämpfe, Maskentänze und Mummereien. Erhalten haben sich nur vorbereitende Texte und fünf Holzschnitte, unter ihnen auch ein reigenförmiger Maskentanz, dessen Urheberschaft nicht sicher ist, bevorzugt aber Albrecht Dürer zugeschrieben wird.¹⁸ Uta Henning veröffentlichte darüber hinaus 1987 einen großen Teil von 255 Feder- und Pinselzeichnungen, die als Vorentwürfe für den »Freydal« gedacht waren. Der oder die Maler blieben anonym. In Hennings Auswahl gibt es 51 Tanzbilder, die die unterschiedlichsten gemischt- oder auch gleichgeschlechtlichen Maskentänze zeigen. Dabei treten die Vorführenden in phantasiereichen Kostümen auf, als Riesen, Mohren, Bauern, als Narren, Muselmane und Gaukler. Vorrangig tanzen die Verkleideten, wenn sie als Mann und Frau auftreten, in der Prozessionsanzform. Nur bei drei Abbildungen tanzen die maskierten Paare einen Reigen Hand in Hand, wie auf Abb. 21.

Die Interpretation liegt nahe, dass man im Maskentanz der höfischen Eingebundenheit in hierarchische Ordnungsprinzipien weitgehend entbunden war, somit hatte der Reigen als verspielte Tanzform einen marginalen Raum. Die Reigenformation wird ja in höfischen Kreisen angesichts der Internationalität höfischer Lebensweisen bekannt gewesen sein, muss aber mehr oder minder als originelle, weil fremdlandische Einlage gegolten haben.

Ganz ähnlich wird wohl auch das dreifache Erscheinen eines bildlichen Reigentanzes zu interpretieren sein. In engster zeitlicher Aufeinanderfolge existieren da ein Holzschnitt von Hans Sebald Beham aus der Zeit um 1530, ein weiterer Holzschnitt von Erhard Schön von 1534¹⁹ und ein Tafelbild von Wilhelm Ziegeler von 1538.²⁰

Auf allen drei Abbildungen werden die Lustbarkeiten und Vergnügen der patrizischen oder höfischen Gesellschaft zur Schau gestellt. Bei Beham's Holzschnitt handelt es sich um das biblische Fest der Herodias. Mutter und Tochter sind dabei, Herodes den Kopf des Johannes zu überbringen. Die Gesellschaft hingegen vergnügt sich frontal mit einem Prozessionsanz, dahinter tanzt eine Gruppe einen Reigen. Ist der Reigen hier überhaupt noch als Tanz gedacht, oder handelte es sich überhaupt um ein Reigenspiel, da die Musikanten fehlen? Die Reigengruppe hat auf allen drei Abbildungen eine so große Ähnlichkeit miteinander, dass es nahe liegt anzunehmen, dass Behams Reigen den anderen beiden Künstlern zur Vorlage diente, zumal die Künstler allesamt in enger lokaler Nähe ihren Wirkungskreis hatten (Nürnberg und Rothenburg o.d.Tauber). Die Kopfbedeckungen



21. Anonyme Vorzeichnung zum *Freydal* (um 1500). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien. Aus U. Henning, *Musica Maximiliana* (Neu-Ulm: Stegmiller, 1987), Taf. 55.

der jeweiligen Personen, die Aufteilung von Mann-Frau, das Schwert, das ein Tänzer umhängen hat – alles deutet darauf hin, dass das gleiche Reigenmotiv den Künstlern Anlass zu ihren verschiedenen »Aussagen« gab. Walter Salmen wies sogar darauf hin, dass möglicherweise sogar auch Beham's Holzschnitt seinerseits einer Vorlage nachempfunden wurde: einem italienischen Gemälde des Bonifacio Veronese.²¹

Bei Beham wird der biblische Kontext durch die in der Art des 16. Jahrhunderts üppig gekleideten Geladenen der obersten Gesellschaft in die damalige Zeit versetzt und versinnbildlicht die »vergängliche Freud und Wollust dieser Welt«, denn der Sensenmann, der Tod hat schon eine Frau am Schleier ergriffen. »Die eytel vergenklich Freudt vnd wollust dieser welt« ist gerade auch der Holzschnitt von Erhard Schön betitelt. Er illustriert ein Gedicht, das dem Bild unterlegt ist. Darin geht es um den Traum des Dichters, der von einer schönen Frau durch ein Tor in einen wunderbaren, fürstlichen Garten geführt wird, wo er den Reichtum und die Vergnügungen der fürstlichen Gesellschaft bestaunen kann. Unter anderem tanzt eine Gruppe einen Reigen. Dazu heißt es im Text:

»Auff stundt die Adelige schar
Anfieng ein schönen Welschen tanz.«

Bezeichnenderweise wird der Reigen hier also als »welscher«, d. h. italienischer Tanz bezeichnet. Damit bestätigt sich die Annahme, dass der Reigen nicht als deutscher Tanz, sondern nur als höfischer »Import aus Italien oder Frankreich« einzustufen ist.

Alle Reigenabbildungen des 16. Jahrhunderts, ganz besonders die Zeichnungen zum *Freydal*, von denen angenommen wird, dass sie in realistischer Weise tatsächliche Vorgänge des kaiserlichen Hoflebens schildern sollten, legen nahe, dass man Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bei Hofe den Reigen als marginale Besonderheit, als zusätzliche Beigabe zum eigentlichen, zum standardisierten Prozessionstanz gebrauchte. Sie galten offensichtlich als »welsche« Traditionen, die man hier aufnahm. Darüber hinaus ist wohl im 16. Jahrhundert der Reigen in



22. Hans Sebald Beham, *Fest der Herodias* (linke Bildhälfte, um 1530).

der übrigen Bevölkerung nicht getanzt worden. Die in diesem Jahrhundert wie eine Flutwelle hereinbrechenden Darstellungen bäuerlichen Tanzens geben keinen Hinweis mehr auf Reigenformationen,²² ganz im Gegensatz zu den benachbarten Ländern Frankreich und Niederlande. Gerade flämische Maler verbanden bis weit ins 17. Jahrhundert hinein die Reigentänze immer wieder mit der Zurschaustellung dörflichen Lebens.

Signalisiert möglicherweise das bekannte Bild des Lucas Cranach aus der erste Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts ein neues Verständnis des Reigens als Allegorie? Lucas Cranachs Bild des »Garten Eden«²³ schildert den Reigen als Symbol des vollkommenen Glückes. Hier nun tanzen die Glückseligen im paradiesischen Urzustand den Reigen. Die glücklichen, weil unschuldigen Menschen tanzen nackt, ohne Bekleidung um einen Baum herum ihren Reigentanz. Immerhin wechseln auch hier Männer und Frauen in schöner Regelmäßigkeit ab, trotzdem scheint in idealisierter Weise gerade durch die Nacktheit die Sexualität ausgeschaltet zu sein. Der Tanz im Paradies, wo alle Menschen gleich, wo alle Menschen unschuldig, wo alle Menschen glücklich sind.

Gleichwohl bleibt auch der allegorische Reigen trotz der zunehmenden Internationalität europäischer Malerei ein nur selten benutztes Sujet der Darstellenden Kunst im Deutschland der folgenden Jahrhunderte, erst im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert sollte dem Reigentanz neue Bedeutung zukommen, wenn auch unter anderem Vorzeichen.

Angesichts des hier vorgelegten Ergebnisses werden weitere Nachforschungen in zwei Richtungen von Interesse sein: Wann und wie konnte sich das eingangs skizzierte Reigenverständnis als »Urfom des Tanzes«, gerade als Form des bürgerlichen Tanzes in Deutschland etablieren? Gleichzeitig wird nach Belegen zu suchen sein, die uns Aussagen über die Tanzweise im deutschsprachigen Raum vor 1400 erlauben. Einige bereits hierzu publizierte Quellen sprechen bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung wohl für die Existenz des Reigens im 14. Jahrhundert, jedoch wird die Interpretation immer schwieriger, je weiter die Nachweise zurückliegen, nicht zuletzt auch aufgrund der Bildqualität der auf uns überkommenen ikonographischen Zeugnisse.

ANMERKUNGEN

¹ Walter Salmen, *Round Dance and Dance as Symbols of Life in the Arts around 1900*, in: James M. McGlathery (Hrsg.), *Music and German Literature* (Columbia: Camden, 1992), 208–232.

² Franz M. Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland: Beitrag zur deutschen Sitten-, Literatur- und Musikgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1886), 33.

³ Birgit Fassbender, *Gotische Tanzdarstellungen* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1994), 44.

⁴ Walter Salmen, »Alla Tedesca« oder »Welsch« tanzen, in: P. Chiarini und H. Zernian (Hg.), *Italia-Austria: alla ricerca del passato comune* (Roma: Istituto italiano di studi germanici, 1995), 208.

⁵ Ebd.

⁶ Irmgard Jungmann, *Tanz, Tod und Teufel: Tanzkultur in der gesellschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Musiksoziologie 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002).

⁷ Eine Ausnahme bilden wenige Darstellungen der biblischen Episode des Tanzens um das Goldene Kalb.

⁸ Vgl. Hans Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der deutschen Bilder-Handschriften des späten Mittelalters in der Heidelberger Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Leipzig: J.J. Werner, 1927), 82.

⁹ Vgl. die ausführliche Beschreibung eines höfischen Tanzvergnügens von Anton von Lalaing, der 1503 in seinem Tagebuch diese Herren eben als »Aufseher« bezeichnet. Nachzulesen in I. Jungmann, wie Anm. 6, S. 55f.

¹⁰ Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst. V: Die Apokalypse des Johannes* (Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1991), 230.

¹¹ Alle folgenden Angaben zu Entstehungszeit und -ort der Renner-Handschriften sind entnommen aus: B. Müller, »Die Titelbilder der illustrierten Renner-Handschriften«, *Bericht des historischen Vereins Bamberg* 102 (1966), 271–306.

¹² Curt Sachs, *Eine Weltgeschichte des Tanzes* (Berlin: D. Reimer/E. Voelsen, 1933), 183.

¹³ Ann Harding, *An Investigation into the Use and Meaning of Medieval German Dancing Terms* (Cöppingen, 1973).

¹⁴ Erwin Koller, *Totentanz: Versuch einer Textbeschreibung*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft: Germanistische Reihe

10 (Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik der Universität, 1980), Anhang S. 6–7. Vgl. entsprechend den Holzschnitt von Hans Schäufelen von ca. 1535. Dort spricht der Tanzführer am Anfang des Prozessionsaufzugs: »Laß vns den Reyen langsam stören / Als es dem Adel tut gebühren«, in: Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Lens Woodcut (1500–1550)* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), III:1064 ff.

¹⁵ Vgl. die Darstellung bei Walter Salmen, »Alla tedesca« oder »Welsch« tanzen, 207–218.

¹⁶ Johann von Münster, *Ein gotseliger Tractat von dem vogtseligen Tantz* (Herborn, 1594), 80 ff.

¹⁷ Jacob Ratz, *Vom Tanzen/obs Gott verpotten hab/obs sünd sey* (o.O. 1545), g Iv.

¹⁸ Vgl. die Abbildung bei Uta Henning, *Musica Maximiliana: Die Musikgraphiken in den bibliophilen Unternehmungen Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Neu-Ulm: Stegmüller, 1987), 14.

¹⁹ Vgl. die Abbildung bei M. Geisberg wie Anm. 15, III:1109.

²⁰ Vgl. die Abbildung bei A. von Rohr, *Die Freuden der Welt*, Jahrbuch des Vereins Alt-Rothenburg (1985–86), 27ff.

²¹ W. Salmen, »Ikongraphie der Musik in Österreich«, *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* XXXII/11 (1977), 481–485.

²² Der Vollständigkeit halber sei hier die Chronik des Landes Dithmarschen erwähnt, die 1590 von Johann Adam Köster (Neocorus) veröffentlicht wurde, die immer wieder als Nachweis für die Existenz des Reigens in Deutschland angeführt wird. Köster beschreibt darin sehr ausführlich die Lebensgewohnheiten der Menschen in den Dithmarschen an der Nordseeküste. Als eine Besonderheit dieser Gegend hebt Köster hervor, dass man dort eine ganz besondere Tanzweise finden würde: *de lange Danz, darin se alle mit einander, so danzen willen, nhr der Rege anrufen*. Er charakterisiert diese offensichtlich in Reigenformation geführten Tanz also als eine sonst nie gesehene spezielle Eigenheit dieses Landstriches.

²³ Vgl. W. Salmen, *Tanz und Tanzen vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1999), Abb. 2.

IL FREGIO CON ANGELI MUSICANTI DI TRINIDAD E LA MUSICA NELLE MISSIONI GESUITICHE DEL PARAGUAY

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In nessun altro luogo del Nuovo Mondo come in Paraguay l'opera dei Gesuiti si rivelò tanto intensa sotto il profilo organizzativo. In un'area decisamente più vasta di quella attuale, situata su ambedue le sponde del Paraná inferiore e comprendente ampie zone dell'odierno Brasile e dell'Argentina, essi condussero infatti un singolare esperimento socio-economico, dando vita a una serie di comunità autosufficienti, chiamate "reducciones", in cui gli indios Guaraní (che avevano cercato rifugio nelle foreste per non essere costretti a subire le vessazioni degli "encomenderos" spagnoli) ebbero l'opportunità di entrare in contatto con i diversi aspetti della cultura europea, imparando inoltre nuovi mestieri e tecniche di coltivazione. La guida spirituale e temporale di tali istituzioni era affidata a due padri missionari, i quali pianificavano i vari momenti della vita quotidiana grazie al sostegno di una rete di funzionari la cui autorità era stabilita dalle "Leyes de Indias". Gli indigeni disponevano di alcuni giorni la settimana per curare le proprietà private e provvedere così al sostentamento minimo delle famiglie; nel tempo restante la loro forza-lavoro veniva impiegata a vantaggio della collettività: il ricavato dell'impresa comunitaria (consistente nell'aratura dei terreni pubblici, nella coltivazione di prodotti esportabili come il mate o la canna da zucchero e nella fabbricazione di candele, rosari e altri manufatti) serviva a mantenere i nullatenenti, i lavoratori specializzati e, almeno parzialmente, gli stessi religiosi e ad acquistare utensili necessari per il villaggio e l'arredo della chiesa.

I principali insediamenti gesuitici in territorio Guaraní furono San Ignacio Mini, San Ignacio Guazú, Trinidad, Jesús de Tavarangú, San Miguel Arcángel, Nuestra Señora de los Reyes Magos a Yapeyú, Loreto, San Cosme y Damián, Santa Rosa; alcuni di essi sono stati dichiarati di recente Patrimonio dell'Umanità dall'UNESCO. Le rovine di Trinidad (Itapúa), situate nei pressi di Encarnación e tuttora oggetto di restauro, figurano senz'altro tra le più interessanti e suggestive. Fondata da indios provenienti da San Carlos (attualmente in territorio argentino), la missione venne progettata nel 1706 dall'italiano Giovanni Battista Primoli e dal portoghese José Grimaud e ultimata soltanto nel 1760, anche se già nel 1728 poteva vantare una popolazione di più di 4000 individui. Padre Jaime Oliver, che conobbe tutte le "reducciones" nel momento dell'espulsione dei Gesuiti dal paese (1767), descrisse la chiesa di Trinidad come "la maggiore, e la migliore, di tutte le Missioni... opera senza eguali in tutta l'America e degna d'invidia anche nelle principali città d'Europa". Accanto alla chiesa si trovava il collegio dei religiosi con la biblioteca, i dormitori, il refettorio, la cucina e la dispensa della comunità; in modo analogo era strutturato l'edificio che si innalzava all'estremità opposta del nucleo principale, dove erano ubicati le officine e i laboratori destinati alle varie attività, le case degli indigeni, la scuola e il cimitero. Dal nostro punto di vista, desta particolare curiosità il fregio che corre all'interno della chiesa nel transetto, decorato con una teoria di angeli musicanti, deliziosi nella loro grazia un po' naïf, ritratti nell'atto di suonare il clavicembalo, l'organo, il fagotto, l'oboe, il flauto, il cornetto, il violino, l'arpa e il liuto. L'interesse che essi suscitano non è tanto di tipo organologico, quanto piuttosto documentario, dal momento che la scelta degli strumenti sembra riflettere le consuetudini musicali dell'epoca: come era già avvenuto al-



1. Trinidad (Itapuá), Fregio con angeli musicanti.

trove, infatti, i Gesuiti importarono a Trinidad l'artigianato e l'industria e la missione divenne famosa, oltre che per le sue esecuzioni musicali di cui purtroppo non resta traccia, anche per la produzione di campane, organi, arpe e statue destinate al culto.

Introdotta ufficialmente nel Cono Sur dal Padre Provinciale Diego de Torres fin dal 1609, l'educazione musicale si rivelò un efficace strumento di catechesi nei confronti delle popolazioni locali, naturalmente dotate per l'arte dei suoni. Tra i primi Gesuiti che insegnarono tale disciplina in Paraguay sul finire del Cinquecento vanno ricordati Juan Gabriel Lezcano e Rodrigo de Melgarejo; ad essi seguirono il napoletano Pietro Comentale, che intorno al 1620 organizzò una scuola di musica presso la missione di San Ignacio Guazú; il francese Louis Berger, "pittore, medico, argentiere, musico, ballerino", anch'egli attivo a San Ignacio dal 1616 e in seguito trasferito a Córdoba; lo svizzero Martin Schmid, inviato nella regione dei Chiquitos del Paraguay; infine il belga Jean Vaisseau, musicista alla corte di Carlo V, cui la storiografia assegna un ruolo preponderante nella formazione delle scuole di canto corale negli insediamenti gesuitici. Circa l'attività svolta da quest'ultimo, riferisce José Manuel Peramas: "Tra i Guaraní la musica era eccellente, dal momento che venivano scelti numerosi bambini e giovani che, avendo appreso a leggere le note, cantavano e suonavano la lira, l'organo, la cetera e il violino, inoltre padroneggiavano il flauto, il clarino e la tromba. Il primo che li istruì in quest'arte fu Juan Vaseo, il quale, secondo quanto si dice, fu musico dell'imperatore Carlo V e, pur avendo messo da parte denaro sufficiente per vivere, vi rinunciò spontaneamente e attraversò l'oceano, disposto ad animarsire con la sua musica, novello Orfeo, i selvaggi". Non sappiamo con esattezza quale tipo di musica introdussero questi pionieri nelle "reducciones"; possiamo ipotizzare tuttavia che essa si fondasse sulla tradizione polifonica franco-fiamminga e spagnola del XVI secolo, anche se notevolmente semplificata. Una svolta importante si ebbe con l'arrivo, nel 1691, del gesuita tirolese Anton Sepp, cui si deve il trapianto in Sudamerica delle tecniche compositive fiorite in Europa durante il periodo barocco; considerando il con-



2. Trinidad (Itapúa), Fregio con angeli musicanti.

trappunto rinascimentale ormai antiquato ("alcuni Padri olandesi ... insegnarono a cantare agli indios, e di certo con grande sforzo e impegno, dal momento che dalle loro composizioni si deduce che non erano musicisti professionisti, ma che crearono unicamente con la loro fantasia. Il poco che sapevano lo ripeterono così tante volte agli indios con grande sforzo e impegno, fino a che non entrò nelle loro teste dure e così profondamente, che ancor oggi uomini e donne cantano *per traditionem* questa melodia in coro misto le domeniche in chiesa. Dopo gli olandesi, venne un Padre spagnolo, che sapeva qualcosa di più, e promosse lo sviluppo della musica, componendo messe, vesperi, offertori e litanie") egli introdusse nel repertorio delle cappelle delle missioni, accanto a composizioni scritte di proprio pugno, messe, vesperi brevi, litanie e mottetti di Melchior Gletle e di Johann Kaspar Kerll, accanto a brani strumentali di Schmelzer, Biber e Treubner. Tra i musicisti che lavorarono per le "reducciones" il più importante fu senza dubbio Domenico Zipoli: entrato come novizio nella Compagnia di Gesù nel 1716, nello stesso anno si imbarcò alla volta del Paraguay stabilendosi a Córdoba, dove studiò filosofia e teologia e fu organista e maestro di cappella presso il Colegio Máximo. In seguito all'espulsione dei Gesuiti dall'impero spagnolo, le opere da lui scritte in America andarono perdute o vennero rubate: solo in anni recenti è stata ritrovata a Sucre (Bolivia) la copia di una messa commissionatagli dal viceré di Lima; altre partiture recanti il suo nome ma di dubbia autenticità si conservano negli archivi di Chiquitos e Mojos.

Numerosi passi dell'epistolario di Sepp sottolineano il talento spontaneo degli indigeni, sebbene lascino intravedere alcune carenze nella ricezione degli insegnamenti impartiti: "Nella musica vocale e strumentale rivelano una facilità di apprendimento e di perfezionamento maggiore rispetto agli europei; ma non avendo idee, ricordi, immaginazione o fantasia, non sono capaci di inventare nulla di nuovo e di metterlo per iscritto, in sostanza, non servono per comporre musica... Imparano in fretta qualsiasi strumento, tromba e simili, organo, arpa, chitarra, liuto, tiorba, salterio, ... pifferi, flauti, cialamelli, fagotti o cornetti, ... viola contralto, teno-



3. Trinidad (Itapúa), Fregio con angeli musicanti.

re e basso ... Ho nella nuova riduzione di San Juan Bautista un bambino di dodici anni, che senza fare errori né perdersi suona sempre con il sorriso sulle labbra con l'arpa qualsiasi aria, anche la più difficile, e chiede continuamente di apprendere altra musica". Osservazioni sulla didattica vengono espresse anche dal padre José Cardiel: "Imparano questa disciplina con facilità. Il loro modo di apprendere ... non avviene di solito attraverso regole o spiegazioni: il maestro sta davanti al discepolo e lo colpisce ogni volta che sbaglia, così come si fa quando si insegna qualcosa a un cagnolino. Per cui, se il Prete non si preoccupa di visitare di frequente questa scuola, essi imparano a cantare solo per imitazione grazie all'esercizio continuo: in questo modo cantano, e neppure male, tutti i Vespri, i Salmi e i testi che possiedono; ma se egli li prende sotto le sue cure, essi imparano a cantare come professionisti e qualsiasi composizione musicale si metta loro davanti, benché difficile, dopo averla letta due o tre volte sono in grado di eseguirla". Ancora Sepp: "Cantano abbastanza bene e senza stonare, anche se le loro voci non sono così pure come le nostre, soprattutto il soprano e il basso, forse per colpa dell'acqua più o meno pulita e leggera che bevono nei loro villaggi". Viceversa, secondo Ludovico Antonio Muratori proprio l'acqua sarebbe la principale responsabile della bellezza del timbro vocale dei nativi: "E' incredibile l'inclinazione naturale, che tengono que' popoli all'armonia; del che profittarono non poco nel principio alcuni di quegli accorti ministri di Dio...In tal guisa si è stabilita in ciascuna delle riduzioni una cappella di musicisti ottimamente ammaestrati e concordi nel canto fermo semplice e nel figurato...Hanno ottime voci, concorrendo a renderle tali ed anche più armoniose che in altri paesi le acque dei fiumi Paraná ed Uruguai, siccome ancor noi osserviamo più melodiose quelle di parecchi abitanti delle montagne, perché non bevono se non acqua, purché acqua sana e pura. Pertanto sogliono con particolare cura i saggi Missionari scegliere que' fanciulli che da' primi anni si conoscono forniti di miglior metallo di voce, ed istruendoli ne formano sì sperti musicisti e così intendenti delle note e del tempo, che le lor sacre musiche non men delle europee piacciono e ricreano."



4. Trinidad (Itapúa), Fregio con angeli musicanti.

Gli allievi dotati di maggiore talento venivano mandati a Yapeyú, dove esisteva una specie di conservatorio; un viaggiatore europeo che lo visitò, Mateus Strobl, ebbe a scrivere: "...cantano con tanta grazia e arte, che chi non li stesse guardando crederebbe di trovarsi davanti a musicisti delle migliori cattedrali d'Europa; inoltre leggono la musica e rispettano il ritmo con maggior precisione degli europei". Sovente essi erano anche abilissimi costruttori di strumenti di vario genere: interessante, a tale proposito, la testimonianza di Sepp riguardo a un ragazzo indio di nome Ignacio Paica, che "era musicista e suonava il cornetto, strumento che era anche in grado di fabbricare; inoltre era trombettista, costruiva trombe, cantava nel coro, era un perfetto armaiolo, vasaio, calderaio, stagnino, confezionava arnesi e campanelli che usano i miei ballerini, come ho detto sopra, fondeva caraffe d'argento per il vino della messa, adornandole con i più bei grappoli d'uva, con spighe di grano e fiori di ogni tipo che sapeva incidere magistralmente. E lo stesso Ignacio Paica fabbricava sfere armillari e altri strumenti astronomici e ha imparato altresì, pochi giorni fa, a fabbricare fucili, cosa estremamente importante per noi in Paracuaria, giacché i mammalucchi brasiliani si sono impadroniti delle nostre reducciones solo perché eravamo in possesso di poche armi da fuoco ... In quasi tutte le riduzioni vi sono uno o più artisti come lui e sono sempre, al tempo stesso, musicisti." Sepp si cimentò in prima persona nella costruzione di strumenti: realizzò infatti un organo con canne di legno dotato di pedaliera e un'arpa a doppie corde che può essere considerata a giusto titolo l'antenata diretto dello strumento nazionale di queste terre, l'arpa paraguayana. L'attitudine dei nativi a suonare e a realizzare strumenti musicali ci viene confermata dal Muratori: "Quel che è più mirabile, non v'ha forse strumento musicale in Europa che non sia introdotto fra quei buoni Indiani, e non si suoni da loro come organo, chitarra, arpa, spinetta, leuto, violino, violoncello, tromba, cornetto, oboè, e simili. E tali strumenti non solo si toccano pulitamente da essi, ma sono anche fabbricati oggi la maggior parte dalle loro mani. Più d'uno che in passando per quelle parti giunse ad udire quelle musiche sì ben concertate, confessò il suo stupore, asserendo d'averle trovate non inferiori a quelle di Spagna".



5. Trinidad (Ilapuá), Fregio con angeli musicanti.

La vita musicale nelle missioni gesuitiche fu dunque il risultato della dialettica tra la politica culturale europea e la risposta spontanea delle popolazioni indigene. La perdita delle biblioteche di Guaraní ci priva purtroppo della conoscenza diretta del repertorio liturgico di quella zona; dagli inventari degli archivi annessi alle cappelle delle singole province missionarie si desume tuttavia che le messe, eseguite coralmente, erano accompagnate dall'organo e talvolta da una compagine orchestrale fondata su un nutrito gruppo di strumenti da continuo e sui fiati, ripartiti in sezioni omogenee. Dai documenti superstiti apprendiamo che intorno al 1640 la missione di Loreto acquistò un organo, un'arpa, una viola, varie chitarre, una cetera, un liuto e una tiorba, inoltre un gruppo di oboi e fagotti e un trio di flauti; che Yapeyú disponeva di otto soprani, sei contralti, numerosi tenori, otto suonatori di bombarda, quattro di clarino, quattro di tromba, sei arpisti, un liutista e quattro organisti; che a Mocobí si utilizzavano dieci cantori, otto violini, due violoni, un violoncello, un'arpa e una tromba marina; che la cappella di Santa Ana de Chiquitos era costituita da coro a quattro voci, quattordici violini o più, tre o quattro violoni, flauti, clarini, arpa, un contrabbasso e uno o due organi. Procedendo verso il Settecento, gli archi si vanno imponendo in qualità di conduttori del discorso musicale; nell'ultimo periodo della colonizzazione gesuitica essi si standardizzano in un organico basato su violini primi, violini secondi e continuo, con la partecipazione consueta di un paio di flauti e di trombe, più raramente di tromboni e cornetti. Pur mantenendosi a lungo l'uso del liuto e di strumenti consimili, la pratica del continuo tende ormai a incentrarsi sugli strumenti a tastiera (organo e clavicembalo), sull'arpa diatonica e sul violone; cionondimeno, nella regione che ci interessa, si segnala la persistenza per un periodo relativamente lungo di ance e di cornetti, fatto, questo, imputabile forse alle peculiari condizioni delle cappelle locali. Anche se non possediamo indicazioni più precise circa la missione di Trinidad, possiamo ipotizzare pertanto che le consuetudini musicali in essa vigenti non fossero così lontane da quelle delle "reducciones" limitrofe e la varietà degli strumenti riprodotti in mano agli angeli del fregio sembrerebbe confermarlo.

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ADOLPH MENZELS »FLÖTENKONZERT FRIEDRICHS DES GROßEN IN SANSSOUCI«
EIN VERTRAUTES GEMÄLDE, 150 JAHRE NACH SEINER FERTIGSTELLUNG
NEU GESEHEN¹

GABRIELE BUSCH-SALMEN

Kirchzarten / Freiburg

»Aber trotz all diesem Aerger, Friedrich über alles. Mich hat nicht so bald was so ergriffen. Der Stoff ist so reich, so interessant, so großartig, worüber Sie zwar den Kopf schütteln werden, wenn mans genauer kennen lernt, so malerisch, daß ich bloß einmal so glücklich werden möchte, aus dieser Zeit einen Cyklus großer historischer Bilder malen zu können.«²

Das schrieb Adolph Menzel am 28. August 1840 an seinen Freund Wilhelm Puhlmann, in dem Jahr, in dem die von vielen Schwierigkeiten begleitete Publikation von Franz Kuglers *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen* zu erscheinen begann, deren Illustration er übernommen hatte. Es sollte einige Jahre dauern, bis sich der Maler den in seinem Brief geäußerten Wunsch, einen »Cyklus« daraus zu malen, erfüllen konnte. Erst im Herbst des Revolutionsjahres 1848 konzipierte er, zunächst ohne Auftrag, acht großformatige Friedrich-Bilder, die er bis in Details ihrer angemessenen Rahmung ausführte. Bis heute hat das Interesse an dieser eigenwilligen Friedrich-Apologese nicht nachgelassen, deren vielschichtige politische Botschaft im Kontext zur reaktionären Regierungszeit König Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach wie vor kontrovers diskutiert wird. Dem Maler gelang es offenkundig nachhaltig, dem unwiderruflichen Ende der liberalen Reformperiode die Visualisierung einer Identifikationsfigur entgegenzusetzen, mit der er den nervus rerum des Geschichtsbildes der 1840er und 1850er Jahre empfindlich traf und nach der Reichsgründung zum Vorboden der nationalen Einheit wurde.³

»Das Flötenkonzert« gilt nach der »Bittschrift« von 1849⁴ und der »Tafelrunde« von 1849/50⁵ als das dritte Gemälde der Bildfolge. Nach seiner Fertigstellung im Jahr 1852, erst recht aber seit seiner Ausstellung zur Eröffnung der Berliner Nationalgalerie im März 1876, wurde es geradezu zum Synonym für das vermeintlich aufgeklärte Musik- und Geistesleben am Hofe Friedrichs II. und gehört – erneut nach der spektakulären Menzel-Retrospektive der Jahre 1996-1997⁶ zu den am häufigsten reproduzierten Kunstwerken überhaupt [Abb. 1]. Schon der Ankauf des Gemäldes aus dem Besitz des Bankiers Magnus Herrmann durch den künstlerischen Direktor der Berliner Nationalgalerie, Max Jordan, der sich in den 1870er Jahren für die Überführung des Menzelschen Gesamtœuvres in Staatsbesitz einsetzte, wurde vor dem Ministerium mit dem Argument verteidigt, daß die Nationalgalerie als Ort der künstlerischen Selbstdarstellung »nicht mit Ehren eröffnet werden« könne »ohne dieses Bild.«⁷

Gerade diesem Gemälde, das selbst scharfen Kritikern als »genial« galt,⁸ war also eine außergewöhnliche Aufmerksamkeit gezollt worden. Das auch der exzeptionellen Kenntnis Menzels und seiner darüber stadtbekannt gewordenen kauzigen Identifikation mit dem Gegenstand wegen. Von dem Künstler, dessen persönliches Geschick sich mit dem »fritzischen« in besonderer Weise zu mischen begonnen hatte, schien man einen authentischen, in die Tiefe lotenden Einblick in die private Sphäre des Preußenkönigs zu erwarten, die Friedrich II. bekanntermaßen sorgfältig unter Verschuß hielt. Vermittelten die spärlichen zeitgenössischen Darstellungen oder anekdotischen Schilderungen, die zu Friedrichs Zeit mehr zufällig als gezielt an die Öffent-



1. Adolph Menzel, Das Flötenkonzert Friedrichs des Großen in Sanssouci (1850-52). Öl auf Leinwand, 142 × 205 cm. Berlin, Nationalgalerie (A I 206).

lichkeit gelangt waren, nur verschwommene Vorstellungen, so suchte Menzel diesem Manko eine Synthese aus Realismus und kritischem Geschichtsverständnis entgegenzusetzen. Nach der Fertigstellung des »Flötenkonzerts« beschäftigte sich denn auch die Kritik – etwa im *Deutschen Kunstblatt* – vor allem mit der entstandenen Vermischung der Genres. Dem Bild wurde bescheinigt, »durchaus von jedem sogenannten historischen Style fern gehalten« zu sein; es sei »mehr, sozusagen, der Reflex eines Historienbildes oder Keim zu einem solchen [...], weil man dem Ganzen [...] anmerkt, dass die Scene die augenblickliche und kurze Mussestunde eines Mannes schildert, welcher mehr versteht, als die Flöte zu blasen«. Menzel habe »den Vorgang in lebendigster und drastisch effektivster Wahrheit zur Darstellung gebracht« und sei »mit sich wie von selbst verstehender Treue« zu einem »gesunden Realismus« gelangt.⁹ Damit waren alle damals heftig diskutierten gattungskritischen Stichworte formuliert und wurde dem Menzelschen Realismus jene »höhere Idealität« bescheinigt, die durch die Kreuzung von Bildgattungen sogar eine neue Darstellungsperspektive versprach.¹⁰

Die Rezeption namentlich des »Flötenkonzertes« zeigt jedoch, daß es rasch zu einer liebgewonnenen Gewohnheit wurde, in dem Werk weniger diese doppelbödige Hintergründigkeit zu erkennen, als vielmehr den »gesunden Realismus«, der uns die Qualität einer schier unverzichtbar gewordenen Quelle suggeriert. Folgerichtig dient das Gemälde vorzugsweise als Illustration der Privatsphäre des Preußenkönigs, der nach seinem Einzug in das Schloß Sanssouci bei Potsdam im Jahr 1747 die knapp bemessene Zeit seines dortigen Residierens nutzte, um allabendlich seine »Herrn Kapellisten« zum »Abendconcerte« um sich zu versammeln.¹¹ Dem Klischee von diesem kunstsinnigen, wenn nicht gar geselligen Umgang Friedrichs kann offen-



2. Peter Haas, Friedrich der Große in den Stunden der Muße (um 1786). Radierung, 11,7 × 8 cm, Neudruck in: Friedrich Förster, *Leben und Thaten Friedrichs des Großen: Ein vaterländisches Geschichtsbuch*, Bd. 5, Abb. 2 (Meißen 1840).

kundig auch die Tatsache wenig anhaben, daß es anschauliche Schilderungen gibt, die uns eine andere Realität vorführen.¹² Zwar wachte der König als geübter Musiker über seinem Privileg, aktiv am fürstlich musikalischen Divertissement teilzunehmen, Gäste wurden indessen, wenn überhaupt, dann nur unter größten Restriktionen zugelassen. Der Ehrgeiz, mit dem gewöhnlich Fürsten und Fürstinnen ihren Anteil an schöngeistigen Fragen als Zeichen herrscherlicher Humanitas nach außen demonstrierten und von ihren Hofmalern festhalten ließen, fand bei Friedrich unter Ausschluss jeder Öffentlichkeit statt. Die einzige bekannt gewordene zeitgenössische bildliche Darstellung seiner exklusiven Musizierstunden, eine ins Todesjahr des Königs 1786 datierte, in zwei leicht voneinander abweichenden Versionen veröffentlichte Radierung von Peter Haas, vermittelt uns einen desillusionierend nüchternen Eindruck vom Hergang der Konzerte [Abb. 2].¹³ Ein weiteres authentisches Bildzeugnis ist die Vignette des dem König nahestehenden Kupferstechers Georg Friedrich Schmidt, die Johann Joachim Quantz 1752 an den Schluss seines dem König gewidmeten Traktats: *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* stellte [Abb. 3].¹⁴ Unter dem programmatisch die Absicht des Lehrwerkes zusammenfassenden Spruchband: »Executio anima compositionis« (Die Ausführung ist die Seele der Komposition), gibt der Stich eine bewegt rokokoeske Musizierszene mit vier um ein Cembalo gruppierten Streichern wieder, die einen Sänger und einen Traversflötisten begleiten. Mit dem angedeuteten Raum könnte das lichte Konzertzimmer von Schloß Sanssouci gemeint sein. Daß sich Quantz als Flötist verewigen ließ, auf dessen zweiklappige Flöte im Schmuckrahmen ausdrücklich verwiesen ist, liegt nahe. In dem Sänger ist möglicherweise der Kastrat Giovanni Coli zu sehen, der zur täglichen Kammermusik gehörte. Der Umstand, daß diese Vignette in späteren Drucklegungen des Werkes nüchternen Randleisten wich, legt die Vermutung



3. Georg Friedrich Schmidt, "Executio anima compositionis". Kupfer. Johann Joachim Quantz: Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen (Berlin 1752), Schlussvignette.

einer exklusiven Illustration für die Erstauflage nahe. Schmidt war 1744 in königlichen Dienst getreten und wurde 1750 mit der Illustration des Erstdruckes seines *Cœuvres du philosophie de Saussonci* betraut, dürfte mithin zu den wenigen gehört haben, die die Gewohnheiten des Königs aus persönlichem Umgang kannten.¹⁵

Ebenfalls zu den Zeugnissen der nächsten Umgebung Friedrichs II. gehört das 1739 nach dem Entwurf seiner Lieblingsschwester, der Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, angefertigte Gemälde auf der Platte eines »kleinen Tischchens«, das als Gruß für den Rheinsberger »Musiksaal« gedacht war. Es ist in Anspielung auf Wilhelmines Begleitbrief als »Baireuther Parnaß« in die Literatur eingegangen und hält die Musikerin Wilhelmine am Cembalo im Kreis ihrer Hofkapelle und einiger Bediensteten in der damals üblichen Aufstellung fest [Abb. 4].¹⁶ Geleuchtet wird in eine Musiziersituation im prunkvollen Musikzimmer des Markgräfinnenflügels im Alten Schloß Eremitage. Die livrierte Kapelle besteht aus einer neben dem Flötisten Friedrich Christian Döbbert (?) stehenden Sängerin, fünf hinter dem Cembalo postierten Streichern und einer mit drei Fagotten, Violoncello und Violone außergewöhnlich stark besetzten Bassgruppe. Diese von Wilhelmine als »arme«, weil »sehr lückenhaft gewordene« Kapelle bezeichnete Besetzung, zu der am linken Bildrand noch zwei zuhörende Herren, rechts drei Damen und ein Kammerdiener gehören, öffnet sich dem Beschauer in einem Halbkreis und dokumentiert unprätentiös die damals übliche Musizieranordnung.¹⁷

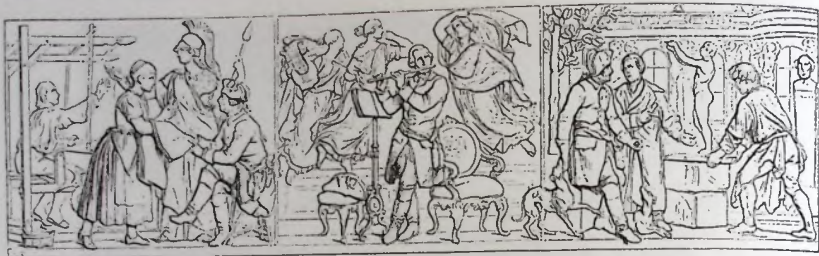
An diesem Gemälde wird besonders evident, in welchen gravierenden Details sich Menzel im »Flötenkonzert« zu einer abweichenden Disposition entschlossen hat. Da der Vergleich mit zeitgenössischen Konzertszenarien wie dieser und ein Blick auf seine zahlreichen musikbezogenen Arbeiten deutlich macht, auf welch außergewöhnliche Weise Menzel mit einem vertrauten Topos umgegangen ist, sei im Folgenden der Versuch unternommen, die Vielschichtigkeit seiner Schilderung freizulegen.¹⁸



4. »Baireuther Parnaß«, Anonymes Gemälde auf einer Tischplatte (Bayreuth 1739). Berlin, ehem. Hohenzollernmuseum Schloß Monbijou (verschollen).

I

Als Menzel 1839 mit den Vorbereitungen zur Illustration der »Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen« begann, für deren im Jubiläumsjahr 1840 bis 1842 in zwanzig Lieferungen herausgegebene erste Auflage es galt, etwa 398 Holzstiche anzufertigen, konnte er sich nur auf unbedeutende Ansätze zu einer friderizianischen Ikonographie berufen. Wie bereits angedeutet, beschränkten sich die Insbildsetzungen des Königs zumeist auf Wiedergaben von Friedrich – Anekdoten, die für Almanache oder Geschichtsbücher in der Nachfolge Daniel Chodowieckis entstanden waren.¹⁹ Differenzierte Detailschilderungen, patriotische Historiendarstellungen oder posthume Verherrlichungen Friedrichs des Großen hatte man sich – von Ausnahmen abgesehen – aus vielerlei Gründen bis in die Jahre um die Jahrhundertwende, versagt. Man schien sich auf eine lapidare Nüchternheit der Kolportage in erster Linie der militärischen Leistungen und Niederlagen des »Alten Fritz« eingestellt zu haben, die man eines Monarchen für angemessen hielt um den sich rasch die Legende gebildet hatte, der »erste Diener seines Staates« zu sein. Diese nüchterne Bilanz konnte 1799 weder durch wiederholte Aufrufe Friedrich Wilhelms III. an die Berliner Künstlerschaft korrigiert werden, sich patriotischen Themen zuzuwenden, noch durch die unter Friedrich Wilhelm IV. im Jahre 1835 aufgegriffene Diskussion um ein Reiterstandbild, das an repräsentativer Stelle vor dem Opernhaus, Unter den Linden, plaziert werden sollte. Wenn der Auftrag auch an Christian Daniel Rauch ging, so löste die Gestaltung des Denkmals jedoch grundsätzliche Debatten aus. Unter Hinzuziehung von Menzel als Gutachter wurde schließlich einem Entwurf zugestimmt, der Friedrich als einen unangefochten, auf die Armee gegründeten Monarchen verherrlicht. Um diesem Ziel zu genügen, war Rauch genötigt, sein Sockelprogramm mehrfach zu ändern. Im zur Ausführung gelangten Konzept erschienen schließlich die »Künste« und »Wissenschaften« in einem Relieffeld auf der Nordseite. Die Gestalt des flötespielenden Königs, auf die im Konzept nicht verzichtet werden konnte, geriet zu einem überhöhenden Sinnbild, denn in der Denkschrift zur Enthüllung am 31. Mai 1851 wird sie mit den



5. Christian Daniel Rausch, Denkmal Friedrichs des Großen, Reliefausschnitt der Nordseite des Piedestals (1851): »Der König, einsam die Flöte spielend«. Reproduziert nach, *Denkmal König Friedrichs des großen Entrollt am 31. Mai 1851* (Berlin 1851), 10.

Worten interpretiert: »Das zweite [Bild] zeigt den König, einsam die Flöte spielend, die Musen schweben herbei, ihren Liebling im heiteren Spiele kräftigend und zu Gedanken hoher Thaten anregend« [Abb. 5]. Wenn man sich auch entschloß, Kapellmeister Carl Heinrich Graun zu verewigen, der zusammen mit Carl Wilhelm Ramler, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Immanuel Kant und Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, dem Akademiepräsidenten Pierre de Maupertuis, Johann Winckelmann und Hofmaler Antoine Pesne eine Gruppe bildet, über der »der Genius des Friedens und der Landeswohlfaht (Felicitas publica) vom Siege hereingeführt« schwebt, so fällt doch auf, daß im Bildprogramm weder weitere dem König nahestehende Musiker einen Platz fanden, noch der wichtigste philosophische Partner des Königs, der Aufklärer Voltaire.²⁰

Kam es hier also zu einer protokollgetreuen, ideologisch überformten Auslese, so suchte Menzel mit seiner Visualisierung der Persönlichkeit Friedrichs II. andere Akzentuierungen. Dabei sah er sich vor der auf dem Gebiet der Hofdokumentation ungewöhnlichen Situation einer einseitigen Bildüberlieferung oder flugblattartigen Kupferstichen, die vornehmlich der Propaganda gedient hatten. Die nach dem Regierungsantritt 1740 in Umlauf gelangten Königsbildnisse etwa, die noch lange zu Zwecken der Gunstbeweise oder als Auszeichnungen benutzt wurden, waren Repliken des letzten, vor 1740 entstandenen ad vivum – Porträts. Vom König war bekannt, daß er nach der Thronbesteigung mit der sonst üblichen Konvention bei Hofe gebrochen hatte, durch die Verbreitung von Bildern gezielt für die Repräsentation der Hofhaltung nach Außen zu sorgen. Die »Bootspartie des Kronprinzen«, ein Gemälde des von Antoine Pesne in der Malerei unterwiesenen Baumeisters Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, das mit Friedrich im Zentrum, der seine Flöte in Händen hält, und dem Blick auf die Schloßanlage Rheinsberg, die ausgelassene Hofgesellschaft während einer Boots- partie auf dem See wiedergibt, gehört zu den wenigen wenn auch idealisch geschönten privaten Dokumenten der unbeschwerten Kronprinzenzeit.²¹ Weder umgab er sich in seinen Schlössern mit Huldigungen, wie sie die Gemäher seines Vaters bestimmt hatten, noch ließ er, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, Porträts der ihn umgebenden Persönlichkeiten, schon gar nicht seines Environs oder privaten Lebens anfertigen. Er selbst gewährte nur noch einmal, 1763, dem hannoverschen Hofmaler Johann Georg Ziesenis, Sitzungen für eine Bildnisstudie, die wohl für seine Schwester Philippine Charlotte von Braunschweig bestimmt war.²²

Franz Kugler wußte freilich um diese Ausgangslage und hatte seinem Verleger Johann Jakob Weber 1839 nicht ohne Grund den jungen Menzel als Illustrator seiner Biographie empfohlen. In ihm sah er alle nötigen Voraussetzungen für die anstehenden, mühevollen Recherchen: »Reichtum der Phantasie, [...] Sicherheit in allen Elementen künstlerischer Darstellung«, vor allem aber »gründliche wissenschaftlich (namentlich histo- rische) Bildung, eine belebende poetische Kraft, wie alles dies vereinigt, nur sehr selten gefunden werden dürfte.«²³ Und in der Tat stürzte sich Menzel mit großem Ehrgeiz in die Materie, um, wie er mehrfach betonte, seiner Arbeit »größtmögliche Authenticität zu geben«. Schließlich rechtfertigte er den Aufwand, den er bei der Detailermittlung trieb, mit der wiederholt an den ungeduldigen Verleger gerichteten Versicherung: »Es will alles gehörig studirt und gearbeitet sein!«²⁴



6. Adolph Menzel, Abendmusik im Concertzimmer des Königlichen Schlosses zu Potsdam. Holzstich (1839f). Illustration zu Franz Kugler, *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (Berlin 1856), 227.

»Studirt«, das bedeutete für ihn auch und vor allem die Gewinnung eines eigenen Standpunktes, um zu Zeiten eines verschwommenen Friedrichsbildes seinen Sujets aus der Sicht eines liberal bürgerlichen Malers und unter Verzicht auf die vordem üblichen Künstlichkeiten des Arrangements, die Kraft des reflektierten Eingedenkens zu verleihen. Er wolle, wie er an den Verleger schrieb »den Fürsten darstellen, den die Fürsten haßten, und die Völker verehrten«. Dies sei das »Ergebnis dessen, was Er war, mit einem Wort: den alten Fritz, der im Volke lebt. Dies schien mir die für ein Volksbuch passendste Auffassung.«²⁵ Friedrichs ausgeprägte geistige wie musikalische Interessen hatten in seinem Illustrationskonzept mithin einen hohen Stellenwert und wurden gewiß nicht absichtslos zu gezielt positionierten Gegenwelten, zu denen die Kriegsillustrationen in einen um so drastischeren Kontrast gerieten.

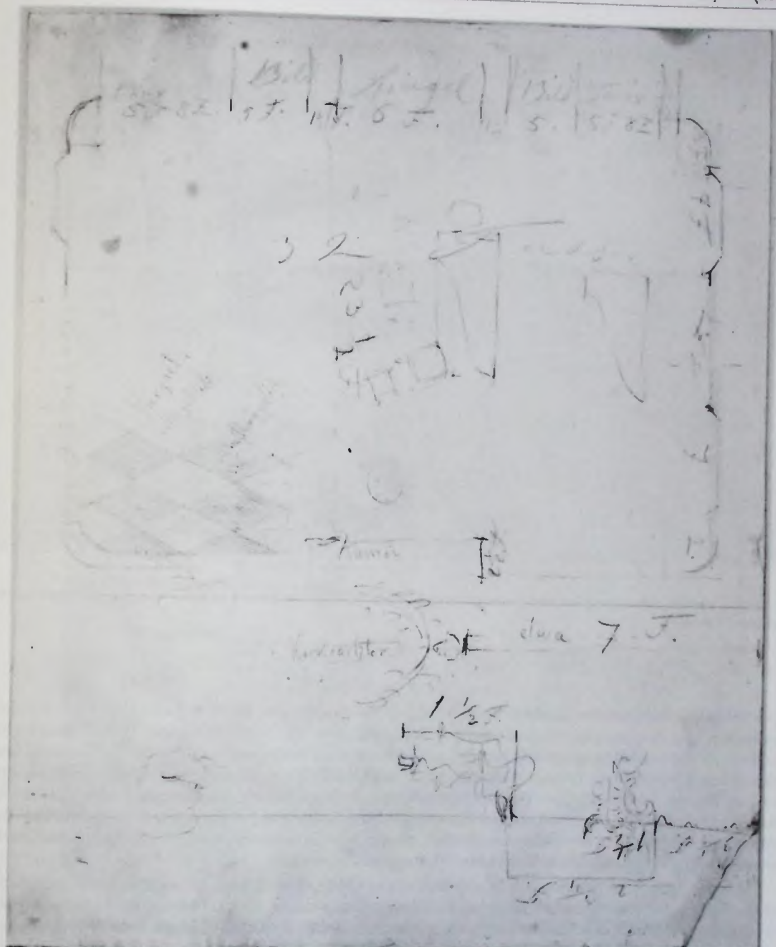
In seinen beiden Konzertdarstellungen gelingt es Menzel, den Beginn und das nahende Ende der Regierungszeit des Königs einzufangen [Abb. 6 & 7]. Sie wirken als psychologische Brennpunkte um so eindrücklicher, je genauer man sie im Kontext zum gesamten Illustrationskonzept betrachtet. Zwischen den Darstellungen liegen die immer düsterer werdenden Schlachtschilderungen und drohenden Trommlervignetten. Friedrichs Griff zu seiner »Principessa«, wie er die Flöte nannte, wandelt sich darüber augenfällig von der geselligen Unterhaltung als einer adeligen Tugend, der er sich im Kreise angeregt plaudernder Gäste hingab, zu einer festgeschriebenen, von Isolation und immer gleicher Routine begleiteten Übung. Mit der heiteren Gelassenheit, wie sie Baron Jacob Friedrich de Bielfeld in seinen »Vertraulichen Briefen« vor allem aus



7. Adolph Menzel, Musikzimmer im Potsdamer Schlosse, in welchem jener Flügel und Notenpulte noch befindlich. Holzstich (1839 f.). Illustration zu Franz Kugler, *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (Berlin 1856), 489.

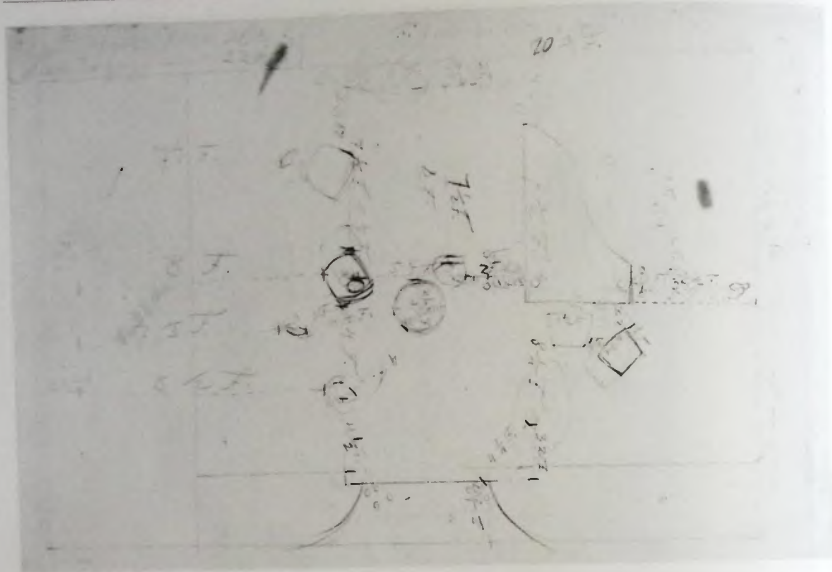
Rheinsberg schildert, hatte die zweite Konzertdarstellung, die von dem alt und krank gewordenen Konzertmeister Franz Benda im Vordergrund dominiert wird, nichts mehr zu tun.²⁶ Menzel gruppiert das Geschehen auf dem ersten Bild, das mit der »Tafelrunde« das 22. Kapitel: »Der Philosoph von Sanssouci« illustriert, um den König als Mittelpunkt und gibt ihm auf dem zweiten, das in das 43. Kapitel: »Friedrich's häusliches Leben im Alter« gestellt ist, fast die Rolle einer Nebenfigur. Die Personenkonstellation spielt auf ein Ereignis im September des Jahres 1770 im Potsdamer Stadtschloß an und zeigt neben Franz Benda den ebenfalls violinspielenden Erbprinzen von Braunschweig, den nur schwer erkennbaren Prinzen von Preußen als Violoncellisten sowie die am Cembalo sitzende komponierende Kurfürstin Maria Antonia von Sachsen. Menzel drängt die Szene in den unteren Teil des Bildes, so dass durch den hohen leeren Raum eine müde Verlassenheit spürbar wird, die auch die Grundstimmung der sich daran anschließenden Illustrationen bleibt, etwa die entfremdete Begegnung Friedrichs mit seiner Gemahlin oder des Königs einsamer Gang durch seine Gemäldegalerie.

Das entsprach durchaus der Realität der 1760er und 1770er Jahre in der Garnisonsstadt Potsdam, deren »tote Ungeselligkeit« nicht nur dem gerade zum Hofkapellmeister berufenen jungen Johann Friedrich Reichardt auffiel.²⁷ Das Ambiente in der unmittelbaren Nähe des Königs wird auch von Charles Burney, ebenfalls einem der wenigen persönlichen Zeugen, im 3. Band seines »Tagebuches« mit folgenden Worten geschildert: »Ich ward nach einem innern Zimmer des Pallastes geführt, worin die Herrn von des Königs Kapelle auf seinen Befehl warteten. Dieses Zimmer war dicht an dem Concertgemache, in welchem ich Se. Majestät ganz deutlich *Solfeggi* spielen und sich so lange mit schweren Passagen üben hören konnte, bis Sie die Musik



8. Adolph Menzel, Lageplan zum Flötenkonzert mit Parkettskizzen. Bleistift, 13,8 × 8,1 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Kat. 1631.

hereinzutreten befohlen. Hier traf ich Herrn Benda an, der so gut war, mich mit Herrn Quantz bekannt zu machen [...]. Wir geriethen bald in ein musikalisches Gespräch; er sagte mir, sein königlicher Herr und Scholar



9. Adolph Menzel, Situationsplan zum Flötenkonzert. Bleistift, 26 x 39,8 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Kat. 665.

spielte keine andre Concerte, als die er ausdrücklich für ihn gesetzt hätte, deren Anzahl sich auf dreyhundert erstreckte, und diese spielte er nach der Reihe [...]. Herr Quantz hatte bey dem Concert heute Abend nichts zu thun, als bey dem Anfange eines jeden Satzes mit einer kleinen Bewegung der Hand den Tackt anzugeben, ausser daß er zuweilen am Ende der Solosätze und Cadenzen *B r a v o!* rief; welches ein Privilegium zu seyn scheint, dessen sich die übrigen Herrn Virtuosen von der Kapelle nicht zu erfreuen haben²⁸. Diese an Stereotypie grenzende »Regelmäßigkeit« des abendlichen Musizierens hatte zu diesem Zeitpunkt viele der früher in Friedrichs Diensten stehenden Musiker, etwa den »Accompagnisten« Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, vertrieben, die ihre Aufgaben in liberaleren Wirkungsstätten suchten.

Das durchaus gewagt sezierende Illustrationskonzept Menzels und die dafür von ihm entwickelte technische Realisation stießen freilich nicht nur auf Wohlwollen, sondern auch auf heftige Kritik. So holte etwa der damalige Direktor der Berliner Königlichen Akademie der Künste, Gottfried von Schadow, in den *Berlinischen Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* zu einer Philippika mit barschen Verurteilungen aus. Die ihm vorliegenden ersten Lieferungen des Werkes nannte er »Ausartungen, die man Griffonagen oder Kritzeleien nennen kann«. Sie würden eine »demüthigende Stimmung« erzeugen und seien ungeeignet, der neuen Generation ein »würdiges Denkmal« zu sein.²⁹

Von diesem Urteil abgesehen, müssen Autor wie Verleger vom künstlerischen Gesamtergebnis jedoch so sehr beeindruckt gewesen sein, dass man sich entschloß, dem Vorschlag Menzels nachzukommen, der angeregt hatte, »im Interesse des großen Publikums selbst einen Nachweis in kurzen Notizen über manch Einzelheiten, Porträtfiguren u.s.w., die in den verschiedenen Darstellungen enthalten sind, und wovon doch im Text wegen Enge des Raumes nicht die Rede ist, aufzusetzen, den Sie alsdann wohl die Güte hätten, ge-



10. Adolph Menzel, Cembalostudien. Bleistift, 35 × 25,7 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Kat. 688.

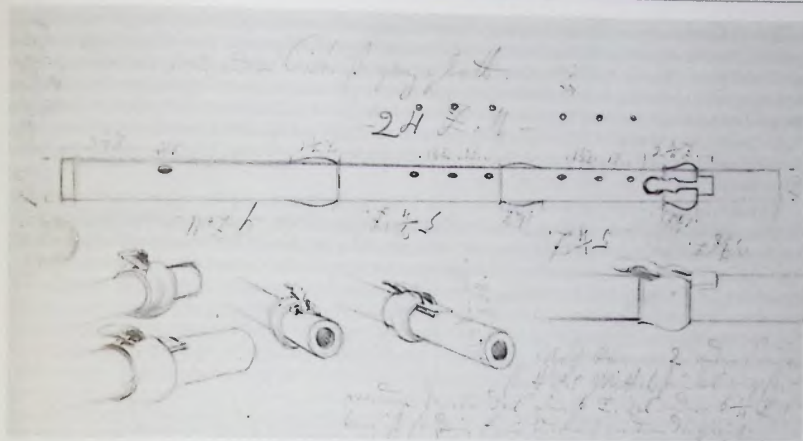
druckt zur Hälfte der 10ten Lieferung oder ganz dem vollständigen Werke einzulegen.»³⁰ Unter dem Titel *Historischer Nachweis zur Verständigung einiger Illustrationen* finden sich auch die Erläuterungen zu den beiden Konzertszenen. Sie müssen ihm so essentiell gewesen sein, daß er sie deutlich ins Blickfeld gerückt wissen wollte. Zum ersten der Bilder heißt es: »Abendmusik im Concertzimmer des Königlichen Schlosses zu Pots-



11. Adolph Menzel, Flötenkonzert (1848). Skizze, Öl über Federzeichnung, 31,5 × 43,8 cm. Berlin, Nationalgalerie (A III 504).

dam. Dasselbe nach der Natur gezeichnet. In der Mitte Friedrich; das Costum anlangend, ist zu bemerken, daß Friedrich noch während dieser ersten Hälfte seiner Regierungszeit bei öfteren Gelegenheiten in eleganten Modekleidern von den heitersten Farben erschien. Im Hintergrunde lehnt Quantz, Friedrich's alter Flötenlehrer, am Pfeiler; neben ihm steht Kapellmeister Graun, der Componist des bekannten Oratoriums »der Tod Jesu«.³¹ Verhaltener heißt es im Kommentar zum zweiten Stich: »Das Local ist das Musikzimmer im Potsdamer Schlosse, in welchem jener Flügel und Notenpulte noch befindlich. Der vorderste Violinspieler ist Friedrich's Concertmeister Franz Benda, neben ihm der Erbprinz von Braunschweig, hinter diesem der Prinz von Preußen. Beide erstere gleichfalls nach alten Porträts.«³²

In dieser durch Menzel wesentlich mitgeformten Phase der Aufbereitung einer Friedrichikonographie, war es ihm also offenkundig ein Anliegen, dem Leser mit der Beteuerung, »nach der Natur gezeichnet« zu haben, zu suggerieren, in der Auswahl der Szenen lebensnahe Abbildlichkeiten vorliegen zu haben. Sie zielten auf den bürgerlich liberalen Leser, der lange Zeit an der Vorstellung festhielt, in der Person Friedrich Wilhelms IV., der den preußischen Thron im Jahre 1840, genau 100 Jahre nach Friedrich dem Großen, bestieg, eine geistige Nähe zu seinem Vorfahren zu erkennen. Der Zeitpunkt des Erscheinens der Kuglerschen Friedrich-Biographie in diesem Jahr war mithin sorgfältig gewählt. Daß die Präsenz des flötespielenden Philosophen von Sanssouci zu einem so populären wie willkommenen Detail wurde, das sich schnell in die allgemeine Vorstellung grub, zeigen die zahlreichen Adaptionen dieses Motivs, etwa die anonyme Radierung in der *Baderschen Bilderbibliothek der neueren deutschen Geschichte* von 1846 oder Leon Luis Chapon's: »Frédéric, Il musicien« von 1865.³³



12. Adolph Menzel, Traversflöten details mit Maß- und Texturangaben. Bleistift, 14,1 x 28,3 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Kat. 689.

II

Als Menzel elf Jahre nach der Herausgabe des Kugler und wenige Monate nach der Enthüllung des Rauch'schen Reiterstandbildes mit dessen so eindeutiger Botschaft seinen Freund Carl Heinrich Arnold in einem Brief vom 26. Dezember 1851 wissen läßt, daß er endlich an einem »früher angefangenen Bild« mit dem Gegenstand »ein Abendkonzert Friedrichs des Großen auf Sanssouci [...] vor einer ausgewählten Zuhörerschaft unter Begleitung seiner musikalischen Notabilitäten die Flöte handhabend« weiterarbeite, war das Interesse, einem ihm mittlerweile lieb gewordenen Blickwinkel auf den König noch mehr Glanz zu verleihen, gewiß nur eine der ihn bewegenden Absichten.³⁴ Angesichts der zurückliegenden enttäuschenden politischen Ereignisse, die in der Märzrevolution des Jahres 1848 ihren Höhepunkt erreichten, und seit 1846 beschäftigt mit der Illustration der akademischen Neuausgabe des *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, scheint er in der Konzeption seines Friedrichszyklus geradezu demonstrativ Zuflucht gesucht zu haben. Seinem Freund Ottmar Beta soll er bekannt haben, es sei ihm um ein gleichfalls subtil wie janusköpfiges Gegenbild »von zwingender Gewalt«, gegangen.³⁵ Gewohnt lapidar deutet er ihm an: »ich darf wohl sagen, ich habe mir meinen Stoff nie leicht gemacht, aber eine solche Aufgabe habe ich mir noch nie gestellt, und zwar (abgesehen von Allem andern) durch die geforderte Beleuchtung: Kerzenlicht von allen Seiten und von oben. Bis Ende Oktober habe ich mit Ausnahme eines 8tägigen Ausflugs nach Rügen im August fast jeden Abend bis Mitternacht Modell exerziert.«

Hinter diesen für den Menzelschen Briefstil typischen, lediglich die Bildsdisposition und seinen eigenen, bis an den Rand der Erschöpfung gehenden akribischen Einsatz betreffenden Zeilen, verbarg sich, daß es ihm mit dem »Flötenkonzert«, um ein Sujet gegangen sein mußte, dessen »zwingende Gewalt« in der Mehrschichtigkeit lag. Im Aktionsbild einer Konzertsituation mit der Möglichkeit, den Solisten buchstäblich zu einem die Szene beherrschenden Mittelpunkt zu exponieren, boten sich ihm besonders schillernde Erzählebenen. Wie sehr personenreiche musikalische Gesellschaftsszenen in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts zu Dokumenten

werden konnten, in denen sich die opulenten Unterhaltungsinteressen des gehobenen Bürgertums wieder spiegeln, hatte etwa im Jahr 1850 nicht ohne Zeitkritik der Düsseldorfer Johann Peter Hasenclever in seiner großformatigen »Teestunde«³⁶ vorgeführt, eine Komposition, die durch die im Mittelpunkt stehende Darbietung einer Sängerin ebenso an Menzels Bildanlage erinnert, wie die in Kerzenlicht getauchte »Musikalische Abendunterhaltung« von Karl Friedrich Moritz Müller oder die »Musikalische Soirée in einem dänischen Bürgerhaus« von Wilhelm Marstrand.³⁷ Menzel entschied sich also mit Bedacht für ein Konzertszenario, das vielschichtig behandelbar war, und zu dem er als enthusiastischer Musikhörer überdies einen besonderen Bezug hatte.

Musik war ihm »wenn nicht vielleicht die erste Kunst, so doch unstreitig die am unmittelbarsten aufs Herz wirkende«.³⁸ Zeit seines Lebens nahm er lebhaft am Berliner Opern- und Konzertleben Anteil, pflegte den freundschaftlichen Umgang mit Musikern und war daher mit Fragen der Musikausübung vertraut. Regelmäßige Besuche der Symphoniesoiréen der königlichen Kapelle, der Quartettabende des ihm später befreundeten Joseph Joachim und seines Quartettes in der Singakademie oder der Hausmusiken seiner Künstlerkollegen gehörten, abgesehen von den musikalischen Aktivitäten in seinen eigenen Wohnungen, zu den Vergnügen, die eine große Faszination auf ihn ausübten. Sie inspirierten ihn zu zahllosen ad hoc angefertigten Skizzen und größeren zeichnerischen oder malerischen Arbeiten. Dabei fesselte ihn, entgegen der Mehrzahl der damaligen Konzertdarstellungen, die Atmosphäre des Raumes und die individualisierte Charakterisierung der Zuhörer oder Akteure als Spiegel des Geschehens oft mehr als die Darbietung selbst. So entstand parallel zur Arbeit am »Flötenkonzert« das in gedeckter Brauntöne getauchte Bild »Salonkonzert«, das im »Deutschen Kunstblatt« 1851 mit den bezeichnenden Sätzen gewürdigt wurde: »[...] Wir sehen darin ein Stück Gesellschaft im Concertsaal vor dem Beginn der Musik. Das Bild ist von den Lustspielen des Genres das feine Conversationsstück. Ganz absichtslos scheint es der Betrachtung nur die lebendig aufgefaßten Gruppen vorzuführen, denen wir immer zu begegnen pflegen, wo sich unter der Sonne des Kronleuchters die schöne Welt zum heiteren Genuß versammelt, um zu hören, zu sehen - und gesehen zu werden. [...] Den Kunstfreund ergötzt die feine Beobachtungsgabe, der er auch in einem gelegentlichen Unterhaltungsstück desjenigen Künstlers gern begegnet, von dem er gewohnt ist, sie in den ernsteren Werken oft in so frappierender Weise zu Tage gelegt zu finden.«³⁹

Ein »Stück Gesellschaft« festzuhalten, mit diesen Worten war treffend charakterisiert, was Menzel bei seinen Situationsmalereien bis hin zur späteren ungeschönten Abschilderung des gedrängten, geselligen Mit-einanders in seinen drei Ballgemälden »Die Ballpause« (1871), »Das Ballsouper« (1878) und »Hofball im Weißen Saal des Berliner Schlosses« (1888) vor allem bewegte.⁴⁰

In diesen Arbeiten wird deutlich, daß seine Liebe zur Episodenschilderung bis zur gänzlichen Ausblendung des Anlasses aus dem Bildgeschehen gehen konnte. Weder sind im »Salonkonzert« Instrumente oder Ausführende sichtbar, noch wird uns in den drei Ballszenen ein Blick auf die Tanzfläche gewährt. Thematisiert wird im ersten vielmehr die erwartungsvolle Stimmung einer vornehm und selbstbewußt agierenden Gruppe Geladener vor dem Beginn eines Konzertes; ins Halbdunkel eines Kronleuchters getauchte, festlich gekleidete Menschen, die damit beschäftigt sind, sich in lockeren Gruppen zusammenzufinden, um an einem privaten Konzert teilzuhaben. Der Vergleich mit diesen Werken macht deutlich, daß es in seinem »ernsteren Werk«, dem »Flötenkonzert«, um die Verschränkung zweier Ebenen gegangen sein muß.

Abweichend von allen vorausgegangenen und nachfolgenden musikbezogenen Aktionsbildern,⁴¹ abweichend aber auch von seinen beiden, bereits beschriebenen Illustrationen von 1840, auf denen der Einzelne aktiv integrierter Teil eines Gesamten blieb und Menzel sogar à la Watteau auf die »eleganten Modekleider« Friedrichs, mit denen er sich zu zeigen pflegte und damit auf die an Frankreich orientierte Hofhaltung anspielte, entschied sich Menzel im »Flötenkonzert« von 1852 nicht für die Abbildung eines »sorgenfreien« Mit-einanders einer höfischen Gesellschaft, die sich der Konversation und dem Musizieren als der Verbindung von prodesse und delectare fernab der Staatsgeschäfte zur reinen Vergnügung hingab. Angesichts der bereits vielfach von ihm bewiesenen Virtuosität im Umgang mit historischen Tatsachen, suchte Menzel im Gegenteil das Sujet durch subtile perspektivische Veränderungen fast unmerklich zu verfremden. Durch die Verflechtung der Motive, die zum traditionellen Conversationsstück gehörten, mit denen eines Herrscherporträts machte er die Beziehungen um so sichtbarer, in denen sich alle Dargestellten, die Zuhörenden wie die Hofkapellisten, zum flötespielenden König befanden.

Über der Szene liegt feierlicher Ernst. Das vom König mit großem Aufwand ausgestattete heitere Konzertzimmer, mit zartgrün-goldenen Wandvertäfelungen, hohen Spiegeln und Stukkaturen, die jede Schwere des Raumes aufheben sollten, wird nahezu ausgeblendet. Die Ölbilder zur Thematik der Ovidischen Metamorphosen von seinen Hofmalern Antoine Pesne und Johann Michael Hoppenhaupt, treten im Kerzenschein schemenhaft in den Hintergrund. Die im Stil Antoine Watteaus gemalten »fêtes galantes« Nicolas Lancret oder Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Paters Darstellungen des unbeschwertten höfischen Lebens in natürlicher Umgebung verschwimmen und lassen ahnen, daß der König in diesem Refugium nach 1760 zunehmend vereinsamte.⁴²

Die von Menzel angelegten Lagepläne, Skizzen und Bleistiftstudien verraten nicht nur die selbstverständliche Kenntnis all dieser Details, sie zeigen vor allem, daß der endgültigen Bildversion Überlegungen vorausgegangen sind, die in eine andere Richtung als die endgültig durchgeführte weisen.⁴³

Zwei von ihm maßstabgetreu, als Draufsicht angefertigte Raumphläne mit Materialangaben sind in diesem Zusammenhang von besonderer Bedeutung. Menzel vergegenwärtigt sich darin das Verhältnis der darzustellenden Personen und ihrer proportionalen Stellung zueinander [Abb. 8 & 9]⁴⁴. Auf beiden Zeichnungen entwarf er Anordnungsvarianten der Personengruppen, deren Stellung er durch Fußmarkierungen festlegte. Hatte er auf der ersten die Aufstellung des »Silbermannischen Claviers« im Raum skizziert, wie er sie wohl bei einer Begehung vor Ort vorfand, nach der der Spieler den Bildbetrachter, der zweiten Kuglerschen Konzertdarstellung vergleichbar, angeschaut hätte, so nahm er auf der zweiten Lageskizze eine Drehung des Instruments um 180° vor. Sie führte notwendig dazu, daß der Accompanist (Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach) und der Continuoellist in der Rückenansicht wiedergegeben wurden. Diese insgesamt unrealistische Aufstellung, in der der Gambist nach rechts verlagert wurde und dadurch notwendig die Streicher mit Franz Benda als Violinisten in eine falsche Anordnung gebracht wurden, bot dem Maler die Möglichkeit, die rechte von der linken Bildhälfte entschiedener zu trennen, als er ursprünglich geplant hatte. Da auch die vor Ort entstandenen »Cembalo Studien« noch von einer anderen Perspektive ausgingen [Abb. 10], muß sich Menzel bewußt gewesen sein, daß mit der Drehung des Tasteninstrumentes ein zusätzlicher Realitätsverlust für die Gesamtkonzeption des Bildes verbunden war, den es durch die Personenkonstellation ohnehin gab.

Daß Menzel trotz der seitverkehrten Blickrichtung der Musiker wie des Solisten, ursprünglich mit einer bewegteren geselligen Situation experimentierte, wird in der 17 statt der endgültigen, 16 Personen abbildenden, Ölskizze deutlich [Abb. 11]. Die Szene schien sich andeutungsweise sogar an die Grundstimmung seines ersten Konzertblattes für Kugler anlehnen zu wollen. Um Lebhaftigkeit zu erreichen und den König in beide Personengruppen einzubinden, hatte er nicht nur eine Hofdame stehend so ins Bild gesetzt, daß zwischen den Zuhörenden und den Musikern eine optische Brücke entstand, sondern auch den Hofkapellmeister Carl Heinrich Graun dem rechts an der Wand lehrenden Quantz zugesellt. Was den Maler dazu bewog, die Hofdame zu eliminieren, ist nicht bekannt. Die Wirkung der Umgruppierung ist jedoch frappant: der König wird zum beherrschenden Bildmittelpunkt, der der erlauchten Zuhörerschaft den Rücken zuwendet und vor dem prunkvollen »Pult von Schildpatte«⁴⁵ auf die Baßseite des überdies geschlossenen Tasteninstrumentes steht, an jener Seite, an der gewöhnlich die Tuttiipulte der Ripienisten ihren Platz hatten. Bei aufmerksamer Betrachtung wird mit dieser Konstellation eine eigenwillige Isolation des Solisten erzeugt. Menzel machte den Bildtopos von im Kreise ihrer Musiker musizierenden Herrscherpersönlichkeiten als Zeichen ihrer am Musischen geschulten herrscherlichen Tugend fast zu einem »Als ob« und nutzte sie schließlich, um unter Einbeziehung des Betrachters eine um so zwingendere zentrierte Aufmerksamkeit zu erzeugen. Im Schnittpunkt aller Betrachtenden steht der in sein Flötenspiel vertiefte König als allein Agierender, vom Licht des Kronleuchters und dessen Widerschein im rückwärtigen Spiegel überstrahlt. Zuhörer und Musiker sind auch durch den Schatten, in den sie getaucht werden, in spürbare Distanz zum König gerückt, der in einen einfachen Uniformrock mit roten Aufschlägen gekleidet ist, mit dem man die königliche Erscheinung spätestens seit der verheerenden Schlacht des Siebenjährigen Krieges am 12. August 1759 in Kunersdorf assoziierte.⁴⁶ Bar seiner Herrscherattribute steht er, die Untertanen vor und die ihm nahestehenden Mitglieder aus seines Hofstaates und seiner Familie hinter sich, ebenso widersprüchlich aus dem Kontext gelöst da, wie auf dem Sockelrelief Rauchs. Verweisen die rauchschönen Genien auf die Inspiratio und Fama, so scheint hinter Menzels Verzicht auf königliche Schärpe, Degen und Dreispitz die Einlösung seiner Absicht zu stehen, jenen

absolutistischen Monarchen ins Bild zu setzen, der auch ohne die Boten der Felicitas Publica auskam. Kompromissloser als auf den anderen Friedrich-Bildern, macht er jedoch auch die kühle Entfernung fühlbar, in promissioßer als auf den anderen Friedrich-Bildern, macht er jedoch auch die kühle Entfernung fühlbar, in promissioßer als auf den anderen Friedrich-Bildern, macht er jedoch auch die kühle Entfernung fühlbar, in

alle im Bild Versammelten gerückt sind. Dem Maler mochte sie durch die Lektüre der gesammelten Schriften des Königs, namentlich die darin enthaltenen »Épitres familières«, die er zur Zeit des Entstehens des Bildes zu illustrieren hatte, besonders plastisch vor Augen gestanden haben.⁴⁷ Aus den die engsten Verdes des Königs bedenkenden Episteln mochte Menzel die eigenwillige Personenkonstellation und die Charakterisierung ihrer jeweiligen Beziehung zum König bezogen haben. Damit gewinnt auch die Datierung des Szenariums in das denkwürdige Jahr 1750 an Gewicht, das einen Wendepunkt im Leben Friedrichs markiert. In die Mitte dieses Jahres fällt nicht nur die Ankunft Voltairs an seinem Hof, sondern auch der einzige Besuch, den ihm seine Lieblingsschwester, die Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth in Sanssouci abstattete. Der Hof sollte sich mit Festivitäten, Opern-, Schauspielaufführungen und Konzerten von der glänzendsten Seite zeigen, ein Glanz, der bekanntlich nicht lange währte. Hatte Menzel in der »Tafelrunde« den engeren Gesprächskreis mit dessen Mittelpunkt Voltaire festgehalten, so fiel die Wahl der Zuhörenden für das »Flötenkonzert« mit Baron Jakob Friedrich de Bielfeld, dem Operntendanten Graf Gustav Adolf von Götter und dem Akademiepräsidenten Pierre de Maupertuis, die sich um die beiden Schwestern Anna Amalie und Wilhelmine gruppieren, ungeachtet ihrer persönlichen Nahbeziehung zum König vergleichsweise offiziell und durchaus zufällig aus. Der Anordnung der ins Bild gesetzten Personen haftet sogar eine für Menzel untypische Tableauhaftigkeit, wenn nicht Leblosgigkeit an. Trotz der sorgsam inszenierten Beleuchtung, der großen Roben und der livrierten Hofmusiker vermeidet Menzel jede Anspielung auf höfisches Vergnügen: Johann Joachim Quantz ist im Halbdunkel in einsames Sinnieren versunken, der Cembalist verstummt, die Musiker warten auf ihren Einsatz und die auf der linken Bildhälfte der Realität fernem Zuhörer reagieren mit einer zwischen Interesse und Gleichgültigkeit changierenden Aufmerksamkeit ebenso ausschließlich auf den König, wie der Bildbetrachter.⁴⁸

Weder das Ideal einer kurzweiligen aristokratischen Musiziergesellschaft ist ins Bild gesetzt worden, die sich, den zahlreichen Schilderungen und bildlichen Darstellungen vergleichbarer Szenen des 18. Jahrhunderts zufolge nur dann vergnüge, wenn sie ausgelassene Konversation und Brettspiele mit musikalischen Genüssen verbunden wußte,⁴⁹ noch ein Solokonzert des Königs. Beides hätte der aktiven Anteilnahme aller im Bild Vereinigter nach Art der ersten Holzstichversion der Szene von 1840 bedurft, den von Friedrich mit aller Finesse für diese Zwecke zugerechneten heiteren Raum einbeziehen und sich dem Griff zu den Requisiten der Genremalerei enthalten müßten, mit deren Licht-Schatten-Ausleuchtung vor allem der Musikanschauung einer „res severa“ des 19. Jahrhunderts Rechnung getragen wurde. Diese Stimmungsdiachte aber war und ist es, die eine so einmütige Zustimmung erzeugt, daß weder die szenischen Ungereimtheiten, noch die intendierte Herrscherdarstellung als Problem, geschweige denn als subtile Kritik Menzels erkannt wurden. Das um so weniger, als beides mit den Mitteln einer geradezu wissenschaftlichen Dokumentation erreicht wurde, an deren Authentizität kein Zweifel zu bestehen schien.

Die Sicht auf das Bild ist nicht zuletzt durch den ersten kommentierten Ausstellungskatalog des Œuvres von Menzel, der nach dessen Tod im Jahr 1905 erschien, mit Respekt vor dem großen Schilderer preußischer Geschichte festgelegt worden. Unter der Nr. 8 heißt es dort: »In dem mit Pesneschen Panneaux geschmückten Konzertsaal spielt der König in kleinem Hoforkeel die Flöte. Am Klavier Philipp Emanuel Bach, rechts Franz Benda mit der Bratsche [sic], an der Wand Quanz, des Königs Lehrer.«⁵⁰

Nach diesen Vorgaben war es fast unmöglich, den ästhetischen Zugriff und die Akribie des Künstlers, die bis zu exakten Detailstudien an einer von ihm mit 24 Zoll Gesamtlänge angegebenen vierteiligen, einklappigen Traversflöte ging [Abb. 12], kritisch und kontextuell zu befragen und das Gemälde als eine ins Bild bürgerlichen Hintergrund im Blick, suchte er auf verblüffende Weise und gewiß mit Kalkül also nicht nur ein abendliches Konzert des Königs abzubilden. Vielmehr ließ er jenen Moment des Konzertes, etwa während einer Solokadenz, erstarren, in dem sich der Solist, um in jeder Hinsicht zu brillieren, des für seine Kunstsumme der Details gelang es dennoch, den Bildeindruck in einer Schweben zwischen Sinn- und Abbildlichkeit zu halten, vor allem aber den Schein der friderizianischen Schöngestigkeit zu wahren, von der sich Menzel immer wieder hatte blenden lassen. Erst die genaue Betrachtung zeigt also, daß es um das Porträt eines Herr-

schers geht, der sich die Abgebildeten längst zu Statisten gemacht hat, über die er aus seiner »stillen Einsamkeit« wie aus einem »Bollwerk«, einer »Wehr und Turm«, wie er in einer dem Marquis d'Argens 1747 gewidmeten Epistel über »Sanssouci« schreibt, uneingeschränkt verfügen konnte.⁵¹

Wie eingangs skizziert, wurde das »Flötenkonzert« vor allem ab den 1870er Jahren mit zahlreichen Nachstichen und Würdigungen populär, auch weil sich das Haus Hohenzollern nach der Proklamation König Wilhelm I. zum deutschen Kaiser eines gestärkten Selbstbewußtseins erfreute, das dringend der bildlichen Repräsentation und Befestigung seiner historischen Identität bedurfte, was man sich mit dem Ankauf des Menzelschen Gesamtöuvres für die neugegründete Berliner Nationalgalerie versprach. Der mit dem »Flötenkonzert« so einprägsame wie scheinbar harmlose Zugriff auf Friedrich den Großen, erzeugte also spontane Sympathie. Daß sich Menzel darüber der Gegenwart zugewandt hatte und seine Erhöhung zum nationalen Künstler par excellence auf seine Weise beantwortete, hat zu eigenwilligen schrulligen Episoden geführt. Paul Meyerheim etwa schildert in seinen Erinnerungen, daß Menzel wiederholt sein Bedauern darüber ausgedrückt habe, im Stadium seiner ausgedehnten »Flötenkonzert« Recherchen keine Erlaubnis erhalten zu haben, das Konzertzimmer bei Dunkelheit mit brennendem Kronleuchter zu studieren, um dessentwillen er das Bild eigentlich gemalt habe und fährt fort: »Der junge Kaiser nahm Notiz davon und lud den Künstler eines Abends nach Potsdam ein. Als er am Schloß abstieg und die Treppe hinaufgehen wollte, empfing ihn ein Offizier aus der friderizianischen Zeit. Menzel, der geistesgegenwärtig genug war, um zu sehen, daß dies der Kaiser selbst war, bemerkte, auf die Uniform deutend: 'Ich habe doch wohl die Ehre mit dem Hauptmann R. R. aus dem und dem Regiment.' Der Kaiser führte den Gast in den Musiksaal auf einen für ihn bestimmten Platz, und nun sah er mit staunenden Augen sein Flötenkonzert leibhaftig mit Beleuchtung in die Erscheinung treten. Meister Joachim saß am Violinpult und die Kaiserin im Zopfkostüm unter den Zuschauern.«⁵²

Diese Szene sollte sich während des glänzenden Staatsaktes anläßlich des 70. Geburtstags des Künstlers und einer eingerichteten Menzel-Stiftung der Berliner Akademie noch einmal wiederholen. Das Fest, das am 12. Dezember 1885 in den Räumen der Philharmonie stattfand, endete unter »rauschendem Beifall« mit lebenden Bildern, und die »Vossische Zeitung« wußte zu berichten, daß das »Flötenkonzert« mit dem König am Notenpult unter den Klängen eines »Andante« aus einer Sinfonie Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs der »Höhepunkt des Festes« gewesen sei.⁵³

Aus autorisierter Feder war ein neues, offenkundig hochwillkommenes, viele Generationen prägendes Klischeebild entstanden, das bemerkenswerterweise keine Nachahmer gefunden hat, abgesehen von der Tatsache, daß man sich keinen der zahlreichen musizierenden Potentaten des 17. oder 18. Jahrhunderts in einer auch nur annähernd vergleichbaren Form vergegenwärtigte.

Angesichts dieser Wirkung begab sich Menzel irritiert in Distanz. Sein Freund und Vertrauter, Axel Delmar, hält in seinen Erinnerungen eine Episode fest, die die Skepsis des Malers verdeutlicht. Bei der Betrachtung einer der Flötenkonzertreproduktionen habe Menzel mit ernstem Gesicht gemurmelt: »Da betrachten Sie sich mal den König! Hm - es ist mir auch nicht gelungen! Der König steht da wie ein Kommiß der sonntags Muttern was vorflöte! Da ist er doch noch jung und stolz! Der dicke Gotter gehört gar nicht ins Bild und die übrigen sehen auch so hineingefabelt aus, um das große Zimmer zu füllen. Überhaupt habe ich's bloß gemalt des Kronleuchters wegen. In der 'Tafelrunde' brennt er nicht - hier brennt er! - Manchmal reut's mich, daß ich's gemalt habe: enfin bestand die Hälfte meines Lebens aus Reue.«⁵⁴

ANMERKUNGEN

¹ Neufassung des Aufsatzes »Adolph Menzels Flötenkonzert in Sanssouci, Herrscherporträt, Gesellschaftsstück und/oder kritisches Aktionsbild«, *Musik befragt - Musik vermittelt: Peter Rummenhöller zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von Thomas Ott (Augsburg: Wißner, 1996), 359-379.

² Hans Wolff und Oskar Bie (Hrsg.), *Adolph Menzels Briefe* (Berlin: J. Bard, 1914), 49.

³ Vgl. die grundlegenden Studien von Ursula Ellwatt, *Menzels Friedrichsbilder (1849-1860): Untersuchung zu ihrer zeitgenössischen Rezeption* (Diss. Universität Tübingen, 1985) und Hubertus

Kohle, Adolph Menzels Friedrich-Bilder: Theorie und Praxis der Geschichtsmalerei im Berlin der 1850er Jahre (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001).

⁴ Öl auf Leinwand, Privatbesitz, Tschudi 60.

⁵ König Friedrich II. in Sanssouci (Die Tafelrunde), Öl auf Leinwand, ehemals Berlin, Nationalgalerie [verschollen], Tschudi 67.

⁶ Ausstellungskatalog Claude Keisch und Marie Ursula Riemann-Reyher, Adolph Menzel, 1815–1905: Das Labyrinth der Wirklichkeit, Alte Nationalgalerie und Kupferstichkabinett (Köln: Dumont, 1996).

⁷ Vgl. Max Jordan, »Menzel und die Nationalgalerie«, Exzellenz lassen bitten: Erinnerungen an Adolph Menzel, Reclam-Bibliothek 1435 (Leipzig: Reclam, 1992), 265. Das Flötenkonzert wurde 1875 für die außergewöhnlich hohe Anschaffungssumme von 95.000 Mark erworben. Dazu ausführlich in C. Keisch und M.U. Riemann-Reyher (Hrsg.), Adolph Menzel..., 539 f.

⁸ Zur Aufnahme des Bildes siehe C. Keisch und M.U. Riemann-Reyher (Hrsg.), Adolph Menzel..., 149. Menzels schärfster Kritiker Max Schasler hielt das Flötenkonzert für »das schönste und genialste Bild des Künstlers«.

⁹ Deutsches Kunstblatt 3 (1852), 338. Vgl. auch U. Ellwart, Menzels Friedrichsbilder, 37.

¹⁰ Vgl. dazu ausführlich Hubertus Kohle in seinem Kapitel »Theoretische Zusammenhänge, kunsthistorische Kontexte und Einflusslinien«, in seiner Studie Adolph Menzels Friedrich-Bilder. Münchener Universitätschriften des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte 1 (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), 123 ff.

¹¹ Die Rezeption des Bildes reicht bis in programmatische Kompositionen wie etwa das neobarocke Orchesterwerk »Die Flöte von Sanssouci«, op. 88, von Paul Graener. In den Verfälschungen der Biographie Friedrichs II. der 1930er Jahre wurde das Bild wie kaum ein anderes instrumentalisiert, unterstützt von der nationalsozialistischen Presse, etwa der *Reichszeitung der deutschen Erzieher*, in der im November 1936 ein hymnischer Aufsatz von Kurt Walther erschien. Vgl. »Das Flötenkonzert Friedrichs des Großen im Bild«, *Reichszeitung der deutschen Erzieher* 11 (November 1936), 23–25. Von den einschlägigen Lexika, in denen es mit Ausnahme der Enzyklopädie *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–1951) in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen als Illustration dient (in Bd. 1, Sp. 1623 wird eine der später zu interpretierenden Musizierszenen in Kuglers *Geschichte [...] (1840) herangezogen*), sei: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Hrsg. von Stanley Sadie (London, Macmillan; New York: Grove Dictionary, 1980) Bd. 1, 846 genannt. Als »Flute concert at Sans Souci« illustriert das Gemälde die Abhandlung über Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Ungeachtet der in vielen Details wenig treffenden Porträturierung Carl Philipps, kommt man namentlich in Publikationen über ihn kaum ohne dieses Bild aus. Mehr oder weniger kommentiert ziert es nahezu jede Arbeit bis hin zu einem kurzen Aufsatz von Reinhard Brandt: »Der König und sein Zuhörer«, in: *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk*. Hrsg. von Heinrich Poos (Mainz: B. Schott, 1993). In der Studie *Music at Court* von Christopher Hogwood (London: Folio Society, 1977) dient das Gemälde sogar als authentische Illustration (Abb. 56) und wird ohne ausreichende Hintergrundinformation neben zeitgenössisches Bildmaterial gestellt. Demgegenüber entlarvt Peter Rummenholler in seiner Arbeit *Die musikalische Vorklassik: Kulturhistorische und musikgeschichtliche Grundrisse zur Musik im 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Barock und Klassik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; München: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1983), 59ff., die »unauflosbare

Verquickung von Unrecht und Schönheit« in dieser Darstellung als »den schönen Schein«. Einschlägig exponiert und ohne kritische Anmerkungen erschien das Bild im »Flute issue« des *Early Music XXIII/1* (1993), 6–7. Zur Neuordnung des Bildes in der Flötenikonographie vgl. das Kap. »Die Flöte in Dichtung und bildender Kunst«, in Gabriele Busch-Salmen und Adelheid Krause-Pichler (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Querflöte: Instrument, Lehrwerke, Auführungspraxis, Musik, Ausbildung, Beruf* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999). Selbst die beiden Monographien zu dem Gemälde: Paul Ortwin Rave, *Adolph Menzel: Das Flötenkonzert Friedrichs des Großen*. Werkmonographien zur Bildenden Kunst 5 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1956) und Jost Hermand, *Adolph Menzel, Das Flötenkonzert in Sanssouci: Ein realistisch geträumtes Preußenbild* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1985), enthalten sich einer vergleichenden kritischen Einordnung.

¹² Vgl. Charles Burney, *Tagelbuch seiner Musikalischen Reisen. III: Durch Böhmen, Sachsen, Brandenburg, Hamburg und Holland* (Hamburg 1773; Faksimile-Neudruck Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), 104 ff. Der englische Gesandte Burney gehörte zu den wenigen Zeugen, Wichtige in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Schilderungen von Johann Friedrich Reichardt, in: *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend* (Frankfurt; Leipzig 1774, Reprint Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1977). Auch die Abendkonzerte beschrieb J.F. Reichardt ausführlich. Siehe seine Autobiographie. Neuausgabe hrsg. von Walter Salmen: *Ein Instiger Passagier: Erinnerungen eines Musikers und Literaten* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 2002).

¹³ Die Radierung »Friedrich der Große in den Stunden der Muße« gehört zu einer Illustrationsfolge, die in Friedrich Försters, *Leben und Taten Friedrichs des Großen: Ein vaterländisches Geschichtsbuch*, 5 Bde. (Meißen, 1840), dort Bd. 5, Abb. 2 erschien. Die zwei Versionen der Darstellung differieren außer in der Detaillierung der Kleidung des Monarchen in der Gestaltung der linken Bildhälfte. Statt einer Gruppe von fünf Zuhörern wurden die beiden Windspiele des Königs ins Bild gesetzt. In dieser Variante fand der Stich Eingang in das Försterische »Geschichtsbuch«. Zur Gesamtbeurteilung der Friedrich-Ikonographie vgl. Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Nachleben im Bild: Wirklichkeit und Legende*, in: Friedrich Benninghoven, Helmut Börsch-Supan, Iselin Gundersmann, *Friedrich der Grosse: Ausstellung des Geheimes Staatsarchivs Preussische Kulturbesitz anlässlich des 200. Todestages König Friedrichs II. von Preußen* (Berlin: Das Staatsarchiv, 1986), xv f.

¹⁴ Vgl. den Reprint nach einem Exemplar der Ausgabe Berlin 1752, Leipzig 1983, 334.

¹⁵ Vgl. Gustav Berthold Volz (Hrsg.), *Ausgewählte Werke Friedrichs des Großen, in deutscher Übersetzung. I: Historische und Militärische Schriften* (Berlin: R. Hobbog, 1916), 265.

¹⁶ 1924 noch im Besitz Friedrichs II. im Hohenzollern-Museum, Schloss Monbijou, Berlin (jetzt verschollen). Siehe Gustav Berthold Volz (Hrsg.), *Friedrich der Große und Wilhelmine von Baiern: I: Jugendbriefe* (Leipzig: K.F. Koehler, 1924), 424 ff. Wilhelmine kündigte ihrem Bruder das »kleine Tischchen« am 23. Oktober 1739 mit den Worten an: »Der Entwurf stammt von mir, und es sieht recht hübsch aus. Ich habe den kleinen hiesigen Parnaß darauf anbringen lassen, obwohl er dieses Namens noch nicht würdig ist [...]«

¹⁷ In dem Flötisten ist auch der Gatte Wilhelmines, der flöte spielende Markgraf Friedrich erkannt worden, was unwahrscheinlich ist.

¹⁸ Ikonographisches Vergleichsmaterial bei Walter Salmen, *Haus- und Kammermusik, Musikgeschichte in Bildern IV/3* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969).

¹⁹ Vgl. die Ausführungen von Helmut Börsch-Supan, »Die Bildnisse des Königs«, *Friedrich der Grosse: Ausstellung*, xii–xiv. Im

Œuvre Daniel Chodowieckis befindet sich eine Tuschezeichnung mit dem Titel „Konzert bei Hofe“, die von D. Beyer nachgestochen vielfache Verbreitung gefunden hatte.

²⁰ Vgl. *Denkmal König Friedrichs des Großen Enthüllt am 31. Mai 1851*, Reprint der Originalausgabe, mit einem Nachwort von Brigitte Schmitz und einer Übersicht: *Dargestellte Personen der mittleren Sockelzone* (Leipzig: Zentralinstitut für die DDR, 1987), 14 f.

²¹ Vgl. Abb. u.a. in Georg Holmsten, *Friedrich II. in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*. Rowohlt Monographien 159 (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1969), 33.

²² Vgl. H. Börsch-Supan, „Die Bildnisse des Königs“, *Friedrich der Große: Ausstellung*, xiii.

²³ Zit. nach H. Wolff und O. Bie (Hrsg.), *Adolph von Menzels Briefe*, 242 f.

²⁴ Menzel an J.J. Weber, am 14. März 1839, zit. nach H. Wolff und O. Bie (Hrsg.), *Adolph von Menzels Briefe*, 24.

²⁵ Ebd., 32.

²⁶ Jacob Friedrich de Bielfeld, *Lettres familières et autres*, 2 Bde. (Den Haag, 1763), Übersetzung als: *Vertrauliche Briefe*, 2 Bde. (Den Haag, 1763), ausführlich zitiert von Franz Kugler, *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (Leipzig 1840). Im 11. Kapitel, S. 117: „Der Aufenthalt in Rheinsberg: heißt es mit den Worten Bielfelds: „Die Abende sind der Musik gewidmet. Der Prinz hält in seinem Salon Konzerte, wozu man einladen sein muß. Eine solche Einladung ist immer eine besondere Gnadenbeziehung. Der Prinz spielt gewöhnlich die Flöte. Er behandelt das Instrument mit höchster Vollkommenheit; sein Ansatz sowie seine Fingergeläufigkeit und sein Vortrag sind einzig.“

²⁷ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Zelter Brief, in: *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*. Erster Theil (Frankfurt am Main, 1774), 173 f. Vgl. auch Reichards ab 1805 edierte Autobiographie, in W. Salmen (Hrsg.), *Der lustige Passagier*. Zur Bevölkerungsstruktur Potsdams vgl. W. Wolf, „Garnison und Bevölkerung Potsdams besonders in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts“, *Beiträge zur Potsdamer Geschichte* (Potsdam: Bezirksheimatmuseum, 1969). Weitere Details in Vera Grütznier, „Zum Wirken Karl Friedrich Faschs in Potsdam“, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800): Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz in Zerbst am 16. und 17. April 1988 aus Anlass des 300. Geburtstages von Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758)*. Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts 41 (Michaelstein/Blankenburg: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1989), 23 ff.

²⁸ C. Burney, *Tagebuch*, 108 und 110 f.

²⁹ *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* (26. März 1840).

³⁰ Menzel an J.J. Weber, zit. nach H. Wolff und O. Bie (Hrsg.), *Adolph von Menzels Briefe*, 58.

³¹ Zit. nach der Ausgabe Leipzig 1856, Kapitel XII, 227.

³² Zit. ebd. Kapitel XV, 489.

³³ Anonym, Radierung in Josef Bader, *Friedrich der Große: Bilderbibliothek der neueren deutschen Geschichte*, I: *Büchchen mit 24 Staatsbüden* (Karlsruhe, 1846), Bremen, Sammlung Dr. Gerhard Knoll. Abbildung bei H. Kohle, *Adolph Menzels Friedrichs-Bilder*, Abb. 43. Das Blatt ist wie auch Chapons Illustration in: *Le Rhin Allemand et L'Allemagne du Nord*, nach Menzels Vorgabe (I. Konzertillustration (im Kugler) ein personenreiches Konversationsstück mit dem flötespielenden König im Mittelpunkt, vier Musikern und einer zahlreicheren Zuhörerschaft links. Sie ist um die sich in heller Gewandung abhebende Liebesschwester Fried-

richs, die Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth gruppiert. Die Arbeiten nehmen also auf den Besuch Wilhelmines in Potsdam 1750 Bezug.

³⁴ H. Wolff und O. Bie (Hrsg.), *Adolph von Menzels Briefe*, 154.

³⁵ Zit. nach G. Limmel, *Exzellenz lassen bitten*, 40.

³⁶ Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam. Neues Palais.

³⁷ Karl Friedrich Moritz Müller, Gemälde, Mitte 19. Jahrhundert, Stadtmuseum München, Wilhelm Marstrand, Gemälde 1834, Frederiksborg, Nationalhistorische Museum, Inv. No. 281. Beides abgebildet in: Walter Salmen, *Das Konzert* (München: Beck, 1988).

³⁸ Brief vom 5. März 1836 an Carl Heinrich Arnold, zit. nach Gisold Limmel, *Menzel und seine Kreise* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1993), 82.

³⁹ Zit. nach Ingrid Wirth, *Mit Adolph Menzel in Berlin*. Bilderaus deutschen Vergangenheit 25-26 (München: Prestel, 1965), 91. Das Bild ist dort als Abbildung 29 wiedergegeben. In einem ausführlichen Kontext wird das Blatt gesetzt in W. Salmen, *Das Konzert*. Dort illustriert es als Farbfaltb. 6, 57 das Kapitel „Die Hörer und deren Verhalten“. Das Bild befindet sich im Besitz der Neuen Pinakothek, München, Inv. Nr. 8501.

⁴⁰ Abbildungen bei Gisold Limmel, *Adolph Menzel: Bildwelt und Bildregie* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1993), Tafel 12. Auch C. Keisch und M.U. Riemann-Reyher (Hrsg.), *Adolph Menzel*..., 302f.

⁴¹ Genannt seien hier: „Die Störung.“ (Der Besuch), Öl auf Leinwand, 1843-46, in: C. Keisch und M.U. Riemann-Reyher (Hrsg.), *Adolph Menzel*..., 93. „Im Opernhaus“, 1862, Abbildung bei I. Wirth, *Mit Adolph Menzel in Berlin*, Abb. 31. „Konzert bei Bilsen“, Aquarell und Deckfarben, 1871, Abbildung bei W. Salmen, *Das Konzert*. Farbfaltb. 13, S. 193. Das Bild befindet sich im Besitz der Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

⁴² Für Detailschilderungen siehe *Sanssouci, Schlösser, Gärten, Kunstwerke*, bearbeitet von einem Autorenkollektiv unter der Leitung von Hans-Joachim Giersberg (Karl-Marx-Stadt: Generaldirektion der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1985).

⁴³ Nur zum Teil veröffentlicht, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett.

⁴⁴ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. Nr. 1631 und 665.

⁴⁵ Das Pult, das Charles Burney in seiner Beschreibung des „Concertzimmers“ auffiel, „das sehr reich und künstlich mit Silber ausgelegt ist“ (Burney, 104), wurde erst 1767 von Johann Melchior Kambis nach des Königs und Johann August Nahls Entwürfen für diesen Raum angefertigt. Dazu ausführlich Gabriele Busch-Salmen, „Materialien zu Geschichte und Gebrauch von Notenpulten vor 1800“, in: *Musikalische Ikonographie, Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1994), 111ff.

⁴⁶ Dieser Rock befindet sich heute in der Sammlung der Burg Hohenzoellern.

⁴⁷ Eine Auswahl der Episteln in: G.B. Volz (Hrsg.), *Ausgewählte Werke Friedrichs des Großen*, Bd. 1, 197 ff.

⁴⁸ Zur Anordnung der Personen existieren zwei großformatige, von Menzel bezeichnete Personenskizzen. Die für Abbildungen zumeist herangezogene ist die Inv. Nr. 18/62, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Sie wird u.a. bei J. Hermand, *Adolph Menzel: Das Flötenkonzert in Sanssouci*, als Abbildung 12 wiedergegeben. Die Personen von links nach rechts: der

dem König seit Rheinsberg vertraute Freiherr Jakob Friedrich de Bielfeld, der geheime Staats- und Kriegsrat, spätere Generalintendant der Oper Graf Gustav Adolph von Gottier, der Präsident der Akademie der Wissenschaften Pierre de Maupertuis, Kapellmeister Carl Heinrich Graun, Prinzessin Amalie, Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, die Oberhofmeisterin Gräfin Sophie Caroline von Camas, eine Kammerdame und Major Chevalier Chazot, ein Freund des Königs aus der Rheinsberger Zeit. Unter den Musikern Franz Benda als Konzertmeister, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach am Hammerflügel, Johann Joachim Quantz, rechts lehnend. Um den Continuo-cellisten gibt es Spekulationen.

⁴⁰ Vielfach in Bildern dokumentiert. Genannt sei hier stellvertretend das häufig reproduzierte Gemälde »Le Concert« von Augustin de Saint Aubin aus dem Jahr 1773 (Salzburg, Winterresidenz), abgebildet bei W. Salmen, *Das Konzert*, Abbildung 70.

eine Conversation galante Szene, die in den Salon der Mme La Comtesse de Saint Brisson leuchtet.

⁵⁰ Vgl. Hugo von Tschudi (Hrsg.), *Adolf von Menzel: Abbildungen seiner Gemälde und Studien, auf Grund der von der Kgl. Nationalgalerie im Frühjahr 1905 veranstalteten Ausstellung* (Berlin: F. Bruckmann, 1905), 2.

⁵¹ Zit. nach G.B. Volz, *Ausgewählte Werke Friedrichs des Großen*, Bd. 1, 213.

⁵² Zit. nach G. Lammell, *Exzellenz lassen bitten*, 179.

⁵³ *Vossische Zeitung* vom 14. Dezember 1885, zit. nach Anton von Werner, »Erlebnisse und Eindrücke 1870-1890«, in: G. Lammell, *Exzellenz lassen bitten*, 281f.

⁵⁴ Nach G. Lammell, *Exzellenz lassen bitten*, 107f.

THE MUSICIAN IN ICONOGRAPHY FROM THE 1830S AND 1840S: THE FORMATION OF NEW VISUAL TYPES*

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In his seminal study *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* Michael Baxandall stressed the need to develop a "period eye" when examining art from the quattrocento.¹ By period eye Baxandall meant an understanding of, and resulting sensitivity to, various aspects of the visual practices and skills of the society within which the image was created.² While he successfully applied the notion of the period eye to fifteenth-century Italian painting, it is equally pertinent to images from the nineteenth century or indeed any period distant to our current sensibilities. The development of a period eye is arguably more fundamental than the recognition of styles and genres, for potentially it can identify broader undercurrents common to social practices and artistic movements and styles that could otherwise be missed. This is particularly so with nineteenth-century art, where a plethora of genres and styles exist side-by-side: high-art portraits in a variety of styles, popular prints and caricatures, for example. In this paper, the concept of the period eye is linked to prevalent eighteenth- and nineteenth-century beliefs regarding human appearance and demeanour, namely physiognomy and pathognomy.³

It is difficult to consider what underlying themes may be present in portraits of musicians even when considering oil paintings alone, for within this medium there are portraits in the neo-classical tradition, emerging realism and the vibrant canvasses of Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863). Although wide cultural themes may be identified, such as the social status of the artist, they do not necessarily relate directly - in a putative cause-and-effect sense - to the visual practices embedded in the image itself. The application of the period eye, however, may enable the identification of nexus points between the social and visual as manifested in the images.

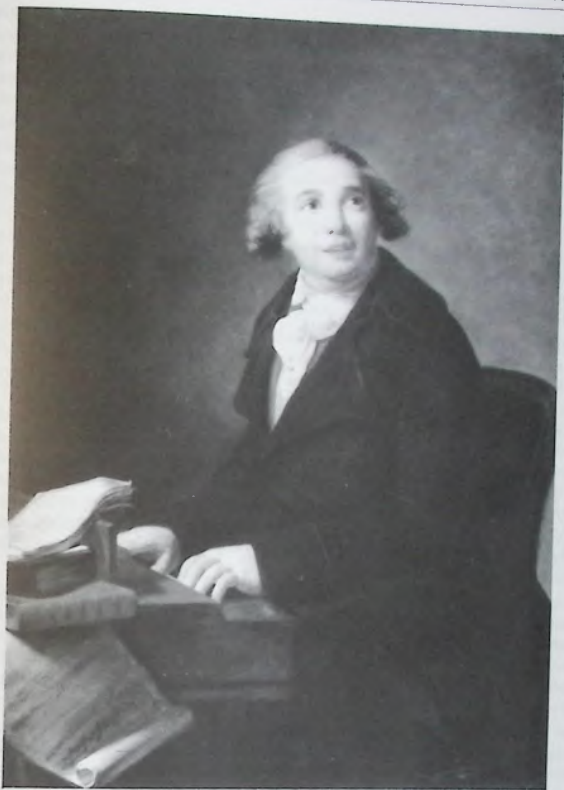
Several new and significant themes in the iconography of the musician were established in the second quarter of the nineteenth century which, broadly speaking, reflect the artists' attempts to represent the musician within the changing background of Romanticism's view of the place of the musician within society. One of the main consequences was a change in pictorial style amongst much of the iconography: an emphasis upon the physiognomic rather than the pathognomic. This physiognomic emphasis could be via a variety of means and degrees of sophistication. For example, on a surface level, the physical features of the face could be manipulated to create a more appropriate physical type. Or, more subtly, a manipulation of lighting and posture could imbue a quality of stillness and remoteness on to the sitter. Whatever the case, the resulting emphasis reflects an attempt to highlight the "inherent" qualities of the musician rather than their emotional, and merely reactive, state at any given time.

This emphasis, whatever its exact realisation, unites an otherwise disparate iconography, ranging from Neoclassical and Romantic "high-art" oil portraits, to popular lithographic prints. It is not so much that a particular image may lack "animation" of its subject, but rather the animation (if present) is represented as coming from within the sitter, not through the overtly "external" language of gesture and expression. One paradoxical result of this emphasis is that musicians notable for their passion and expression in actual performance - or, indeed life itself - could be represented as rather passive and immobile.



1. Anonymous, Joseph Haydn (18th century). Oil on canvas. Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico. © Civico Museo Bibliografico/Art Resource, NY.

We must first establish a context for nineteenth-century portraiture by reviewing some typical features of eighteenth-century portraiture. If any aspect of eighteenth-century portraiture can be seen as typical, it is the sense of the sitter's engagement with the viewer and/or the outside world more generally. In other words, the source of inspiration for the creative type is external to themselves. Within this general sense of engagement, several differing subtypes of portraiture occur, for example: the sitter pleasantly faces the viewer, as a respected or even esteemed member of society; the sitter is seen in the throes of inspiration; finally, the sitter is shown in a deep meditative state. The latter two types are the typical *homme sensible* of the late eighteenth century. Commonly found in all types mentioned is the presence of "tools of the trade", such as pen and paper, brush and canvas, music manuscript or instruments (be they musical or scientific).



2. Élisabeth Louise Vigée-LeBrun (1755-1842), Giovanni Paisiello (1791). Oil on canvas, 130 × 100 cm. Milan, Museo Teatrale alla Scala. © Scala/ Art Resource, NY.

PATHOGNOMY. Fundamental to representing the sitter's inspiration was use of a long-established vocabulary of gestures and expressions grounded in the discipline of pathognomy. The reliance of these portraits upon pathognomic assumptions requires a brief discussion of the importance of pathognomy. The study and representation of facial and bodily expression, "pathognomy" (*signes pathétiques*), in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was considered a fundamental tool in the artists' ability to express the passions.⁴ In practice, pathognomy was the "definition of character from dynamic, yet often habitual gestures and facial expression".⁵ This was only a means to an end, however, for these gestures and expressions enabled artists to "create a narrative art which qualified, like poetry, as a liberal art in its ability to instruct, to move, and to delight".⁶

Standards for the expression of emotions in visual art have been an aim of artists for centuries.⁷ The most influential figure in this quest was Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), with his *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*.⁸ Le Brun focussed upon facial expressions, which were illustrated throughout his lectures, and these models were to become so widely used that Hogarth referred to Le Brun's book as "the common drawing book".⁹ As had Descartes before him, Le Brun thought that the face was a "window of the soul".¹⁰ As Linda Walsh explains, Le Brun believed that "It was essential that the beholder should recognise the particular emotion represented on a figure's face in order to guarantee narrative clarity, or the clear depiction of the psychological effects of events."¹¹ So, although the basis of his treatise may have involved some theorising, the aim was pragmatic – to enable artists to express emotions unambiguously in their painting, and thus make their intentions clearer.

Even though Le Brun's influence faded, and was rejected either on aesthetic or scientific grounds, there had been a long established set of signs denoting very specific emotions. As Alistair Smart writes: "By the eighteenth century the history-painter had developed a whole vocabulary of gesture and expression which has now largely passed out of currency. It was a language remarkable for its precision [...]"¹²

During the eighteenth century, particularly in France, Le Brun's stereotyped expressions were countered by an interest in more reserved or "absorbed" expressions. Walsh notes the perceived limitations of Le Brun's facial types, and that the visual examples he used were not being varied by subsequent artists, largely because:

it was difficult for artists to perceive and adapt their underlying principles. There was, further, little room for subtlety in Le Brun's illustrations, as they were intended as prototypes. They represent extreme emotional states and very few of them relate to tranquil feelings. Many were intended for battle scenes in which figures would turn their faces towards the viewer so that these faces could "scream" fear, grief, violence and so on.¹³

Another significant challenge to Le Brun's thesis came from the emerging style of Neoclassicism. Johann Winckelmann (1717–1768), the crucial figure in establishing Neoclassicism, argued that expression "changes the lines of the face, and the stance of the body; it alters the forms that constitute beauty, and the greater this alteration, the more prejudicial it is to beauty."¹⁴

The absence of "extreme" expression in many portraits of musicians in the decades discussed was not only due to changing tastes regarding expression in art. Rather, there was a shift in the fundamental mode of visual expression, from the pathognomic to the physiognomic. Moreover, intense expressions are found throughout the nineteenth century, for it was clearly acceptable to show emotion in relation to musical or artistic passion. The aim of the artist was still clearly to show that the musician was a creative type, but for many artists the means of expression had changed.

The interest in depicting the passions was carried into the nineteenth century by artists who received training in the late eighteenth century.¹⁵ As Wilson observes, however, there was an overall decline in the "academic" depiction of the passions in the nineteenth century:

Younger history painters, trained in the early years of the nineteenth century, fell heir to the academic painting of the passions. Significantly however, this heritage was more limited and isolated than with those painters of the 1770's through the 1790's who were exposed to a widespread, flexible pedagogy concerning the passions.¹⁶

Wilson notes, nonetheless, that painters such as Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) and Delacroix made use of academic facial expressions, but with a new level of realism. The continuing influence of the academic painting of the passions occurred for various reasons:

The interest in painting the passions these nineteenth century figures drew from the eighteenth century assisted them in their various goals. Earlier in the century the goal may have been to generate emotion for the romantic artist. Later it may have been, as with Degas, to attain a heightened realism of sense of modern life.¹⁷

Attempts to find new models of expression did not die out in the nineteenth century; various "scientific" studies renewed the push towards linking art and expression. A study of human expression by Francis Warner from as late as 1885 suggested that art of the period should be judged according to previous writers' work:

Ancient art has recorded indelibly in sculpture and on pottery the modes of expression seen in former times; the writings of [Pieter] Camper, [Johann Caspar] Lavater, and Le Brun have taught much as to expression; and we shall inquire presently how far modern and contemporaneous art complies with the high requirements of the principles of expression in illustrating conditions of the body and the mind.¹⁸

PHYSIOGNOMY. The theory and practice of physiognomy, and its relative phrenology (the study of the shape of the skull as an indicator of personality or mental ability) permeated the culture of nineteenth-century Europe and America to an extent hard to appreciate now. At the root of both physiognomy and phrenology was the assumption that inward qualities, such as morality and character, are reflected in the outward, physical aspects of the face and body.¹⁹

Physiognomy dates back to Classical times with the earliest treatise, the *Physiognomonica*, traditionally attributed to Aristotle. Physiognomists gave particular parts of the face specific significance according to size and shape.²⁰ The most significant figure, the mastermind and founder of the final phase of physiognomy, was the Protestant Swiss minister Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801).²¹ According to Lavater, the face was a presentation of moral and spiritual truth, and he believed that the science of physiognomy had a role to play in helping people learn the truth as well as love each other. Lavater defined physiognomy as "the science or knowledge of the correspondence between the external and internal man, the visible superficies and the invisible contents."²² Although his *Fragmente* received varied reactions, it was widely reviewed in journals, to the extent that it was well known throughout Europe even before translations were made. Translations and more editions soon followed; its popularity could be measured by the fact that over 57 versions had been published in six languages by 1810.

As a belief system, physiognomy emphasised the inner aspect of a person being revealed through external characteristics. This paralleled perfectly, and was indeed part of, the Romantic vision of the artist as hero. In saying that there was a move away from the pathognomic to the physiognomic, this can be taken quite broadly. The precise nature of this emphasis varied, but it incorporated elements in the representation of the sitter that can be grouped under the rubric of "physiognomic". For example, lighting, physiognomic manipulation, emphasising features and so forth. Models derived from both physiognomy and pathognomy could, and did, work well together in the visual arts. But Lavater himself stressed that a person's physiognomy could be "disturbed by the ebb and flow of accident, and passion."²³ Thus, the expression of strong passion could distort the "true" character of a face and thus provide incorrect information regarding his or her true physiognomy.

The tendency of many Romantic portraits of musicians to show their features as static, rather than mobile, may well have several explanations. As already mentioned, the aesthetics of Neoclassicism certainly impacted upon the use of extreme expressions, but this in itself does not explain the development of a new iconography of the musician that was not restricted to the Neoclassical style. Instead, a "physiognomic" mind-set more generally, even if not directly linked to Lavaterian physiognomy *per se*, provides an explanation for the emergence and endurance of the new visual type.

Lavater's physiognomic writings can be seen as both a part of, and a catalyst for, the pre-Romantic move towards individualisation approaching the end of the eighteenth century. In France, for example, he provided a framework for artists to depict *caractère* rather than mere fleeting *passion*. A clear example of this is the great French artist Anne-Louis Girodet (1767-1824). Girodet's means of expressing the psychology of his subjects through their body changed from the 1780s to the 1790s. George Levine has shown how the psychological meaning of Girodet's figures developed in sophistication from rather simple Le Brun-like pathognomic models of facial expressions and arm gestures, to more complex realisations of individual characters through effective use of physiognomic-type features and models.²⁴

As Levine notes, "towards the end of the eighteenth century, painters seemed to become increasingly aware of the importance of depicting the *caractère* of their personages."²⁵ More specifically, Lavater, with his emphasis upon the uniqueness of the individual and his "fatalistic insistence on the inescapable interdependence of man's body and mind, and its pseudoscientific subtleties of observations, appeared to offer a new method, which could be usefully combined with the *Théorie du geste* to convey *caractère* more strikingly and truthfully."²⁶

These changing views on the importance of the physiognomy of the face lead to an emphasis on the features, rather than the gesture or posture, of the sitter. Indeed, according to Lavater's system, physical appearance could be "clouded" by passion, thus distorted. This naturally led to an interest in faces at rest, even in death.



3. Henri Charles Lehmann (1814–1882), Franz Liszt (1839). Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée Carnavalet. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/ Art Resource, NY.

THE ROMANTIC ARTIST AS AN IDEAL TYPE. Also essential to an understanding of portraits of musicians are early nineteenth-century concepts of the Romantic artist. At the centre of the Romantic ethic was the notion of the artist as an ideal type, and with this came the image of the artist serving as a "model for character and behavior."²⁷ This new ideal type of the artist, characterised by imagination and genius, differed markedly from previous constructions, namely that of a well-mannered member of society.²⁸ Instead, the Romantic artist was seen as superior to the norm, one not only free from the constraints of society, but at odds with it. Maurice Shroder identifies two main issues associated with the Romantic artist: a conviction of difference and hypersensitivity. Of the latter attribute, he writes that it was thought of as:



4. Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), Frédéric Chopin (1838). Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée du Louvre. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

a mark of superiority, a blessing to the man or woman distinguished by it, but it is also a curse. The individual gifted with a refined sensibility is proud of his gift, proud of what distinguishes him as an individual. He cannot help displaying his superiority; even if he wished to do otherwise, he could not conceal his sensitive nature. But in so displaying his sensibility [...] he must necessarily awaken a hostile response in society.²⁹

This has consequences for the treatment of the Romantic artist, for it creates a society "jealous of the superior man, envious of his finer nature, and [which] refuses to accept him for who he is." As a result of the Romantic artist's inability and unwillingness to conform, "society persecutes the Romantic hero: he is in some cases a pariah, in others an exile, in still others a martyr – he is always the victim of a jealous and malicious society."³⁰ These elements led to significant consequences, central to the image of the Romantic artist: that of persecution, and the resulting withdrawal from society, and the identification of these gifts as both a blessing and a curse.

The most notable individuals to serve as models of the Romantic artist in the nineteenth century were perhaps the famous literary figures of Lord Byron and Victor Hugo. Although there are many others, these two writers encapsulated much of the ideal of the Romantic man. Composers, such as Franz Liszt for example, clearly felt an affinity for the poet. Indeed, Liszt headed one of his early compositions (*Les Cloches de G....*, 1835) with a quote from Byron's *Child Harold*: "I live not in myself, but I become Portion of that around me."³¹

British Romantic paintings provide examples of Byron as a prototype of the physically beautiful, brooding, inspired artist. He was a "fallen angel", the personification of the tragic, self-destructive artist.³² Liszt's identification with Byron was far from unique among musicians, as Bettina Eisler notes in her recent biography of the poet:

The Byronic hero, a doomed aristocrat haunted by dark secrets and forbidden loves, defying the laws of God and man, inspired composers of music in every form: There have been 750 compositions based on Byron's poetry. To the musical generation immediately following the poet's, his writings were sacred text: symphonies, oratorios, and operas, program pieces, and innumerable songs poured forth from composers' pens, giving new life to the poetry.³³

David Piper observes that in no life portrait does Byron appear with the previously stock-in-trade pen and paper of the writer - a significant development with great importance for understanding many portraits of musicians from the nineteenth century.³⁴ It was enough merely to show the dreamy, inspired gaze; the poet, as an individual, was central, and so tools of the trade were no longer required.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ROMANTIC ARTIST. Nineteenth-century portraiture, including self-portraiture, displayed discernable departures from eighteenth-century style. The most notable feature of early Romantic portraiture was the expression of the new relationship of the sitter to the external world. The sharp contrast between this and the older style of portraiture is summarised by Joan Siegfried, in her examination of portraits of Romantic artists:

The eighteenth-century person who sat for a portrait was painted gazing out at the natural world, observing it, and dominating it because of his perception. Often he was accompanied by attributes of his social or intellectual life, and his ideas or sentiments could be further amplified by the surroundings, such as his study or his garden.³⁵

This portrait type conforms to the image of the artist as esteemed yet personable, and variations upon the basic scheme are found in countless other examples of both musicians and non-musicians. However, in many Romantic portraits, while the subject:

may still gaze out of the picture, he no longer seems to be looking at the actual world. Moreover, the surroundings, which may either serve to isolate his figure or to encroach upon it, serve rather to point up his individuality than to convey an idea of the universality of man's nature.³⁶

The specific visual devices used in representations of the Romantic artist were already well established through the genre of the self-portrait by the time musicians such as Franz Liszt (1811-1886) were portrayed. It was through the use of specific visual motifs that portraitists of the nineteenth century loaded their depictions with subtle and not so subtle references to the Romantic ideal. In her study of the visual representation of artists in France at the turn of the nineteenth century, Joanna Stein outlines several stylistic factors typical of artists' portraits. She notes that, after 1800:

Artist's portraits all have in common an organisation aimed at drawing out the character and emotional nature of the sitter by manipulating the medium rather than the subject or setting. Emphasis is on brushwork, light and shadow contrast, [and] sophisticated variations in paint texture.³⁷

Added to these devices was the fact that subjects were often presented with an expressionless, or perhaps sullen or melancholic face - they rarely smiled. Perhaps most interesting is the subtle way in which the subjects somehow effect an "evasion" of the viewer. Stein describes this as follows:

It is difficult to characterise this evasion precisely, but it is a core feature, nonetheless. Unlike profile portraits, where there is no possibility of eye contact with a viewer, the line of visual communication is presumed in these portraits, which are usually full or three-quarter face, but this communication is avoided, broken or undercut by manipulating the figure or facial expression.³⁸

This manipulation of figure or expression was achieved by devices such as the use of heavy shadow around the eyes, a mask-like depiction of the face, or turning the body away from the viewer. These visual devices reached its zenith in the "disembodied head" of the late nineteenth-century symbolist movement, where heads were depicted as visually separate from the torso. Trudie Grace outlines the link between the early nineteenth-century self-portraits by artists and the later nineteenth-century "disembodied head":

What Romantic artists initiated with various self-portraits, later artists brought to full flower. The allusive self-portrait head is the ultimate expression of a concern with the inner self on the part of numerous nineteenth-century artists. Allusive portrait heads of men of superior intellect and creative achievement are the ultimate expression of a concern with genius and the honoring of great men that developed early in the century and that is also evident in many Romantic portraits and many monuments to men of genius, which were very popular from the late eighteenth century through to the end of the nineteenth.³⁹

THE MUSICIAN IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ICONOGRAPHY. Two examples of late eighteenth-century portraits of musicians will suffice as examples of recurring visual types in the period.

An anonymous late eighteenth-century portrait of Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) is a good example of the contemplative sitter [fig. 1]. Haydn is at a keyboard, apparently in the very act of composing. His left hand is on the keys, but his right hand is poised with a quill, ready to put down some idea. An inkpot stands at the ready. The expression is one of contemplation and consideration at, perhaps, a moment of receiving inspiration. Musical inspiration is certainly intimated in typical guise - the prominently placed lyre just behind Haydn, at the left of the painting.

A portrait of the noted opera composer Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) by Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842), from 1791, is an excellent example of the inspired type [fig. 2]. The composer is seated at the keyboard, fingers playing, but his head is turned away and his eyes uplifted. Here the expression, captured in a moment, is one of inspiration: eyes uplifted, mouth open. Note the implication of an external source of this inspiration, with the eyes seeking the object of the mind's passion. Vigée-Lebrun also uses deft lighting to highlight the inspired face and the realisation of this inspiration into the hands.

This inspired expression could almost have been taken directly from the works of Le Brun, namely his model of "Rapture". Le Brun's description of Rapture is worth quoting at length:

But if the Wonder is caused by some object which [is] far above the comprehension of the soul, such as the power and greatness of God, then the movements of Wonder and Veneration will be different from those described above, for the head will incline towards the side of the heart, the eyebrows will be raised, and the pupil also lifted up. The head, bowed as I have described, seems to show the humility and powerlessness of the soul. It is for this same reason that neither the eyes nor the eyebrows are drawn towards the [pineal] gland, but raised towards heaven, on which they seem to be concentrated as if to discover there what the soul cannot conceive. The mouth is partly open with the corners slightly raised up, expressing a sort of ecstasy.⁴⁰

Two types of emotion were typically displayed in "traditional" portraiture of musicians: either "inspiration" of a rather religious type, or, "reflection", based on a long tradition of representing deep contemplation. It is not surprising in itself that these emotions are seen as representative of the appropriate response to music. These long-established traditions of gesture and expression would be subverted in caricature, challenged by artists, or found wanting when applied to new media, such as photography, yet there was no simple evolutionary and linear move away from them, and they remained significant throughout the nineteenth century.

THE MUSICIAN IN ICONOGRAPHY FROM THE 1830S AND 1840S. The Hungarian pianist and composer Franz Liszt is arguably one of the most important figures in the evolving image of the Romantic musician. Due to his fame, notoriety and longevity, his iconography is vast. Also, Liszt's relatively long life spanned dramatic developments in nineteenth-century visual media, most obviously the widespread application of lithography and photography. Therefore, this paper will focus upon Liszt especially and examine oil portraits of him from the 1830s and 1840s. These portraits exhibit, each in different ways and to different extents, the infusion of Romantic ideals of the creative artist into the pictorial sphere. Other musicians, notably Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849), will then be discussed, in somewhat less depth.

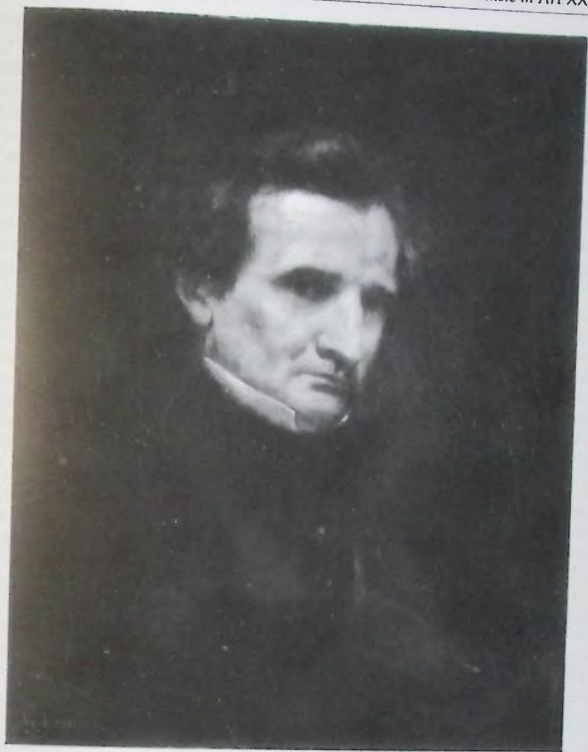


5. Ary Scheffer (1795–1858), Frédéric Chopin (ca. 1846). Oil on canvas, 60.5 × 51 cm. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

Liszt mixed with many of the leading figures in the Romantic movement in Paris in the years around the July Revolution. The Revolution was, as Liszt biographer Alan Walker describes, “like a catalyst on French creative thought”. Within this great social upheaval, a “Who’s Who” of Romantic figures were active in Paris in the 1830s:

Writers, painters, musicians, and social reformers converged on Paris, and the capital fairly teemed with artistic and intellectual activity. Among the writers and poets who lived and worked there were Sainte-Beuve, Victor Hugo, George Sand, and Heine. The painters included Delacroix, Devéria, and Ary Scheffer.⁴¹

Liszt’s published writings demonstrate utter familiarity with many of the tenets of Romanticism in the 1830s. His writings, as Charles Suttoni observes, display an unshakable “belief that animated and supported all that he had to say; it was that music or, in a broader sense, Art had a divinely inspired cultural mission in his world, the aim of which was nothing less than the Betterment of Mankind.”⁴² The precise authorship



6. Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), Hector Berlioz (ca. 1850). Oil on canvas, 61 x 48 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

of much of Liszt's published writings has been disputed, but the consensus is now that he "bears the full responsibility for his writings; the basic ideas they represent and discuss are his."⁴³ Moreover, in accord with literary fashion of the time, his writings are often verbose but this should not divert attention from the significance of the ideas expressed.⁴⁴

In addition to the general Romantic community in which he mixed, Liszt was taken particularly by two influences: the Saint-Simonians and the Abbé Felicité de Lamennais. The Saint-Simonian movement was established following the death of Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825). Saint-Simon combined the radical aims of social and industrial reform with Christian ethics, and his followers continued to develop and refine his vision after his death. Although initially concerned with social reform through technological development and industrial productivity, the Saint-Simonians became more interested, in the late 1820s, in the "processes by which society could be inspired and persuaded to work towards these goals".⁴⁵ One of the

group's members, Emile Barrault, articulated the notion of the artist as a significant figure in society's development, as a leader of humanity.⁴⁶

While Liszt never joined the group, he became interested in it around 1830, and attended and even played at meetings. He distanced himself publicly from the group from the late 1830s onwards, but continued to remain, at least privately, sympathetic to their views. Ralph Locke notes that as early as 1832 Liszt "had absorbed the Saint-Simonian conception of the modern artist as an inspired being who is unappreciated and even mistreated by the 'critical' society in which he lives".⁴⁷ Liszt was attracted to the Saint-Simoniens by their humanitarianism and more specifically by their views on the role of the artist in society. The group viewed the artist as a priestly mediator and, according to Locke, "Liszt was filled with a sense of mission, an urge to find a fulfilling new role for the artist in a society that had come to treat art as a consumer good and status symbol".⁴⁸

Perhaps more important in Liszt's long-term development as an artist was the influence of the Abbé Lamennais (1782-1854).⁴⁹ Apart from his views on social reform and the church, Lamennais offered strong prescriptions for the role of the artist. Artists, he claimed, were "Apostles of the Spirit", preparing for the second coming.⁵⁰ Moreover, this prophetic role is made explicit: "The religion of the future casts its first glimmers of light on an expectant human race and its future destiny. The artist must be the prophet of the future."⁵¹ Sutton notes that Liszt took this apostolic mission to heart while still in his early twenties. One reason for the zeal with which Liszt took on board this new mission is explained by Perényi, as Lamennais offered Liszt something which the Saint-Simoniens could not: the same social mission, but infused with a religious appeal that made his enlightened views more readily acceptable.⁵² According to Perényi, the influence of Lamennais was profound and enduring, with the young musician adopting the abbé's teachings "root and branch" and receiving his vocation as a composer while staying with Lamennais in 1834.

The first portrait of Liszt I would like to discuss is by Ary Scheffer (1795-1858), dating from 1837.⁵³ This portrait suggests some of the emerging traits in portraiture of musicians. Scheffer was a Dutch artist who became a French citizen in 1850, after living in Paris from 1811. After moving to France, where he became involved with the Paris Salon, his works were initially in the Neoclassical tradition. He later turned away from that style to become a leading figure in the Romantic school. Scheffer was an active portraitist, painting or drawing over five hundred portraits of over three hundred sitters. He was particularly busy during the July Monarchy, where the well-to-do bourgeois were clamouring to be immortalised through his portraits.⁵⁴ Scheffer's portraits are notable for their variation of structure and format, but an overall sense of simplicity in treatment is apparent.⁵⁵ The half-length portrait was the most popular format chosen by sitters, being a good compromise between cost and ability to show attributes.⁵⁶

Scheffer was on friendly terms with many musicians, and painted portraits of Chopin, Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868) and Charles Gounod (1818-1893), as well as Liszt. Liszt was acquainted with Scheffer from as early as 1825, and remained in contact with him for over twenty years. Liszt had a high regard for the painter, as his letters reveal. In this particular half-length portrait, Liszt is shown with his arms folded across his chest, body turned to a right angle from the front. Through lighting Scheffer accentuates the forehead, a common device for indicating intellect and creativity. Liszt's gaze is slightly averted, he is looking somewhat past the viewer, and his facial expression, while not disagreeable, is far from animated. Despite the folded arms, the ends of the fingers of his right hand are visible; they are slim and tapering, quite unlike Liszt's true finger-shape.

The careful composition of the portrait, as evidenced in the placement of the arms, angle of the body and lighting, are typical of Scheffer's concentration on composition in his portraits. In particular, he placed careful emphasis upon parallel and contrasting lines, through the folded arms and lines of the torso, creating a closed structure as the basis of the painting. The isolation of the head from the background, and from the body (via the black coat) brings this portrait close to the typical artist's self-portrait. In fact, Scheffer had depicted himself in just such a manner in one of his self-portraits.

Another portrait of Liszt, this time by Henri Lehmann (1814-1882), shows unmistakable moves towards a new imagery of the musician [fig. 3]. Lehmann was a French artist of German background who, after studying with his father, became a student of Ingres in 1831. His well-known oil portrait of Liszt from late in 1839, one of two from the same year, was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1840 with great success.

Lehmann's portrait of Liszt is one of the most striking portraits of the young pianist. It contrasts strongly with Ary Scheffer's depiction in that it exhibits an excellent physiognomic likeness to Liszt, even down to the

careful depiction of the hand. However, there are similarities between the two portraits, most notably in Liszt's pose (the Lehmann could well be based upon the Scheffer in this respect). As with the Scheffer, there is no direct allusion to music; Liszt is alone, although this time against a bare backdrop rather than a vaguely rendered natural setting. Lehmann's expert use of lighting is seen to great effect in this portrait, as is the Neoclassical sense of starkness in gesture and setting.

This portrait exemplifies several sophisticated motifs used for portraying the isolation and otherness of the Romantic artist. The use of light and shade, especially the shadow formed across the face, is notable. The unsmiling expression is again typical of the genre. The eyes confront the viewer, and yet the sense of engagement is undermined by the remoteness of the expression and use of shadow. The starkness of Liszt's dark figure against the slightly backlit background implies separation and difference. Interestingly, Lehmann is accurate physiognomically (in terms of facial angle and proportions of the head), so his aims are not achieved through actual physiognomic manipulation of the features. Lehmann, unlike Scheffer, shows the true spatulate fingers of the pianist.

An extract from Liszt's published letter to George Sand of 1837 is worth quoting at length, for it demonstrates how Liszt absorbed some fundamental tenets of the artistic and intellectual reformers he moved within:

The artist lives alone, and when circumstances throw him into the middle of society, he, in the midst of discordant distractions, creates an impenetrable solitude within his soul that no human voice can breach. Vanity, ambition, greed, jealousy, and love itself, all the passions that arouse mankind, remain outside the magic circle he has drawn about his ideas. There, as though in a sanctuary, he contemplates and worships the ideal that his entire being will seek to reproduce. There he can envision divine, incredible forms and the colours that the most gorgeous flowers in the brilliance of springtime have never presented to his eyes. There he hears the eternal, harmonious music whose cadence regulates the universe, and all the voices of creation are united for him in a marvellous concert. A burning fever then seizes him, his blood courses impetuously through his veins, filling his brain with a thousand compelling concepts from which there is no escape except by the holy labour of art.⁵⁷

Here, Liszt recites the Romantic view of the isolation, difference, inspiration from nature and the divine and mystical elements that make up the artist's world. The theme of genius as blessing and curse is also implied. He is clearly attempting to articulate and develop his position as a musician within the broader context of the Romantic movement. It is interesting that, amongst all the talk of "burning fevers", Liszt is not being represented in portraiture with such passions evident.

Interestingly, later in the essay, Liszt appears to address the vexing issue of his great public success as a virtuoso conflicting with the image of the otherworldly and distant artist.⁵⁸ He complains:

How many times [...] must he prostitute himself to an unresponsive audience, must he scoff at his own most intimate feelings and toss his soul out, so to speak, to stir up some applause from the inattentive crowd.⁵⁹

Liszt may well have been overstating the point here, for he undoubtedly gained some pleasure from the fame that surrounded him.

Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), himself a fine violinist, would leave for posterity two of the most famous images of Romantic musicians: Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840) and Chopin. Delacroix's *Portrait of Chopin*, painted in 1838, remains perhaps the definitive portrait of the composer [fig. 4]. Originally a portrait of both Chopin and George Sand (1804–1876), the painting was later cut. It shows Chopin's face in the throes of creativity, brightly cast against the darker surrounds. Although there is much sense of "movement" in the portrait – the rough brush-strokes and vibrant lines of the head – there is no distinctive and recognisable expression in the pathognomical sense.

Another portrait of Chopin (from 1847), this time by Ary Scheffer, shows the musician's face in three-quarter view and brightly lit while much of the canvas remains in darkness [fig. 5]. The eyes look out piercingly from the canvas towards the viewer. Chopin's strong nose and sensitive mouth are emphasised due to the angle and dramatic lighting. The sense of the composer's isolation is strikingly represented through Scheffer's use of chiaroscuro, for the musician's head is remarkably disembodied from its surrounds.

LATER PORTRAITS OF MUSICIANS. Later artists take the theme of isolating the head of the sitter further. The portrait of Hector Berlioz by Gustave Courbet (1819–1877), painted around 1850, is one of the finest examples of Romantic portraiture [fig. 6]. Berlioz stares back at the viewer from under deeply-shadowed brows. His

head is isolated from the background through the use of strong chiaroscuro. The composer's lips are firmly closed, and the expression is contemplative, but without the typical eighteenth-century gestures accompanying such a mood. The intellectual and creative powers of Berlioz are suggested through the highlighted forehead.

A portrait of Edvard Grieg (1843–1907) by Hans von Lenbach (1836–1906) shows the same fundamental characteristics of the disembodying head. The roughly figured torso merges with the similarly darkened hues of the background. Attention is focused upon the face, which stands out dramatically from its surrounds. An impression of great intensity emanates from Grieg's face, yet his expression is without animation, as he stares slightly to the left of the viewer.

CONCLUSION. Many nineteenth-century oil portraits of musicians mark a clear departure from previous norms of vocabulary drawn from pathognomic expression, although "traditional" styles of portraiture remained prevalent.⁶⁰ The specific visual devices used in representations of the Romantic musician artist were already well established through the genre of the self-portrait by the 1830s. It was through the use of specific visual motifs that portraitists of the nineteenth century loaded their depictions with subtle and not so subtle references to the Romantic ideals of the creative artist. Musicians were thus often represented with an expressionless, or perhaps sullen or melancholic, face.⁶¹ There is no suggestion, however, that responding emotionally to music, or reacting to the inspiration for it, is being denied in the portraits discussed.⁶² Rather, the focus of the artists has changed towards emphasising the internal qualities of their subjects. The most appropriate way to do this, according to the visual practices of the time, was through highlighting physiognomic qualities rather than pathognomic.

Many artists therefore rejected well-established means of portraying the creative type in the nineteenth century, and yet they still faced the challenge of how to represent their subject so as to portray their essential qualities as well as their membership to a group or type. In many ways the issue of fidelity to the sitters' likeness becomes a secondary one, for a portrait can be interrogated with more than the simple question of whether it is a good likeness of the individual it purports to represent. There are other areas of interest, as Paul Zanker describes in relation to representations of Plato:

What is of interest for our inquiry is not the often-asked but unanswerable question of how true to life the portrait is, but rather how specific intellectual traits are indicated. In other words, does this portrait characterise Plato in any way whatsoever as a philosopher, or simply as a mature Athenian citizen conforming to the expectations of the polis?⁶³

The question of how and why a musician might have been represented as an artistic type is thus of interest in itself, quite apart from questions of likeness and verisimilitude.

NOTES

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¹ *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

² Baxandall is well aware of the difficulties of this understanding, and acknowledges that it is an approximation only. In discussing a diagram as a case in point he observes:

So here we have three variable and indeed culturally relative kinds of thing the mind brings to interpreting the pattern of light ... [this plate] casts on the retina: a stock

of patterns, categories and methods of inference; training in a range of representations; conventions; and experience, drawn from the environment, in what are plausible ways of visualizing what we have incomplete information about. (*Painting and Experience*, 31–32)

³ The literature on these topics is large, the following texts are suggested as some of the more important: Barbara Stafford, *Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991); L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971); Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Charles Colbert, *A Measure of Perfection: Phrenology and the Fine Arts in America* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Marcia R. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Alastair Smart, "Dramatic Gesture and Expression in the Age of Hogarth

and Reynolds", *Apollo* LXXXII (1985), 90-97; John M. Wilson, *The Painting of the Passions in Theory, Practice and Criticism in Later Eighteenth-Century France* (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1975); Brewster Rogerson, "The Art of Painting the Passions", *Journal of the History of Ideas* XIV (1953), 68-94; Linda Walsh, "The Expressive Face: Manifestations of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century French Art", *Art History* XIX/4 (1996), 523-550; Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles le Brun's Conférence Sur l'Expression Générale et Particulière* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

¹ J.M. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 12.

² *Ibid.*, 12.

³ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴ B. Rogerson, *op. cit.*, 73.

⁵ Le Brun was a French painter during the reign of Louis XIV, and his *Conférence*, published in 1698, was the result of a series of lectures he gave on painting. Le Brun developed his models of expression from both historical precedents, such as Raphael, as well as scientific studies such as Descartes's work on the passions.

⁶ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. by Joseph Burke (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), quoted in Smart 91.

⁷ L. Walsh, *op. cit.*, 527.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 527.

⁹ A. Smart, *op. cit.*, 91.

¹⁰ L. Walsh, *op. cit.*, 529-530. Emphasis original.

¹¹ Johann Winckelmann, quoted in Montagu, 97.

¹² J.M. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 251.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 251.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

¹⁵ Francis Warner, *Physical Expression: Its Modes and Principles* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885), 289-290.

¹⁶ I have discussed the direct impact of physiognomy upon visual representations of musicians in more detail elsewhere, see "High-Art Music and Low-Brow Types: Physiognomy and Nineteenth-Century Music Iconography", *Context* 17 (winter 1999), 5-19. This, and the following, paragraph are based on material from this article.

¹⁷ For example, the chin had two facets: projection and roundness. The first characteristic represented will, the latter amateness (sexual drive). The forehead had the dimensions of height, width and angle in profile. A high forehead represented intellect, but broadness was also needed to be truly wise. Regarding the mouth, the degree of fullness was representative of the level of sensual passion. Sensual personalities, indicated by large lips, were considered with distrust; thin lips were indicative of a harsh, mean personality. Thus, a well-proportioned mouth was expected of an artist. The nose was considered to be extremely important by Lavater and subsequent physiognomists. To give some specific examples, an aquiline (or Roman) nose reflected firmness, while a straight (Greek) nose indicated refinement of emotions. A snub nose represented underdevelopment and stupidity. If one fundamental and overriding aspect of the face could have been picked, it was the facial angle; that is, the angle formed by the face when viewed in profile. Simply put, the straighter the angle the more intellectually and morally developed (the ideal being a Classical Greek profile), the sharper the angle the less intelligent (such as an ape-like profile).

¹⁸ Lavater established his version of physiognomy with the publication of a small treatise *On Physiognomy* in 1772. But it was his massive and extremely expensive *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (hereafter:

Fragments) in four volumes, published by 1778, that laid the foundation of his system.

¹⁹ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, trans. by Thomas Holcroft, also *One Hundred Physiognomical Rules, Taken from a Posthumous work by J. C. Lavater, and a Memoir of the Author* (18th ed., London: Ward, Lock and Bowden, c. 1885), 11.

²⁰ Quoted in George Levine, "The Influence of Lavater and Girodet's *Expression des sentiments de l'âme*", *Art Bulletin* XXXVI (1954), 35.

²¹ See G. Levine, *ibid.*, 33-44.

²² *Ibid.*, 40.

²³ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁴ Maurice Shroder, *Iconus: The Image of the Artist in French Romanticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁸ Byron's epic poem made him enormously famous throughout Europe in 1810.

²⁹ See Bettina Eisler, *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame* (London: Penguin, 1999).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 759.

³¹ David Piper, *The Image of the Poet: British Poets and their Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

³² Joan Siegfried, "The Romantic Artist as a Portrait Painter", *Marys: Studies in the History of Art* VIII (1957), 30.

³³ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁴ Joanna Crown Stein, *The Image of the Artist in France: Artists' Portraits and Self-Portraits around 1800* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1982), 142.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 145.

³⁶ Trudie Grace, *The Disembodied Head: A Major Theme in European Art from 1885 to 1905* (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1984), 244.

³⁷ J. Montagu, *op. cit.*, 133.

³⁸ Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 149. While Paris was the centre of musical life in Europe at the time, it was not without difficulties: Louis-Philippe had drastically cut back funding for several key music institutions (something criticised by Liszt).

³⁹ Charles Suttoni, "Liszt the Writer", *Liszt and the Arts: A Collection of Papers Presented at a Liszt Centennial Celebration* (New York: Columbia University, 1996), 64.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁴¹ Mária Eckhardt, "New Documents on Liszt as Author", *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 22 (1987), 3.

⁴² Ralph P. Locke, "Liszt's Saint-Simonian Adventure", *Nineteenth-Century Music* IV/3 (1981), 212.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 106. Liszt was not the only musician of note to be attracted to the Saint-Simonians: Berlioz, Mendelssohn, and Ferdinand Hiller, amongst others, showed varying degrees of involvement.

⁴⁶ Liszt met the outspoken abbé in 1834, after writing to the latter, and stayed with him during much of the summer of that year. (See Walker, *Liszt* vol. 1, 157) Lamennais was one of the most controversial, influential and powerful Catholic intellectuals of

his time; he argued that the Catholic church must change in order to lead humanity towards a new social order. (Eleanor Perényi, *Liszt: The Artist as Romantic Hero* [Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1974] 102–103.) Statements such as “The liberty of the people has for its condition [...] the liberty of the church” drew prompt condemnation from Pope Gregory XVI. (Quoted in Perényi, 103).

³⁰ C. Suttoni, *op. cit.*, 66.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 66.

³² E. Perényi, *op. cit.*, 104.

³³ This portrait of Liszt, and many others, is reproduced in Ernst Burger's superb *Franz Liszt: A Chronicle of His Life and Times in Pictures and Documents*, trans. by Stewart Spencer (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989).

³⁴ Leo Ewals, *Ary Scheffer, 1795–1858: Gevierd Romanticus* (Dordrecht: Dordrecht Museum, 1995), 41.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

³⁷ Liszt, letter to George Sand, 30 April 1837, published in *Gazette Musicale* 16 July 1837, translated in Franz Liszt, *An Artist's Journey: Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique, 1835–1841*, trans. and annot. by Charles Suttoni (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 28–29.

³⁸ Caricatures of Liszt from the 1830s and 1840s reflect the shallow, performing side of the virtuoso. Conversely, oil portraits suggest a deliberate attempt to align him with the contemporary constructions of the artist-as-hero.

³⁹ F. Liszt, letter, *Artist's Journey* 31.

⁴⁰ A note of warning should be expressed regarding the recognition and interpretation of discrete signs of expression and gesture. A portrait is more than the sum of its parts, and the mere use of certain well-established visual cues by the portraitists should not invite a naïve and reductionist reading of a portrait. These cues are part of the artist's resource of visual materials, contributing to pictorial style, but their particular usage and context takes the overall result beyond the identification of mere thematic allusions.

⁴¹ This is less often the case with representations of the musician in prints. In popular lithographic prints composers were more often presented with distorted physiognomies – in line with expectations of what an artistic type should look like – rather than sullen expressions. (The differing nature of prints was no doubt due to several factors, including their market, traditions of the medium and techniques used.) The nature of physiognomic emphasis thus differs in its manifestation from many oil portraits, the underlying theme is the same: highlighting inherent difference rather than reactive sensibility. Physiognomic distortion of the crude type would fade rapidly after the middle of the nineteenth century with the development of popular photographic portraiture, but was prevalent in printed portraits prior to this. See A. Davison, “High-brow types”.

⁴² Paradoxically in the case of Liszt, he was famous for his excessively emotional gestures and facial expression while he played – certainly something that could not be gleaned from the portraits represented here.

⁴³ Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 42.

FARB-KLÄNGE UND KLANG-FARBEN IM WERK VON OLIVIER MESSIAEN

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»Wenn ich Musik höre, sehe ich innerlich Farbkomplexe, die den Tonkomplexen entsprechen«, bekannte Olivier Messiaen.¹ Messiaen zählt zu jenen Komponisten, die die Fähigkeit zur Kopplung verschiedener Sinneseindrücke besaßen und in deren Werk Farb-Ton-Analogien eine bedeutende Rolle spielen. Aus geschichtlicher Distanz betrachtet stellt der Bereich der Synästhesie sowie ihr Teilgebiet des Farbenhörens, der chromatischen Synopsie, ein ästhetisches Durcheinander dar, in dem theosophischer Mystizismus, subjektive Schwärmerei und naturwissenschaftliche Objektivität bedenkenlos addiert werden. Der Subjektivität und Willkür der Zuordnungen, von Jean-Jacques Rousseau an immer wieder heftig kritisiert,² stehen keineswegs dilettantische Kunstprodukte entgegen. Ein konsistentes Farbe-Ton-System existiert auch im 20. Jahrhundert nicht, und selbst da, wo sich Korrespondenzen konstruieren lassen, beruhen sie auf gänzlich anderen Voraussetzungen. Die verschiedenen von Komponisten entwickelten Systeme sind nicht kompatibel. Sie unterscheiden sich nicht nur im Hinblick auf die Zuordnungen von akustischen und optischen Eindrücken,³ sondern sind nicht einmal in der Zahl der Elemente gleich.⁴ Im folgenden sei nun versucht, die Bedeutung der chromatischen Synopsie bei Olivier Messiaen darzulegen und dies an Beispielen aus seinen Werken, insbesondere anhand seiner *Préludes*, zu illustrieren.

Die gleichzeitige Wahrnehmung von verschiedenen Sinneseindrücken führte Messiaen zu der Erkenntnis, daß sich in verschiedenen Phänomenen gleiche Ordnungsprinzipien finden. Messiaen dachte in Analogien und assoziierte sein System der Modi mit Farben, die auch als Gleichnis des Transzendenten aufzufassen sind. So stellt etwa der im Werk von Messiaen vielfach angesprochene Regenbogen als Widerschein der Farben ein Zeichen der Verbindung von Himmel und Erde dar, wie z.B. in dem 7. Satz des *Quatuor pour la Fin du Temps*.⁵

Farben haben in der kompositorischen Arbeit von Messiaen einen hohen funktionalen und symbolischen Wert. Sie erlauben ein harmonisches Denken jenseits der traditionellen Tonalität. Sie ermöglichen Dreiklangspassagen, die gemäß dem Prinzip der Komplementarität einen Ausschnitt aus dem chromatischen Universum repräsentieren. Die Korrespondenz zwischen Farbe und Ton beruht bei Messiaen auf einer kosmologischen Klangvorstellung. Themen, Rhythmen und Formen gehen aus Farben hervor, die der Rezipient nicht wahrnehmen muß. Aus dem Denken in Farbe-Ton-Korrespondenzen resultiert eine rational konstruktive, abstrakte Kompositionstechnik.

Messiaen stellte bei seiner Aufschlüsselung der Probleme von Klängen und Farben niemals die spezifische Materialhaftigkeit in Frage. Seine synästhetischen Modelle sind – über ihre subjektiv-privaten Intentionen hinausgehend – im Sinne Theodor W. Adornos zu verstehen, der darauf verwies, daß die Künste nicht konvergieren, indem sie sich imitieren, sondern nur dann aufeinander zu kommen, wenn sie sich den ihnen eigenen Impulsen und Tendenzen konsequent und vorbehaltlos überlassen.⁶ Die Rezeptionskategorie der Synästhesie setzt demnach eine absolute Trennung der Künste und der Sinne voraus, um diese materiale und

objektive Differenzierung auf der Ebene der Wahrnehmung sodann rezeptiv zu synthetisieren. Sie ist vor dem Hintergrund der Freisetzung von Zeit und Farbe in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts zu begreifen. Das in Musik wie in bildender Kunst herrschende Prinzip der Abstraktion und Konstruktion bedingt eine Abkehr von sprachlichen, auditiven oder visuellen Zeichen. Darin unterscheiden sich die avantgardistischen Versuche einer Verklänglichung und Musikalisierung der Bilder⁷ oder auch der Musikalisierung der Sprache von den Konzepten des 19. Jahrhunderts, wie etwa Programm Musik oder Gesamtkunstwerk, die ein Synthesemodell der Künste und Medien profilieren.

Bei der für Messiaen charakteristischen Verbindung von rationalem, abstraktem Konstrukt und sinnlicher Wirkung bildet die Rationalität die Tiefenstruktur, und die für die Wahrnehmung entscheidende Sinnlichkeit erhält durch sein Farbenhören ihren besonderen Charakter. »Ohne daß man dieselben Farben sehen muß wie ich glaube ich, daß man, wenn man meine Musik hört, eine Farbempfindung haben muß... Wenn ich in meiner Musik einen Akkord habe, habe ich hinzugefügte Obertöne und außerdem eine Art Untertöne. Das bedeutet, ich habe zwölf Töne, aber nicht als Reihe, nicht als Cluster, sondern wie einen gleichzeitigen Gegensatz der Farben, mit einer wirklichen Farbe und mit einer anderen, die man darüber oder darunter hört, wie eine Flamme von unten oder von oben.«⁸ Zu dem hier angesprochenen gleichzeitigen Gegensatz wurde Messiaen durch den »contrast simultané« von Robert Delaunay (1885–1941) inspiriert, einer der bildenden Künstler, die er besonders schätzte.⁹ Weitere Einflüsse sind bei dem Schweizer Maler und Musiker Charles Blanc-Gatti (1890–1966) zu finden,¹⁰ der sich ab ca. 1930 mit musikalischen Transpositionen – optischen Umsetzungen von Musikwerken – befaßte und 1933 sein »orchestre chromophonique« patentieren ließ,¹¹ weiters bei Mikolajus Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875–1911) sowie möglicherweise beim synästhetischen Kunstbegriff des in Paris wirkenden russischen Komponisten Ivan Vyšnegradskij (1893–1979).¹² Während Vyšnegradskij als Nicht-Synästhetiker sein Farbsystem einem konventionalisierten Kontext entnimmt, nämlich dem Malkassensystem, und die Farben den Einzeltönen zuordnet, erfolgt bei Messiaen die Zuschreibung in sehr subjektiver Weise zu Skalen und Klängen. Mit Farbtheorien befaßte er sich nicht.

Die Assoziation von Klängen und Farben ist nur dann möglich, wenn sich ein Kompositionsverfahren an abstrakten Ordnungsprinzipien orientiert und nicht an das Medium des Akustischen gebunden ist. Geeignet sind hierbei serielle Verfahren – permutativ sich wandelnde Muster wie auch Ostinati oder das Komponieren mit Pattern, die visuelle und akustische Realisierungen zulassen. Messiaens Modi, die unter Einfluß von Alexander Skrjabin sowie des russischen Musiktheoretikers Boleslav Jarworski entstanden, ergeben eine in sich stimmige Ordnung, die musikalisch abstrakt ist und somit auch mit visuellen Bedeutungen assoziiert werden kann. Seine Farbassoziationen können monochrom sein, aus zwei miteinander vermischten oder ineinandergleitenden Farben oder aus unterschiedlich komplexen Farbgruppen gebildet werden. Anhand seiner mit Texten versehenen Werke sowie seiner Schrift *Musique et couleur* lassen sich die Farbbezeichnungen der Modi mit begrenzter Transpositionsmöglichkeit leicht nachweisen.¹³ Sie erscheinen je nach Transposition in anderen Farbwerten,¹⁴ lediglich die Ganztonleiter des ersten Modus sowie die Modi fünf und sieben sind ohne Farbassoziationen:

- 2 (1. Transposition): bleu-violet
- 2 (2): or et brun (in der Höhe mauve et rose)
- 2 (3): vert
- 3 (1): orangé-blanc-laiteux
- 3 (2): gris et mauve
- 3 (3): bleu et vert
- 4 (3): jaune et violet
- 4 (4): violet-pourpre
- 6 (1): rouge-carmin-pourpre
- 6 (3): jaune
- 6 (4): jaune- violet-noir¹⁵

Indirekt könnten jedoch auch die Modi fünf und sieben auf Farben bezogen werden, da es sich hierbei um Unter- oder Übergruppen der übrigen Modi handelt. Der fünfte Modus ist gemäß der »Pitch-Class-Set-Theorie« – ein auf Intervallbeziehungen ausgewählter Tongruppen oder Akkorde beruhendes Analyseverfah-

ren¹⁶ – eine Untergruppe der Modi vier und sechs, der siebte Modus als 10-Ton-Gruppe eine Übergruppe des ersten, zweiten, vierten, fünften und sechsten Modus. Ob allerdings mithilfe der Pitch-Class-Set-Theorie das Fehlen von Farbassoziationen für die Modi fünf und sieben plausibel erklärt werden kann, muß dahingestellt bleiben.

Messiaens bevorzugte Farbe war – wie übrigens auch für Claude Debussy – violett,¹⁷ die am wenigsten geliebte gelb.¹⁸ Angesichts der Komplexität mancher Farbempfindungen ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß Messiaen selbst an deren Realisierbarkeit zweifelte.¹⁹ Hiezu seien nun einige Farbbeschreibungen detaillierter chers bleu-violet, parsemés de petits cubes gris, bleu de cobalt, bleu de Prusse foncé, avec quelques reflets pourpre violacé, or, rouge, rubis, et des étoiles mauves, noires, blanches. La dominante est: bleu-violet.²⁰ Bei demselben Modus in der zweiten Transposition sind die Farbangaben völlig verschieden: »Spirales d'or et d'argent, sur fond de bandes verticales brunes et rouge rubis. Dominante: or et brun.²¹ Für zweiten Modus in der dritten Transposition: Feuillages vert clair et vert prairie, avec des taches de bleu, d'argent et d'orange rougeâtre. Dominante: vert.«²²

Für den dritten Modus, der viermal transponierbar ist, dessen beste Transposition für Messiaen aber die zweite war, schrieb er: »Bandes horizontales étagées: de bas en haut, gris foncé, mauve, gris clair, et blanc à reflets mauve et jaune pâle – avec des lettres d'or flamboyantes, d'une écriture inconnue, et une quantité de petits arcs rouges ou bleus, très minces, très fins, à peine visibles. Dominante: gris et mauve.«²³ Durch die begrenzte Transponierbarkeit der Modi und die ihnen eigene tonale Vieldeutigkeit ist das harmonische Farbreservoir dieser Skalen besonders reich. Bemerkenswert ist der dunkel-hell-Verlauf von unten nach oben. Er entspricht dem von Messiaen beschriebenen Umstand, daß ein Klangkomplex bei Oktav- oder Lagenversetzung seine Farbeigenschaften behält, sich diese jedoch dem Schwarz (Tiefe) respektive dem Weiß (Höhe) annähern.²⁴ Tonhöhenlagen werden also mit dem Phänomen der Helligkeit assoziiert, welches, den Ergebnissen der Synästhesieforschung folgend, eine der intermodalen Qualitäten synästhetischer Wahrnehmung darstellt. Schon 1892 hatte Alfred Binet die Beobachtung formuliert, daß hohe Töne eher mit klaren, hellen und tiefe Töne mit dunklen Farben in Verbindung gebracht werden.²⁵ Bei der chromatischen Transposition des Klangkomplexes verändern sich die Farben jedoch, sodaß Messiaen für jeden Klang zwölf verschiedene Farbkombinationen erkennt, die mit jedem der zwölf Halbtöne wechseln.²⁶ In der praktischen Anwendung war Messiaen bezüglich der Zuordnungen der Modi zu Farben jedoch nicht immer konsequent. So finden sich beispielsweise bei den folgenden in der zweiten Transposition des zweiten Modus stehenden Kompositionen unterschiedliche Farbangaben: *Préludes* Nr. 1: violett; *Vingt Regards* Nr. 13: gold und braun; *Vingt Regards* Nr. 17: rose und malve.²⁷

Wie oben erwähnt, nahm Messiaen nicht nur Skalen, sondern auch deren jeweils typische Akkorde als Ausgang für seine Farbüberlegungen.²⁸ So vermerkte er beispielsweise im Vorwort zu *Trois petites Liturgies de la Présence divine* (1944), daß ein einfaches Grün mit dem Akkord h-d-fis-a verbunden ist und das transzendente Blau ein reines A-Dur sein kann. C-Dur wurde mit der Farbe Weiß verbunden, Fis-Dur als Komplementärfarbe (= Tritonus) zu C-Dur mit einem Funkeln in allen möglichen Farben. Die für Messiaen mit Fis-Dur verbundene Lichtsymbolik bringt in Werken wie *Vingt Regards sur l'Enfant Jésus* Göttlichkeit zum Ausdruck und löst damit C-Dur als Quelle des Lichtes – wie es noch von Richard Wagner verwendet wurde – ab. G-Dur verband Messiaen mit der von ihm ungeliebten Farbe Gelb, ein Grund für die Seltenheit dieser Tonart in Messiaens Werk.²⁹ Aufgrund der Überlagerung und Mischung von Modi und herkömmlichen Tonarten ist jedoch die Zuordnung von Farben zu Harmonien oft nur schwer zu entschlüsseln.

Über das Orchesterwerk *Hymne au Saint Sacrement* (1932) schrieb Messiaen: »Cette oeuvre se caractérise surtout par ses effets de couleur.«³⁰ Hierin werden Farbfolgen angegeben, die sich mit dem zweiten Thema verbinden. Auch Titel der Werke, wie z. B. *Chronochromie* (1959/60) oder *Couleurs de la Cité céleste* (1963),³¹ verweisen auf den Zusammenhang zwischen Farbe und Klang.³² Farbvorstellungen können nicht nur an harmonischen Vorgängen abgelesen werden, sondern sind auch als musikalisches Ordnungssystem zu verstehen. So haben bei den Farbabstufungen orange-rot beide »Klangfarben« sechs Töne gemein.³³ Das Prinzip der Komplementarität ergibt sich für Messiaen zwischen den »Tönen« grün und rot.

Bei der in der zweiten, ersten und dritten Transposition des zweiten Modus stehenden Stelle »Il est parti, le Bien-Aimé, C'est pour nous.«³⁴ sind bei den ersten vier Akkorden als dominante Farben gold und braun

vertreten, die Akkorde fünf und sechs sind blauviolett, der elfte Akkord vor der Wiederholung hat als dominante Farbe grün.

Der Zusammenhang zwischen visuellem und klanglichem kann sich auch in formaler Hinsicht ergeben: A-Dur als Farbe Blau ist im ganzen zweiten Satz (*«antique divin»*) der *Trois petites Liturgies de la Présence Divine* vorgeschrieben. Auch im Text ist nur die Farbe Blau erwähnt: *«Trompette bleue qui prolonge le jour»*. Messiaen formuliert den Schluß des Satzes, der durch ein crescendo mit Fermate und Trillern hinausgeschoben wird, offen. Der mit *«himmlischem Blau»* assoziierte A-Dur Dreiklang erscheint immer dann, wenn von der Liebe Gottes die Rede ist.

Mit einer *«Rosette aus flammenden und unsichtbaren Farben»* hat Messiaen die 1963 komponierten *Couleurs de la Cité céleste* verglichen.³⁵ Die in der Offenbarung des Johannes genannten (Halb)edelsteine, die den Mauern des himmlischen Jerusalem als Grundsteine dienen, werden in reichen Obertonakkorden dargestellt. In keinem anderen Werk sind die Farbbereiche derart exakt bezeichnet: zwischen den Partiturseiten sieben und vierzehn kehren smaragdgrün und amethystviolett in derselben Akkordfolge wieder, die Dauern jedoch ändern sich, was den Farben ein modifiziertes Profil verleiht.

Auf relativ knappem Raum werden in den *Couleurs de la Cité céleste* die wesentlichen Elemente des Messiaen-Stiles vereint: Farbklänge, griechische Versfüße, indische Deci-Talas, Vogelstimmen und religiöse Inspiration – hier musikalisch zusätzlich präsent in modifizierten Zitate gregorianischer Themen.

Im folgenden sei nun auf das 1928 entstandene Frühwerk und erstes veröffentlichtes Opus *Préludes* eingegangen, eine Komposition, die nicht nur in den Titeln der einzelnen Stücke an Claude Debussy gemahnt.³⁶ Auch wenn Messiaen die rhythmische Raffinesse Debussys zur Entstehungszeit der *Préludes* noch nicht besaß, so gelang es ihm doch, den Eindruck der Zeitlosigkeit, den die Werke Debussys vermitteln, auch in seinen *Préludes* entstehen zu lassen.

In seinen eigenen kurzen Angaben zu den *Préludes*, die lediglich Farbhinweise enthalten, schrieb Messiaen: *«Au moyen de modes harmoniques, transposables seulement un certain nombre de fois et tirant de ce fait leurs couleurs particulières, j'étais arrivé à opposer des disques de couleurs, à entrelacer des arcs-en-ciel, à trouver en musique des couleurs complémentaires»*.³⁷ Solche Experimente mit Farbscheiben wurden in den zwanzigsten Jahren oft von Malern unternommen, um Mischungen zu erkunden.³⁸

Die Hauptfarben der *Préludes* sind violett und orange, der häufigste Modus ist der zweite. Bevor die Farb-Klänge, deren Klanggestaltung und Harmonik näher analysiert werden, seien die Parameter Form, Rhythmus und Satztechnik etc. überblicksartig beleuchtet: Generell sind die acht *Préludes* homophon gesetzt, Beispiele für kurze Kanons finden sich in allen Stücken mit Ausnahme der Nummern eins und acht. Die Melodie, der Messiaen stets die Vorherrschaft zukommen läßt,³⁹ liegt überwiegend in der oberen Hälfte der Klaviatur. Die Dynamik ist fast durchwegs graduell angelegt. Die rhythmischen Verfahren sind in den *Préludes* noch konventionell, allerdings finden sich schon einige Charakteristiken seines späteren Stils, wie beispielsweise ein nichtumkehrbarer Rhythmus in Nr. 4 (T.1) sowie hinzugefügte Werte in Nr. 1 (T.4–6), Nr. 4 (T.9) und Nr. 6 (T.1). In noch sehr allgemeiner Version ist in der Nr. 4 die Idee der *«personnages rythmiques»* entwickelt: Das Material des ersten Teiles zieht sich bei jedem Erscheinen zusammen, während sich das des zweiten (T.23ff.) ausweitet.

Neben Rondo-Form (Nr. 4) und Sonaten-Form (Nr. 8) weisen die Stücke eine einfache Zwei- oder Dreiteiligkeit auf. Wie häufig bei Messiaen, ist auch für die formale Gestaltung ein religiöser Hintergrund mitbestimmend: Das symmetrische Triptychon der Nr. 2 beispielsweise, deren drei Teile aus jeweils drei Elementen bestehen, stellt eine frühe Hommage an die Dreifaltigkeit dar.⁴⁰

In allen *Préludes* wird die nicht mehr im Sinne der Funktions-Harmonik verwendete Dur-Moll-Tonalität mit der Modalität gemischt – ein wesentlicher Faktor für die ungemein reizvolle Klanglichkeit dieses Werkes.

Von den von Messiaen bevorzugten Akkorden finden sich Dreiklänge mit hinzugefügter Quart, hinzugefügter Sext sowie Resonanzakkorde.

Die Farben des ersten, zweiteiligen *Prélude La Colombe* sind orange mit violetter Maserung; die Grundtonart ist E-Dur, die mit dem zweiten Modus in der zweiten Transposition verbunden wird. Hier zeigt sich bereits die Inkonsistenz Messiaens, da die vorherrschenden Farben für diesen Modus, wie oben ausgeführt, gold und braun sein müßten. In den Takten 1–2 (Notenbeispiel 1) und 11–12 findet sich ein sog. *«Groupe»*

Pédal«, Pedalgruppen in Parallellakkorden. Die Kette ineinander klingender Dreiklänge, die die Melodie in einer Halbton-Ganzton-Skala bilden (=zweiter Modus, zweite Transposition) enthalten das von Messiaen bevorzugte Intervall der übermäßigen Quart. Ab T.3 folgen drei Takte im unisono mit hinzugefügten Werten: Sechzehntel und Achtel in klassischer Vergrößerung, punktierte Achtel (unter Hinzufügung des Punktes) und Viertel (unter Hinzufügung eines Drittels des Wertes). Insgesamt bewegt sich das Stück im Tonika-Dominant-hinzugefügte Resonanz.

Bei der äußerst polytonalen Nummer Nr. 2 (*Chant d'Extase dans un Paysage triste*) ist die thematische Verwandtschaft zu dem Prélude in *Pelléas et Mélisande* (Thema von Golaud) des Debussy offenkundig. Die Hauptfarben sind grau und malve – die Farben der zweiten Transposition des dritten Modus. Dieser Modus scheint jedoch im gesamten Prélude nicht auf. Hingegen ist der häufigste Modus der zweite in der ersten Transposition, der mit der Grundtonart fis-Moll – im Mittelteil Fis-Dur – und polytonalen Akkorden verbunden wird: Die Takte 1 bis 12 sind in fis-Moll, mit Modulationen in T. 12 nach c-Moll und e-Moll, endend mit einem Neapolitanischen Sextakkord bei T. 17. Das Tonmaterial der Takte T.12-16 (Notenbeispiel 2) und T.25-28 ist dem »farblosen« siebten Modus entnommen, wobei die Skalen immer unvollständig sind. Ein frühes Beispiel für einen »Kommentar« findet sich in Takt 33.

Der symmetrische Dreiteiligkeit dieses Stückes (A: T.1-24, B: 25-48, A: T.49-63, Coda) entspricht Messiaens Ideal der nicht umkehrbaren Form in Korrespondenz zu den nichtumkehrbaren Rhythmen.⁴¹

Auch die Nr. 3 (*Le Nombre léger*) ist ein Beispiel für die Inkonsistenz der Farbuordnungen bei Messiaen. Als Hauptfarbe wird orange mit violett angegeben, der bestimmende Modus ist jedoch der zweite in seiner zweiten Transposition, der mit der Tonart E-Dur verbunden wird. Insgesamt ist die Harmonik des Stückes aus Tonika-Dominant-Beziehungen mit alterierten, aus dem zweiten Modus abgeleiteten Akkorden gestaltet. Chromatische Sequenzen finden sich in T.17 und 30 mit klanglichen Reminiszenzen an Chopins opus 19 Nr. 3. Kommentare zu den einzelnen Phrasen finden sich in den Takten 12, 17, 25 und 30-34. Der rhythmische Fluß des dreiteiligen Stückes wird nur in T.13 und 25 unterbrochen.

In seinem Stimmungsgehalt an Debussys *Des pas sur la neige* aus *Children's Corner* und in seiner statischen Harmonik an Debussys *Danses de Delphes* aus *Préludes* (Heft I) erinnert die Nummer vier (*Instants défunts*), die mit der Farbangabe grau und malve mit grünen Reflexionen versehen ist. Der an sich »farbloser« Modus sieben trägt die Melodie und formt, in verschiedenen Transpositionen, die eine Basis, die zweite bildet die Tonart d-Moll. Akkorde mit hinzugefügter Quart (T.2), hinzugefügter Sext (T.9 und 19; Notenbeispiel 3) und Pedalgruppen in T.25 sind bereits typische Merkmale der harmonischen Gestaltung späterer Werke. Der von Messiaen so geschätzte Tritonus bildet die intervallische Zelle des Basses und der Begleitung. Im zweiten Teil (T.23ff.) übernimmt ein Kanon die Bewegung in umgekehrter Richtung.

Das von Messiaen selbst bevorzugte Prélude stellt die Nummer fünf dar, *Les sons inappaisés du rêve*,⁴² das mit einem Groupe-Pédal in der rechten Hand beginnt. Messiaen hat die Farben des Prélude 1972 folgendermaßen angegeben:⁴³ Blau-orange mit ostinato in Akkord-Kaskaden in violett-purpur.

In einem Brief Messiaens des Jahres 1987 hingegen⁴⁴ werden die Farbabsoziationen folgendermaßen geändert: das eröffnende Ostinato der rechten Hand (dritter Modus in der dritten Transposition) ist blau und grün, das Hauptthema in der linken Hand (zweiter Modus in der ersten Transposition) ist blau, rot und violett. In diesem Prélude findet sich somit erstmals im Werk von Messiaen eine Überlagerung von zwei Modi (=zwei Farben). Die Transpositionen der Modi drei und zwei sind so gewählt, daß beide Hände sechs Noten gemein haben; von ihnen bilden vier den ersten Akkord in der linken Hand und stellen auch den Bezug zur Grundtonalität des Stückes, A-Dur, her. In den Takten 16 und 22 findet sich der sechste Modus, in Takt 22 der fünfte Modus, jeweils in der vierten Transposition.

Die Form ist streng dreiteilig (A T.1-21 mit einem Kommentar in den Takten 7 bis 8, B T.22-43, in sich zweiteilig: 1. Teil von 23-32, 2. Teil von 33-43, A T.44-63, Coda T.65ff.). Der letzte Akkord enthält alle Noten des dritten Modus und stellt einen »accord de résonance« dar (T. 66-67; Notenbeispiel 4).

Die starke Anklänge an Ravel's *Le Gibet* aufweisende Nr. 6 (*Cloches d'angoisse et larmes d'adieu*) hat als Hauptfarben purpur, orange und violett.

Das Stück trägt den Schlüssel der c-Moll-Tonart, die in der Folge mit den Modi zwei, drei und sechs verbunden wird. Anklänge an die Tonarten b-Moll (T.21–26) und B-Dur (T.27–39) ergänzen die Vielfalt des Klangfeldes. Insgesamt werden die Modi zwei, drei und sechs in unterschiedlichen Transpositionen verwendet: Modus zwei in der zweiten Transposition bei Takt 2, Modus sechs für die oberen Akkorde, Modus zwei für die Akkorde in mittleren Bereich bis T.5, dritte Transposition des zweiten Modus bei T.14, Modus drei in seiner zweiten Transposition bei T.22 und T.28, dritte Transposition des zweiten Modus bei T.29, vierte Transposition des dritten Modus bei T.39, erste Transposition des zweiten Modus bei T.51. Zu dieser harmonischen Unruhe kommen noch die zahlreichen Wechsel des Metrums, das sich bei 74 Takten insgesamt 56 mal ändert. Im ersten Takt verwendet Messiaen – ungewöhnlich für sein Frühwerk – einen additiven Rhythmus (Notenbeispiel 5). Kommentare stellen die Takte 11–13, 26, 32–38 und 49 dar. Takt 73 weist einen ein Resonanzakkord auf.

Wie bei Nummer 4 finden sich bei Nr 7 (*Plainte calme*) die Farben Grau mit Grün und Malve. Der farblose siebte Modus in seiner ersten Transposition bestimmt das gesamte Stück mit Ausnahme eines Abschnittes in b-Moll des ersten (T.1–14) und des letzten Teiles (T.24ff.). Auch hier wechselt, wie in Nr. 6, sehr oft das Metrum. Ein »harmonischer Kommentar« findet sich in den T.17–18, ein Kommentar in den T.20–24 (Notenbeispiel 6).

Die Farben des letzten Prélude (Nr. 8: *Un reflet dans le vent*) werden für die Takte 1–32 mit orange-grün und einigen schwarzen Punkten angegeben, die T.33–74 mit blau-orange, ihre Wiederholung bei T.109ff. mit orange-grau. Die harmonische Gestaltung hiezu: T.1–32 in D-Dur, T.33–74 A-Dur, T.75–79 b-Moll, T.80–90 h-Moll, T.91–96 Fis-Dur, T.97–108 E-Dur, die Schlußakte D-Dur. Zu diesen Tonarten wird bis Takt 74 der dritte Modus kombiniert: Takt 1–32 in seiner vierten Transposition, 2. Thema (T.33–74) in seiner dritten Transposition; ab T.75 finden sich der fünfte und sechste Modus. Harmonische Litaneien wiesen die Takte 9 und 25 im ersten Thema auf. Das zweite Thema (T.33; Notenbeispiel 7) wurde vermutlich durch Edvard Griegs *Lied an Solweig* aus *Peer Gynt* inspiriert.

In Anbetracht der sehr subjektiv, willkürlich und zuweilen widersprüchlich erscheinenden Zuordnungen von Farbkonstellationen zu Klangkomplexen und Modi erscheint es fraglich, ob man bei Messiaen überhaupt von einem Farbsystem sprechen kann. Für seinen Kompositionsprozeß bildete die Farbe eine objektive Kategorie, die er ebenso wie seine harmonischen und rhythmischen Verfahren verwendete. Seine Bemühungen jedoch, sein synästhetisches Erleben in Aussagen und Abhandlungen als intersubjektiv kommunizierbares System darzustellen, führen zu keinem Ergebnis. Auch hier erweist sich, daß das Farbenhören ein sehr individuelles, sich jeglichem Regelsystem entziehendes Phänomen ist. Die Fülle an unterschiedlichen Daten hiezu zeigt – wie schon Francis Galton 1883 ausführte – daß das Synästhesiephänomen ein weiterer Beleg dafür sei, an die »Einzigartigkeit jedes Menschen zu glauben.«⁴⁵

Da keine eigentliche Farbsystematisierung erkennbar ist, scheint es angemessen, nach einer symbolischen oder auch theologischen Bedeutung der Farben zu fragen. Da Messiaen zeit seines Lebens tiefgläubiger Katholik war, könnten für ihn Farben auch religiöse Bedeutungsträger gewesen sein. Dies ist sowohl für den Regenbogen, dessen Bild, wie eingangs erwähnt, in Messiaens Werk immer wieder aufscheint, als auch für die von ihm so bevorzugte Farbe Violett eine mögliche Annahme.⁴⁶ Von Messiaen selbst gibt es zu einer allfälligen symbolischen Bedeutung der Farben jedoch keinerlei Angaben.

Sehr wohl kommt er hingegen in seiner am 4. Dezember 1977 in Notre-Dame de Paris gehaltenen Rede auf den eigentlichen Funktionsgehalt des Farbklanges, des »son-couleur«, zu sprechen: »Die Farbenmusik aber bewirkt, was die Glasfenster und Rosetten des Mittelalters bewirken. Sie führt uns zum Geblendetein. Sie spricht unsere vornehmsten Sinne an, das Gehör und das Auge, und sie bewegt zugleich unsere Sensibilität, reizt unsere Vorstellungskraft, steigert unsere Intelligenz und leitet uns an, unsere Begriffswelt zu überwinden, uns dem zu nähern, das über dem logischen Denken und der Intuition angesiedelt ist, nämlich dem Glauben.«⁴⁷ Mit diesen Worten, deren Gehalt auch den Schluß seiner Oper *Saint François d'Assise* bestimmt, wird die höchste Bedeutung der Musik Messiaens offenbar: durch die Schönheit der Farbe dem von Menschenhand gebildeten Kunstwerk die Nähe Gottes zu verleihen.

ANMERKUNGEN

¹ Olivier Messiaen, *Musique et couleur: Nouveaux entretiens avec Claude Samuel*. Entretiens (Paris: Belfont, 1986), 43.

² Z.B. in seinem 1760 geschriebenen *Essai sur l'origine des langues où il est parlé de la mélodie et de l'imitation musicale*, wo Rousseau von falschen Analogien zwischen Farben und Tönen spricht. Vgl. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, »Musik und Sprache«, in: ders.: *Ausgewählte Schriften*, übersetzt von Dorothea und Peter Gülke (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshoven, 1984), 148.

³ Zu den großen Unterschieden in der Zuordnung von Tönen zu Farben vgl. beispielsweise Carl Loef, *Farbe-Musik-Form: Ihre bedeutenden Zusammenhänge* (Göttingen: Musterschmid, 1974), 109. Hier wird eine farbliche Darstellung von Tönen bei 10 Autoren zusammengestellt. Übereinstimmungen sind nicht vorhanden.

⁴ Zu den verschiedenen Systemen siehe z.B. einen Vergleich der Analogiebildungen von Skrjabin, Hauer, Messiaen und Vysnegradskij bei Barbara Barthelmes, *Rainn und Klang. Das musikalische und theoretische Schaffen Iwan Wysnegradskis* (Hofheim: Wolke, 1993), 244–255.

⁵ Vgl. Helga de la Motte-Haber (Hrsg.), *Musik und Religion* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag 1995), 231.

⁶ Theodor W. Adorno, *Über einige Relationen zwischen Musik und Malerei. Die Kunst und die Künste* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1967), 5ff.

⁷ Vgl. Karin von Maur, *Vom Klang der Bilder: Die Musik in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München: Prestel, 1994).

⁸ Thomas Daniel Schlee und Dietrich Kämpfer (Hrsg.), *Olivier Messiaen. La Cité céleste / Das himmlische Jerusalem: Über Leben und Werk des französischen Komponisten* (Köln: Wienand, 1998), 163.

⁹ O. Messiaen, *Musique et couleur*, 46.

¹⁰ O. Messiaen, *ibid.*, 39 und 42.

¹¹ Vgl. *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* (München; Leipzig: K.G. Saur Verlag, 1995).

¹² B. Barthelmes, *op. cit.*, 8ff.

¹³ Paul Griffiths, *Olivier Messiaen and the Music of Time* (London: Faber & Faber, 1985), 203.

¹⁴ Vgl. hierzu auch die Tabelle der Kompositionen bei Jonathan W. Bernard, *Messiaen's Synaesthesia: The Correspondence between Colour and Sound Structure in his Music, Music Perception IV/1 (1986)*, 41–68, dies 47.

¹⁵ Zitiert nach Katalog Olivier Messiaen, *La Recherche Artistique* (Paris, 1978), und Claude Samuel und David Colin (Hrsg.), *Hommage à Olivier Messiaen* (Paris, 1978), 80.

¹⁶ Vgl. hierzu J.W. Bernard, *op. cit.*, 46.

¹⁷ O. Messiaen, *Musique et couleur*, 67.

¹⁸ O. Messiaen, *ibid.*, 45.

¹⁹ O. Messiaen, *ibid.*, 68.

²⁰ O. Messiaen, *ibid.*, 68ff. (Blau-violette Felsen, übersät von kleinen grauen Kuben, kobaltblau, dunkles purpurn-blau, mit einigen ins violette spielenden purpurnen Reflexen, gold, rot, rubin, und malvenfarbige, schwarze und weiße Sterne. Vorherrschend: blau-violett).

²¹ O. Messiaen, *ibid.*, 68 (Goldene und silberne Spiralen auf braun und rubinrot quergestreiftem Grund. Vorherrschend: gold und braun).

²² O. Messiaen, *ibid.*, 68 (Hellgrünes und wiesengrünes

Laubwerk, mit blauen, silbernen und rötlich-orangen Flecken. Vorherrschend: grün).

²³ O. Messiaen, *ibid.*, 68 (Horizontale, übereinandergeschichtete Farbbänder: von unten nach oben dunkelgrau, malvenfarben, hellgrau und weiß mit malvenfarbenen und hellgelben Reflexen – mit leuchtend goldenen Buchstaben einer unbekannten Schrift und zahlreichen, sehr zarten, feinen, kaum sichtbaren roten respektive blauen Bögen. Vorherrschend: grau und malvenfarben).

²⁴ Vgl. T.D. Schlee und D. Kämpfer (Hrsg.), *op. cit.*, 163 sowie O. Messiaen, *Musique et couleur*, 69.

²⁵ Alfred Binet, »Le Problème de l'audition colorée«, *Revue des deux mondes*, 113 (1892), 586–614. Vgl. hierzu auch R.H. Simpson; M. Quinn; D. P. Ausubel, »Synesthesia in Children: Associations of Colors with Pure Tone Frequencies«, *Journal of Genetic Psychology* LXXXIX (1956) 95–1039.

²⁶ O. Messiaen, *Musique et couleur*, 69.

²⁷ Vgl. auch J.W. Bernard, *op. cit.*, 47.

²⁸ Vgl. z. B. für Sept Haikai des Jahres 1962 vgl. P. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, 203.

²⁹ Aloyse Michaely, *Die Musik Olivier Messiaens: Untersuchungen zum Gesamtwerk* (Hamburg: K.D. Wagner, 1987), 365.

³⁰ C. Samuel und D. Colin, *op. cit.*, 23.

³¹ T.D. Schlee und D. Kämpfer (Hrsg.), *op. cit.*, 166.

³² C. Samuel und D. Colin, *op. cit.*, 80.

³³ P. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, 203.

³⁴ Nr. 2 der *Trois petites Liturgies de la Présence Divine*, 1943, Ziffer 8.

³⁵ T.D. Schlee und D. Kämpfer (Hrsg.), *op. cit.*, 165–166. Messiaen hat die Kirchenfenster von Notre Dame oder Chartres als permutative Farbreihen gesehen.

³⁶ Olivier Messiaen, *Préludes pour piano* (Paris: Durand, 1930). Zum Einfluß Debussys auf Messiaen vgl. Roger Smalley, »Debussy und Messiaen«, *The Musical Times* CLX/1500 (Februar 1968), 128–131.

³⁷ C. Samuel und D. Colin, *op. cit.*, 21.

³⁸ Helga de la Motte-Haber, *Musik und bildende Kunst: Von der Tonmalerei zur Klangkultur* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 171.

³⁹ Zur Bedeutung der Melodie siehe Olivier Messiaen, *Technique de mon langage musical* (Neussargues: Cantal, 1942), 29.

⁴⁰ Madeleine Hsu, *Olivier Messiaen, the Musical Mediator. A Study of the Influence of Liszt, Debussy and Bartók* (London: 1996), 37.

⁴¹ T.D. Schlee und D. Kämpfer, *op. cit.*, 46 und O. Messiaen, *Technique de mon langage musical*, 48.

⁴² Roger Nichols, *Messiaen* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 11.

⁴³ M. Hsu, *op. cit.*, 37.

⁴⁴ M. Hsu, *op. cit.*, 38.

⁴⁵ Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1883), 233.

⁴⁶ Vgl. hierzu beispielsweise Albert Biesinger, *Gott in Farbe sehen: Die symbolische und religiöse Bedeutung der Farben* (München 1995).

⁴⁷ Zitiert bei T.D. Schlee und D. Kämpfer, *op. cit.*, 171.

Notenbeispiel 1: Olivier Messiaen, Prélude I: La colombe (T. 1)

Lent, expressif, d'une sonorité très enveloppée

ppp

p

Notenbeispiel 2: Olivier Messiaen, Prélude II: Chant d'Extase dans un Paysage triste (T. 12-16)

en mvt.

en dehors

ppp

p

ppp

pp

Rall.

Notenbeispiel 3: Olivier Messiaen, Prélude IV: Instants défunts (T. 9 & T. 19)

Moderé

mf

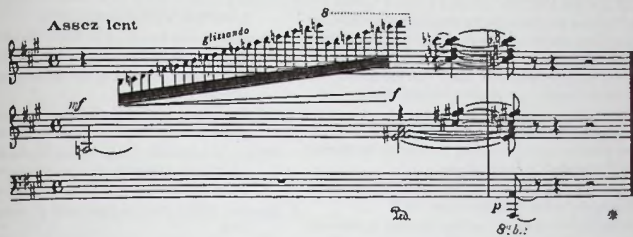
Lent

ppp

expressif

mf

Notenbeispiel 4: Prélude V: *Les sous impalpable du rêve* (T. 66-67)



Notenbeispiel 5: Prélude VI: *Cloches d'angoisse et larmes d'adieu* (T. 1)



Notenbeispiel 6: Prélude VII: *Plainte calme* (T. 22-23)



Notenbeispiel 7: Prélude VIII: *Un reflet dans le vent* (T. 9; T. 25; T. 33)



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MUSIC ON MONEY: STATE LEGITIMATION AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATION

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This essay follows the cultural filigree inscribed on late-twentieth-century paper money, focusing on both currencies of West European countries before they abolished their national currencies in favor of the *euro* and some East European countries not yet members of the European Union; and surveys the grounds on which the state, as the owner of money, ceased promoting itself exclusively through the symbols of power, leaving the room for the representations of civil values and cultural symbols. This article is a part of a triptych written in summer 2001 and for a wider context should be related to other independent paper (Marian-Bălașa 2001 & Marian-Bălașa [forthcoming]). Focus and perspectives differ in each essay, but they have in common the idea that the state is an absolute owner of banknotes, and that through the agency of money the state promotes itself and its narratives in accordance with its own character, interests, requirements, and conditions. The didactic role of images placed on money is less important, central or efficient, whereas their politically informative role is sovereign.

Until now banknotes were studied only with concern to messages written by casual users (Mugnaini 1994). In the pages to follow I investigate the cultural filigree inscribed on twentieth-century paper money, trying to identify the political, social-cultural, and anthropological meanings of the presence of this "cultural filigree". Hence, my attempt is to decode cultural significations and political gestures that lay behind and are revealed by the official decision of designing/printing/issuing banknotes with heraldic and cultural symbols. Moreover, noticing that banknotes bear musical (i.e., cultural in general) marks, and analyzing the presence of music (portraits of musicians and instruments) on banknotes, this essay investigates the relationships between state and its culture. Also it is interesting to investigate the attitude with and the grounds on which the state itself, as money owner, ceased promoting itself through power symbols only, left room for the illustration of civil values (culture), and eventually had chosen to promote itself through arts and culture.

Money has never been just a financial instrument. Marks and symbols molded on coins have transmitted and imposed an authority; the circulation and use of money led to the expansion of that authority. The story of Jesus who, upon seeing a coin and noticing the imperial effigy marked on it, said "Give Cesar what belongs to Cesar", speaks of possession through imprinting. A portrait, name, sign, or signature stamped on an object somehow confiscates that object, making it dependent to the person or name they represent.

Money has always belonged to the state and carried the trace and symbols of political power. Ruling bodies appealed to cultural symbols quite late in history, and only in democratic European countries did the state understand to provide the space for culture, allowing as well as requesting that culture represent its own attributes. From the perspective of a cultural study, it is important to understand why would the state choose to reflect and to promote itself through culture, and why it would put the power and politics proper aside, representing and promoting culture instead. Of course, in the end, the state power and politics will identify themselves through culture, an appropriation that will revise and refine not only the idea of repre-

sensation, legitimation, but also of identity. Another topic is the way how states did or do this. Some banknotes delicately or discretely show a portrait of a musician or a musical instrument, while others exaggeratedly stress cultural aspects, showing numerous signs and symbols telling about the life and work of a specific composer. Who are the musicians to be eligible for being imprinted on money? How is the selection made from the national musical repository. How do money designers decide which images are acceptable for national currencies? Why American banknotes will never have cultural personalities imprinted? All these and many other questions constitute incentives for a comprehensive systematizing of the intellectual, critical / hermeneutic questioning and answering, for hypothesis and suggestions that generate a cultural study.

LIKE MONEY, LIKE STATE. The portrait on a banknote identifies not only the banknote itself but also attempts to represent the very (idea of a) strong and stable state. In contrast to European currencies, which often change design, imagery, and cultural personalities, the banknotes of the United States bear a similar design and the same images almost from their inception. In countries with the high value inflation and fluctuation, it is necessary to make frequent changes of banknote design. Thus, it sometimes became almost impossible to arrive at a solid, clear, and complete acknowledgment of the state's symbolic identity based on iconography shown on the currency. Designs, patterns, and polychromatic shades have changed there too often for people to truly assimilate them and make a mental identification between a particular amount and the illustrated persons symbolizing that amount. An interesting symptom is reflected in the fact that cultural personalities depicted on currencies have left enormously little impression on its users. Almost nowhere in Europe people identify in colloquial speech a sum with the name of the person illustrated on the banknote. Rather, for the expressive naming of the currency is preferred lubricious, kinky, and juicy repertoire of names coming from town outskirts or jail slang. Thus, for example, French people say *pognon*, while Romanians have generalized terms such as *mălai* (corn), or the Gypsy-Turkish-like *lovele*, *mardei*, and *biștari*. This means that time, mentality, and economics should pass until one would hear on the European territory famous names instead of precise finances. In fact, cultural personalities and elements posted on banknotes represent a policy and attempt at education, made by state itself. The idea and objective are noble, but their limits – equally in time and in the profundity of people's mentality – are significant.

It is very important, even crucial, that European countries have departed from insignia and images representing the strongest signification for the state, nation, political protection, power, and stability – which was a repertoire iconographically dominated by kings and totems, presidents and more or less war-like events – and arrived at the spiritual altitude where they offer the public space of money to culture. I call this gesture the refinement, or higher spiritual altitude. On the one hand, this is a direct consequence of liberalism and democracy, reflecting the acceptance of governments to be transient, without imposing by all means their perpetuation. On the other hand, giving up subordination of the idea of state, fatherland / motherland, nation, power, dignity to the theme of governing (imperialism, monarchy, presidency), giving up representing a nation, a state and an economy through authority effigies – this reflects a proof of superior mentality, and not only political but also spiritual maturity. Thus, representing the state and nation with cultural legacies and artistic personalities reflects not only democracy in itself, but the liberalism, maturity, refinement, and spiritualization of democracy.

Money and state belonged in the past to various tyrants, kings, and political leaders featured on coins and banknotes. Referring to those times, we could paraphrase Jesus and say that money belonged to the one who sealed his signature or molded his portrait on it. Such a thing cannot be said about the present-day money bearing cultural portraits and symbols. In public consciousness – as well as subconsciousness – money does not belong to scientists represented on it, such as Gauss, Freud, or Curie, and even less to musicians, such as Bach, Mozart, Chopin, Enescu, Bellini, or Debussy. In contrast to past warriors and politicians, present-day heroes who regularize people's life and savings, are artists who have nothing in common with money. Appropriating certain artists, the state issuing – and thus owning – the money projects an image of being more human, and in an apparent selfless gesture and for the community's benefit, promotes its culture making its artists compulsorily better known. At the same time, such a selection aims at serving state's own interest, justifying and legitimizing itself, promoting itself on a superior, modern level, and recommending itself as a moral patron and value owner.

With the exception of some very modern one, greater monarchies cede the space on their banknotes to cultural figures slower and with more difficulty. Similar to postal and philatelic stamps of the United Kingdom and its dominions, English banknotes (and to some extent Scottish or North Irish) maintain invariably likeness of the queen. The handsome and virile face of Spain's king did not cede a place to great Spanish personalities. On the other hand, Nordic monarchies and other smaller states, keep a lower profile and remain more generous. In Belgium, country where monarchy has become more of a cultural tradition, the banknote of 2000 francs showed Adolphe Sax, the inventor of the instrument dominating jazz music.

A particular political situation was illustrated by the obverse of all coins of the Republic of Ireland. Although the Irish currency was still dependent on the British financial system and wealth, the idea of political independence was softly forwarded by the substitution of the queen's likeness with the harp, the Irish national and nationalist symbol. In 1926, the fresh Irish Free State appointed a commission, chaired by William Butler Yeats, to decide about the design of currency, and hence one should presume that the poet favored the musical instrument not so much because he was a romantic poet, trusting the value of musical reverie and of rhapsodic feeling, but rather because the apparently poetical symbol of the Irish harp was an old-established emblem of political differentiation, identity, legitimization, independence, and abstract territoriality. For outsiders to the Ireland's inner politics, the harp (i.e., music) might have appeared as a neutral symbol. Indeed, music does suggest both dependence and independence, obedience and subversion, awakening consciousness and dormant temper; music can symbolize all these (and many other) ambiguous features in acceptable and harmonized measures. Yet, Irish people saw in the harp something more sounding than music itself: an eternal nationalist emblem of the past and desired statehood.

TAKING HOLD OF CULTURE. Money bears not only symbols of warfare and power but also imagery of love and charm. In the past, fearsome heraldic insignia were accompanied or doubled by maternal silhouettes and female virginal faces, since states wanted to be appreciated, having in mind that coercion and dominance can be also exercised through a seduction (see Marian Bălașa [forthcoming]). What were the reasons that such ideas have disappeared in the second half of the twentieth century and what kind of new power, new image, expansion and, eventually, legitimization states strived to obtain by abandoning such symbols? What kind of politics, support, and promotion had the state intended to inspire, to enact, or to put forward? What was the gain for culture, achieved through this representational game? Was this representation of money as culture bearer instrumental? Has it achieved any social cultural, educational, or political goals? Has it increased and enriched people's ideas and feelings about state, nation, social security, culture, arts, welfare, fulfillment, or happiness? Has it launched new messages, new ideas, new symbols, and has it aimed at establishing higher awareness and effective consciousness?

In the past, design of money has usually never been a subject to democratic referendum, but rather a small group of people would decide, mostly in secrecy, on the design and on images and symbols that national currencies would bear and illustrate. People were just supposed to accept them. And so people did, without questioning who or why certain images were selected and imprinted on their money. One of the consequences was that people usually ignored the design of their banknotes, quickly forgetting about its details, paying attention exclusively to figure amounts. Possible communication about culture, ideas, and extra-financial information was easily forgotten.

In less democratic countries the most popular images on banknotes usually represent (a) war and heroic paraphernalia; (b) political symbols, effigies, and personalities; (c) highest political leaders, occasionally religious personalities, or situations significant for collective memory of the people; and (d) monuments related to history of state, and significant for legitimating ideologies, parties or governments in power. As a rule, only really democratic states frequently feature on their banknotes musical items and composers. The United States is an exception to this rule. There, political personalities remain an unchangeable tradition, and when asked the question why culture proper is not associated with state and financial instruments, answers would be variegated, either laying stress on patriotism or citing a lack of cultural tradition.

MUSICAL BANKNOTES: MEANING, TARGETS, SYMBOLS. Artistically speaking, among the most beautiful currencies featuring musicians is the Finnish banknote of 100 markka, devoted to Jan Sibelius (1865-1957). Dominated by green color, on the obverse it carries the composer's portrait, and on the reverse has flying

swans. There is nothing else to emphasize the status of the musician, composer, or illustrious man. Since Sibelius is a well-known Finnish national symbol, almost equal to the state flag, such imagery is sufficient, and an absence of extra- or overloaded visual message invokes modesty, civilization, and simplicity.

The banknote of Danish 100 *kroner* has similar characteristics, evoking music with not more than three elements. On the obverse of an elegant banknote is a portrait of the composer Karl Nielsen (1865–1931), with his name written in small print below his face, and two sixteenth-notes. In the filigree one can notice the image of the old-aged composer, without the hat worn on the portrait shown on the averse. Nothing else suggests music. The fantastic rooster beneath the background cross, which is printed on the reverse, could easily function next to other symbols, profiles, careers or names. The discretion of the Danish banknote seems elegant.

In contrast, the discretion of the 20 French *francs*, with Debussy's face on both sides accompanied with his name (without life dates) seems austere and banal. There are no musical elements included. The background depicts a romantic landscape, almost unremarkable, and not a symbolist or impressionist one. On the reverse we see the sea, reminding us of Debussy's favorite site, and his *La mer*. But only musicologists and fans of Debussy's music can make this (musical) connection. Nothing surpasses the discretion of the Hungarian 1000 *forint* bill, issued in the late 1980s, with the profile of Béla Bartók (1881–1945) shown on the obverse, and without anything else suggesting his profession, career, and musicality. Hence, what does this simplicity or austerity signify? Does it represent the modesty, in the sense that the French or the Hungarian spirit permits everyone the liberty to ignore who Debussy or Bartók, respectively, were? Or in the contrary, the pride of presuming that everybody should know something, even prior to touching the respective banknote, about the great composers.

The banknote of 100 *mark* was the most widely used large-amount German banknote during the 1990s. It shows a portrait of Clara Wieck Schuman (1819–1896) with her name and dates of life, and a drawing of a large lyraguitarre, overlaid over the silver form of a smaller lyre. (A fragment of a lyre comes in the security mark at least three times). On the reverse one sees a large picture of the piano centrally placed on the banknote, the facade of the Hochschule Konservatorium in Frankfurt am Main in the background, and several tuning forks. It is unclear whether the image represents only one fork shown in a vibrating position, or five of them. The German narrative is, thus, clear, unequivocal, and overly emphasized. Yet, the lyraguitarre was not an instrument played by the famous pianist, and very few commoners know that instrument was quite popular in the Romantic nineteenth century. To many of us, that lyra is an element of Greekness, which still plays forth as a symbol of any Romantic epoch and character – again to the connoisseurs. And the facades of buildings shown in the background are known to few Germans, not to mention the infallible infinitesimal percentage of other Europeans.

The Italian banknote of 5000 *lire* with Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835) was almost boringly classic, as was Austrian 5000 *Schilling* with the likeness of Mozart. The imagery of these banknotes brings nothing that the viewer already does not know about each composer, and the pictures of La Scala and the Staatsoper, respectively, suggest nothing besides the fact that opera is a national asset and a national contribution of Italy or Austria to the world culture. Since these images restate obvious facts, their informative and educative role is weakened. An opera house – the Paliašvili opera house in Tbilisi, named after the featured Zaharij Petrovič Paliašvili (1871–1933) – is also reproduced on Georgia's 2 *lari*. The portrait of the national composer and folklorist, together with the two-staff musical quotations from his opera *Abesalom da Eteri*, make the design simple and elegant. Elegant simplicity also characterizes the Slovenian 200 *tolarjev*, where the building of the Slovenska Filharmonija in Ljubljana is counterposed by a facsimile of a page from an edition of a composition by Jacobus Gallus (1550–1591), whose portrait is reproduced on the obverse. On these banknotes, musical scores as well as buildings seem just to balance and complement, in a decorative-ornamental manner, the portraits. At the same time, the Yugoslav 50 *dinara* – portrait of Stevan Mokranjac (1856–1914), a few notes, a fragment of a piano keyboard, a photo of the composer in standing position, and two short fragments of a staff – is not overwhelmed by symbols, has a chromatic elegance and modernity that take after the style of the Swiss banknote, and thus chase simplicity away. The moderate modernity of the banknote's design is somehow in contrast with the folkloristic/pastoral/romantic character of the Serbian composer's musical (mostly choral) style.

There is classic simplicity also on Estonia's 50 *krooni*, bearing on the obverse a portrait of the composer and conductor Rudolf Tobias (1873-1918), with an organ in the background, and on the reverse the opera and ballet hall Estonia, opened in 1913 with performances of several works by Tobias, under his conducting. The banknote has the austerity which is somehow typical for the iconography of Protestant-Scandinavian countries. It is made with a simplicity that is not as dull as the Russian 100,000 *ryblei* (opera house), or the Ukrainian 20 *grivni* (portrait, opera house, and extensive folkloristic decorations), and also simpler than the obverse of Bellini's Italian 5000 *lire*, the reverse of the Mozart's Austrian 5000 *shilling*, the reverse of the Swedish 50 *kronor*, or the reverse of the Georgian 2 *lari*.

The Armenian 50 *drām* has on the obverse a drawn portrait of Aram Hačaturian (1903-1978) and the opera house (which also has a concert hall named Hačaturian) in Erevan, and on the reverse a ballet dancing couple holding swords, the image of the Ararat Mountain, an outline of the violin scroll, and a notated fragment from the *Sabre Dance* from Hačaturian's ballet *Gaiane*. The excessive realism of the kitschy dancers is balanced and salvaged on the banknote by the hand-etched portrait of the composer and, especially, the musical quotation which brings a little bit of nonfigurativeness. In fact, labeling these designs as (resulting in/ from) dull, the matter should be discussed from the point of view of an art critic. Realistic buildings usually look dull because they represent and obey a common, facile, less imaginative iconographic repertoire. Yet, from the perspective of a social and political analyst, such monuments belong to the world of old-fashioned, sentimental representation: they connect with the specific place, culture, nation, and therefore nationalism, more easily than composers' faces. Whereas elements such as musical quotations, regardless whether they are suggestive fragments or legible musical texts, function like abstract and modern graphics, which is more in conformity to contemporary artistic trends. From this perspective, the case of the Swedish 50 *kronor* is unique: its reverse is spectacularly modern and still, it displays a folk instrument with musicologically correct pitches, registers, and scales resulting out of its tuning, keys and strings. There is also there a polychromatic explosion of notes (actually an artistic/pictorial score, belonging to the contemporary composer Sven-David Sandström). This score complements that scholarly demonstration with an impressive, vanguard-futurist graphism. The contrasting obverse is classic (singer's face, aria fragment, opera hall), demonstrating that the banknote was conceived by two very different designers.

However, the symbolism provided by musical buildings should be tackled also with the speculative instruments of a cultural anthropologist. Thus, within the representational imagery and imagination, the heavy and impressive opera buildings function not only as a sign for national consecration and bourgeois luxury. They are impressive yet celebratory homes, massive yet affordable, grandiose yet secret, public yet intimate. Their physically objective and opulent space is also the receptacle and presenter of the hidden delights actualized or achieved through music. The rocky Sphinx was replaced on the Romanian banknote by the Athenaeum because a natural element, wild altitude, tourist attraction, as well as an only doubtful historical speculation, are "less human" than a house of cultural, personal, and civic-social delights. The mountain megalite appears too natural, primitive, and cultureless. Whereas musical buildings are institutions in which the secular state perform its lubricious liturgies. They encapsulate poetry, daydreams, sentimentalism, and ecstasy provided by music and allowed or sponsored by state power as a reward, gratification, and freedom.

The English banknote of 20 *pounds* is modern and interesting, sober and playful, nice and elegant, and from an informational point of view, well balanced. A portrait of Sir Edward Elgar (1857-1934) is accompanied by Worcester Cathedral viewed from the west, St. Cecilia holding a portative organ, a heralding angel blowing the trumpet, subtle musical keys in the background, and rains or rays of falling-flying round notes and flats. The Worcester Cathedral is a place where Sir Edward's musical pieces were premiered and performed, and any English musicologist can tell plenty about the connections between the composer and the establishment, monarchy included. In another paper (Marian Bălașa 2001) I discussed in more detail the English banknote, revealing several contrasting or parallel issues with the Romanian 50,000 *lei*. Now, it might be closer to the present approach and topic, or at least interesting within the present context, to say that during my interviews, which focused on the opportunity and choice for a particular composer, the discussion on Sir Edward banknote proved to cause one of the most suggestive and effective brainstorming sessions. The first and only musicians on English money, Sir Edward was chosen because only a few local/ national composers gained a significant

reputation and fame. Other composers, such as Purcell or Byrd, are still less known to the general public. "Britten was homosexual, and this might be a handicap" – I was told by a gay musicologist, who doubted that Britten might ever be accepted to feature on national banknotes. Then, in order to verify if such an attitude would bear hold, I asked another musicologist (Jeremy Montagu): "Once knowing that Britten was gay, would you still vote for him to feature on a banknote?" The elder British organologist replied: "What has that got to do with his quality of a composer? So was Čajkovskij. So is much of the arts establishment." And when I asked him again: "Do you think those in charge with issuing banknotes would accept him (despite this appearance of him)?" he just said: "The Queen conferred the Order of Merit on him."

WHAT AND HOW MUCH CAN ONE LEARN FROM MONEY? A few European banknotes are excessively redundant in their iconography, having too many elements strengthening the idea of profession, characteristics, and cultural heritage left by the person shown on them. And this is the case with Romanian contemporary currency. On the 50,000 *lei* banknote, besides the portrait of George Enescu (1881–1955), on the obverse are shown a profile of the violin engraved in pink color; a three-dimensional violin in the maroon bronze color, the triple *f*-sign, 128th notes, with staves and notes as the background. On the reverse is shown a long and swinging staff with a fragment from Enescu's music, the violin profile, a reversed triple *f*-sign, and innumerable *G*clefs in the background. Actually, the Enescu banknote had two slightly different versions. The first, issued and released in the fall of 1996, had on the obverse two pairs of 128th-note values. On the second version, released in 2000, the pair of 128th note appears only once, but the violin shape doubles. From this design one learns that Enescu was not only a virtuoso violinist, but also a complex composer. However, the most difficult aspect of the banknote to understand is the presence of a natural rock, shaped with a human face, known to Romanians as The Sphinx, which is located in the high Bucegi Mountains in Romania. This monolith image makes the banknote speculative and almost philosophical.

My attempts at finding out what people involved in designing this banknote actually had in mind failed. The National Bank invoked the confidentiality imposed by the law and contracts. The author of this design, the professional engraver who made all designs for the Romanian banknotes of the 1990s, refused to cooperate on equally self-protecting and contractual grounds. It is certain that he collaborated with a musicologist or a musician in designing the currency, but I was not able to identify that person either. Apparently, the music advisor was not a very good, since a better choice for the music fragment inserted in the staff waving above the rock would have been the "Man's motive" or the "Sphinx's motive" in their most typical interval constructions (as they were identified in Cosma 1967 and theorized in Marian 1991). This melodic motive appears in various interval hypostasis – from descending semitone plus augmented second to semitone plus minor or major third, perfect fourth, and especially augmented fourth – and characterizes not only Enescu's *Oedipe* opera, but also his other mature works. The persons deciding on what symbols should be featured on money did make a connection between the Sphinx (*La Sphiinge*), the central character in Enescu's opera, and the Romanian homonymous mountain rock, but they did not go up the very musicological and philosophical end of connecting these two elements with the musical motive which identifies the Sphinx, the Fate, and the Man as the victor over the Sphinx, which is that cell of a *semitone* plus (most often and clearly) *augmented fourth*. It is possible that the designer picked up this fragment of the staff from somewhere in *Oedipe* score, treating it exclusively as a graphic ornament. There is on the banknote present a hint about Enescu's complex opera, with a plenty of fourths defining his compositional style and expansive/heroic melody. Yet, it is not the "Man's motive" (semitone and augmented fourth), although the Sphinx Rock in Bucegi is also very close to The Man Peak of the same mountains. Consequently, the attempt for musicological and philosophical completeness is stopped in its way and, however, all these and such connections and philosophic joys are far beyond the grasp of common money bearers. In fact, the narrative of this banknote is excessive, and difficult to understand even for my colleagues. From eight professional musicologists I interviewed about this currency, none remembered or mentioned *Oedipe*, Enescu's leitmotivic music, or the character of Sphinx; and all of them thought the Carpathian rock was pointing only at Enescu's majesty and importance in the history of Romanian art music. This means that too many intellectual elements and messages end by missing the intended cultural and didactic targets.

In September 2001, I read several analytical, critical, and amusing pages about the cultural signification of Enescu's presence on paper money (Marian-Bălașa 2001) at an international symposium devoted to the celebration of Enescu, not knowing that exactly at that time another version of the same banknote was being

conceived. Because of the generalization of the polymer banknotes, as well as of the need for multiplying the security elements, the Romanian National Bank had to issue a new edition of the Enescu banknote, and the artist of financial iconography took an opportunity to renew his design as well. This edition was gradually disseminated during 2002, yet preserving 2001 as its release year. The iconographic changes demonstrate that the artist consulted this time a musicologist. (The questionnaire I sent him in 2000, when I vainly tried to obtain an interview with him, might have played a role too.) On the obverse, the two notes with excessively numerous flags have now become reasonable thirty-seconds; instead of the triple *f* appeared a neoclassic-was more radical: the Sphinx rock in the Bucegi Mountains was substituted by the Romanian Athenaeum, a culturally and architecturally prestigious building in Bucharest and a "musical temple" *par excellence*. The same lyre penetrates the plastic foil instead of the former *fff*; and on the right-hand side is included a picture of a short piano from the Enescu Museum, which belonged to Enescu. The flying/swinging musical staff, initially taken almost randomly from an Enescu score, is now replaced by a perfectly horizontal staff with the melodic incipit of Enescu's opera *Oedipe*. This is indeed great, except that musicologists (or, perhaps Enescologists only) get now more upset than ever. The superb, unique, impressive phrase of that melodic initial, the one which generate leitmotives and music-dramatic moments of a colossal discursive importance, has several critical mistakes. The engraver treated the staff like an artistic ornament rather than a specific text, and instead of B♭ in the key signature, the illustration shows A♭; F♯ is changed to F♭; the note C is changed to a kind of E having the tail traversed by a short line, that "cut" representing the E line, although the head (black/round) of the note is placed in the C's space. Obviously, there was an intention to represent the pitch and note of that profound C, only that the engraver did not know what is the role of the E's line above the note. As all Romanian musicologists and all international Enescologists know, this short melody represents the musical name and definition of *Oedipus*, which Enescu – who often declared *Oedipe c'est moi!* – used as his intimate signature. By mutilating the melody and the musical definition of Oedipus-Enescu, the designer of the Romanian national banknote produced an icon and text that turns Enescu's name into a sort of common noun. Thus, he minimized Enescu's originality and uniqueness, and again motivated the Romanians' complex of being internationally marginalized. In fact, a good intention behind selecting Enescu for the banknote, just as in Brăncuși's case, got slightly compromised.

In addition to what was communicated by the earlier paper banknote of 50,000 *lei*, its plastic edition adds to Enescu his qualification as a pianist and composer who used the piano for composing. To think that this iconographic portrait will present him also as an accompanist, as he also was, would be too much to expect. Through the opening melodic statement of *Oedipe* and its leitmotiv which generates the whole opera, the latest banknote speaks more clearly about *Oedipe*. It illustrates the Athenaeum, which is the site known to all Romanians as a bastion of symphonic music (where the organ was bought with Enescu's money). The indubitable likeness of the violin and other violin-like shapes demonstrate that Enescu was also a world famous violinist. Since it seems that the transformation of Romanian banknotes has become a financial tradition (though money wasting), the next design of the superficial/official engraver should not only correct Enescu's signature motive, but also add a conductor's baton, in order to recuperate and promote Enescu's quality as a conductor. And one wonders, since the idea of Romanian money is to tell everything about represented cultural personality, what symbol might be used for also suggesting Enescu's teaching career?

A dense narrative and the multiplicity of symbols and elements are not unique to Romanian currency. Some other states also have a tendency to tell us everything (or as much as possible) on the smallest and most popular public space, such as the currency. The Swiss banknote of 20 *francs* has on the obverse two portraits of Arthur Honegger (1892-1955): a large close-up portrait and, in the upper corner, a likeness of the composer writing on a music sheet while his left hand fingers touch the piano keys. Of course, the composer's face can be seen also as a filigree in the opposing corner. On the reverse are shown three staves of chordal sixteenth-notes, piano keys, wheels of the famous locomotive Pacific 231, and trumpet pistons. Similar to the Romanian Enescu banknote, the information here is excessive, the redundancy is maximal, and thus the musical education is forcefully inflicted.

In contrast to the symbolically overloaded banknotes, such as the 50,000 Romanian *lei* and the 20 Swiss *francs* – where musical information is far beyond the grasp and knowledge of an average person – stand the French 20 *francs* and the Hungarian 1000 *forint* with Debussy and Bartók respectively laying in a broad informational self-sufficiency and pictorial solitude. Somewhere in the middle should be set the Brazilian banknotes with their musical symbols balanced, legible, and ostentatiousless. Classifying appearance of banknotes we find at least four levels of informational substantiation: (1) a small and suggestive one (Hungarian and French banknotes); (2) a clear but still soft one (Finnish and Danish banknotes); (3) middling but thick one (German, Austrian, and Italian banknotes); and (4) the ultimate strongest and intensive one (Swiss and Romanian banknotes). The musicologically significant 50 Swedish *kronor* (with the analytic image of a string instrument), and even philosophic suggestions of the 50,000 Romanian *lei* (the Sphinx in stone and its motif from the opera score), together with the overloaded design of Swiss banknotes, communicate perhaps too much to their users. Consequently, the contents of these latter banknotes (1) fail to reach the larger audience in what it was presumed to project subtler and higher; (2) fail at popularizing the most intelligent ideas and symbols; and (3) fail to educate people through what images are containing at their best.

NATIONAL INSTRUMENTS – NATIONAL PROFILE AND PROMINENCE. Many nations have a particular musical instrument which was, or still is, most popular with a large population, and can, to some extent, symbolize national culture. Such instruments are the *sitar* for Indians, *didjeridu* for Australians, *mbara* for several African peoples, *steel-pan* for Trinidad and Tobago, *kantele* for Finns, *bandura* for Ukrainians, or *panpipe* for Romanians, and not at all about *jew's harp* for Jews, which reflects a confusion that still goes on among a few musicians and even musicologists. Similar identifications can be established for some nations in regard to dance (*mazurka* is Polish, *menuet* is French, *jig* is Irish, *tarantella* is south Italian, *flamenco* is Andalusian), and to musical styles or genres. Thus, *doina* is evoked as something typical to Romanians, *dumy* to Ukrainians, *sevdalinka* to Bosnians, *Ländler* to Austrians and southern Germans, *arabesque* to Turks, *overtone singing* to Tuvans and Mongolians; *jojk* is uniquely to Samish, and *yodel* is unique to Alps' people.

Although relying, at the beginning, on Great Britain's treasury and bank stocks, the Irish money took the harp as a substitute for monarchic leadership, and thus emphasized the country's autonomy through the symbol of peace. In this particular case, music provided a medium of dispelling discord. The Irish harp was indeed a national symbol even prior to the state independence, but then, on the national currency, it worked also as an undeniable and efficient political agent.

With the Romanian panpipe the story is somewhat strange, because the instrument was never a genuine Romanian brand, and it should be more accurately related to, let us say, Latin-American or even Chinese musical cultures. The panpipe has acquired its popularity in Romania relatively recently, and it has never been a rural, pastoral, and wide-spread musical tool. However, the instrument became associated with nationalism (Mesnil 1990), and – by the connection to the famous panpipe star Gheorghe Zamfir with the nationalist party in the 1990s – even with extreme nationalism, racism, and xenophobia. Thus, taking into account the compromised status of folklore and panpipes in Romania, although they brought substantial, worldwide fame to this country, there is no way for it to be acknowledged by democratic forces as a national instrument or to be put on a banknote.

The reverse of the Kyrgyz 1 *som* banknote features the traditional string instruments *komuz* and *kyjaks*. Surprisingly or not, the Swedes did it, too. Artistically speaking, a very beautiful image of the *nyckellharpa* adorns one face of their 50 *kronor* banknote. Since the late 1960s this instrument has entered a phase of intense and influential revival, and its popularity has led to its national consecration. The image of the instrument on the banknote is realistic, shown against a fantastic and highly picturesque background, of an avant-garde musical score. Swedish musicologists confirmed that the tuning system, featured on the staff, is accurate. This design successfully marries imaginative fine art with competent musicology. In contrast to the daringly modern, organologically informative obverse, the reverse is totally conformist and classic. As mentioned, it appears as the banknote was designed by two different artists; the first, a modern, daring, visually imaginative, scholarly well informed and inspired painter, and the second, a more traditional, classic/conservative draftsman/engraver.

The very Finnish *kantele* found its way on the banknote of 500 *markka*, although only in the background accompanying the portrait of Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884), the father of the national epic *Kalevala*. Music instruments can be also seen on paper money from non-European countries, such as the 100 *francs* issued in 1972 by the Institut d'émission d'Outre-Mer of the French Republic (Tahitian girl playing the guitar), the 1972 edition of 1000 *oungiya* from Mauritania (veiled women playing strings instrument and big drum), or the 1983 edition of 1000 *ariary/francs* from Madagascar (peasant blowing a short six-holed flute).

HOW CAN GREAT CULTURAL FIGURES DIE AGAIN. The first new banknote issued in post-communist Romania was one of 500 *lei*, and represents Constantin Brâncuși (1876-1957), chosen for both cultural and political reasons. Romania's governmental officials wanted to rehabilitate the great sculptor in several ways. First of all, they wanted to wash away the shame inflicted in the early 1950s, when ignorant communist leaders denied to give back to the artist his Romanian citizenship and consequently he changed his mind and refused to donate his works and art studio to Romania. For Romania and Romanians is a big loss that Brâncuși's legacy became the property of France, and that he is still usually known as the French and not Romanian artist. Local political factors decided, therefore, to fight for his renaturalization and renationalization by including his portrait and his works on the first new and most valuable Romanian banknote. A well-designed 500 *lei* banknote was issued in 1991, but obscure reasons lead to its withdrawal and substitution with the one which was poorer in design. However, Brâncuși was still featured on it, projecting the message that - despite the fact that captions in many museum in the world listed him as the French artist - he was also, or primarily Romanian. The next banknote, of 1000 *lei*, was dedicated to Mihai Eminescu (1850-1889), the most popular poet to all Romanians and identified as the national symbol. Because of the high inflation, both Brâncuși and Eminescu banknotes quickly became deprived in value and substituted by coins. Brâncuși disappeared already in 1995, and Eminescu lasting a little bit longer. The story of the two banknotes clearly speaks about the Romanian political incompetence: The Romanian economy went until 2000 from bad to worse, politics was more than disappointing, and cultural attempts to demonstrate national value went hand in hand with it.

In the 1990s, inflation also expelled the composer Dobri Hristov (1875-1941) from the Bulgarian currency of 500 *leva*; as it did in Brazil with Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) and Carlos Gomes (1836-1896) from the 500 *crúzados* and 5000 *cruzeiros*, respectively. Due to bad economics, these musicians featured for the first time on national banknotes did not survive for a long on the papers representing their countries and nations. Béla Bartók was also dropped from the Hungarian national banknote. His bill of 1000 *forint* survived until 1997, when, surprisingly or not, the musician was substituted by the Renaissance king Matthias Corvinus (1440-1490), the raven king, whose symbolism and outfit are those of a terrific warrior. Was Bartók's message too modest, faded, and peaceful? Indeed, a mother breast-feeding her baby on the reverse of that banknote was somehow advancing a too soft message, while the warring king corresponded perhaps to much more intensified political ideas and actions.

While some states and nations succeeded or failed in consecrating and imposing their musicians on banknotes, some other acted in a completely different way. Lithuania, for instance, planned to feature the composer and painter Mikolajus Konstantinas Ciurlionis (1875-1911) on its most precious banknote of 1000 *litas*, but once the country was invited to fully join the European Union, the question of adopting the "unique European currency" came in and the process of designing and issuing the banknote was terminated. However, another hope was arising when it came about the design of the new Lithuanian passport and one proposition was to include Ciurlionis's portrait as a security watermark, and hence to allow music and art to blur the politics, or to turn music and art into a political ornament.

HOW MUSICAL CAN BE THE EURO? Cultures always belonged to nations, or at least carry their particular marks. Folk music, even if blended and called world music, is always nationalist, and even the highly universal symphonic music, in spite of sincerely or snobbishly assumed globalization, bears traits of particular cultures. The European Union has to fulfill the delicate task of respecting, supporting, and balancing all particular differences of its constituent states, while assuming none for itself. Consequently, the *euro* has to be far from any form of particular and overt nationalism, and it is definitely, a new stance for multiculturalism. Its design tells that since particular (national) cultures are somehow compromised, European culture will have to cut ties with history and invent a new (union's) culture; and thus, in fact, to advance into artificiality.

Despite the fact that the generalization of the single European currency would have the advantage of enlarging the circulation area of cultural symbols represented on it, the fact that the idea of "cultural symbol" became transnational and abstract has undermined the old idea of cultural symbolizing and representation. There will be no cultural knowledge, learning, communication, exchange, but simple, anti-sentimental and non-geographical marking, the celebration of an order through no actual story (i.e., myths), the celebration of a superior governance and administration through architectural formalism, lines, calculations, and figures. People's curiosity for particular, which was a task of the former currency-making system, is dismissed in favor of people's passive acceptance of universals. Among the so many consequences, no one will ever get the possibility of identifying an exact financial amount with a particular human face (which, in the past, both humanized the money and created the opportunity for people to ridicule the establishment). Thus, the language itself changes, and the mentality loses a motif of its playfulness and joy. Not even on the territory of one single nation or state there will be created a possibility that an ideological and imagological element equalize the monetary value of a banknote, because money and banknotes have now the same identities all over Europe, and a universal communication is possible only through the arithmetical figure. In fact, there is no longer any cultural and/or educational impact of the image on banknotes. As my inquiries, interviews, and questionnaires have demonstrated, the more and varied banknotes circulated through people's hands, the less people paid attention to the images, names, and symbols banknotes carried and bore. The state cultural/ artistic show-off might have been perfect, but its educational aim was missed. However, prior to the *euro*, at least that educational aim was possible. Nowadays, this is no more.

How cultural is the currency of the European Union? Obviously, if compared with the political narrative of the former banknotes, the *euro* has no cultural/educational purpose. The *euro* says nothing beyond itself. The confederation of European states is striving to construct its identity by going beyond the very idea of nation (perhaps hoping that this implies the end of nationalism), as well as beyond the very idea of a "concert of nations". Concert, consonance, harmony – all musical references or associations (whether formal or metaphorical) – suffice no more to the New, future Europe. In fact, that entire musical/ musicological language transferred into the political discourse was formalized during outdated/ outworn times and political systems. The imperialist imagological discourse, based on illusionary and pretended idea of harmony and symphony of different nations – well illustrated on the early-twentieth-century Austro-Hungarian banknotes, that addressed themselves in all languages of its constitute nations – was typical to historically dated forms of state (Marian-Bălașa [forthcoming]). It seems that a democratic union of states has to avoid references to individual nations, because (among other rationales) nations were actually never formulated, identified, and counted correctly, and because ethnic groups that have never been given the status of nation should be no longer marginalized or excluded. For such ideological problems of the European Union, H.R. Wicker's book (1997) is an intellectual feast. However, my concern here is the pictorial (self-)representation of state on paper money, so that we have to navigate through political ideas with much more flexibility and speculative risks than if having to deal only with printed texts and official declarations. However, fact is that, in order to avoid any negative feeling, competition or (mis)representation coming from linguistic or ethno-cultural groups, the European Union decided to leave aside national images or symbols, reason for which its banknotes have no identifiable national, regional, or individual image. Definitely, the presence, role, and representative power of culture are minimized and expelled. As well it is dismissed the psychologically working capacity of icons and heroes. Instead, we have this cryptography of theoretic bridges, windows, and gates, which, both theoretically and by design, are indeed nice. In fact, they are much nicer than many banal facades, unattractive portraits, common instruments, that, on old money, were individually dull, together composing nostalgic/ sentimental stories. Now, on the contemporary *euro* there is no more story or discourse, lecturing or propaganda, as well as carnal representation. This shift from visual concreteness to a sort of abstraction represents a mental maturity which is desired, whereas all ethnological, anthropological and cultural studies witness for a man that is still under the spell and need of visual representations and fantasies.

If we were to find a musical equivalent to the drawings on *euros*, this would be the universal and cosmopolitan avant-garde music of the twentieth century, the music that is universal and cosmopolitan because it avoids any rhapsodic-descriptive figurativeness. Abstract as avant-garde symphonism really is, this music also excels in non-emotional, rational or arithmetical conception. Over the last decades of the twentieth century,

modern art music was represented on money only through the nineteenth-century-born composers, who were responsible for nursing and launching "national schools" and national musical idioms. They were founding-fathers of different forms of musically expressed nationalisms, of those competing nationalisms which name or place, but a nowhere which can be everywhere, the *euro* says that the time has come for the peoples and states to surpass localism or nationalism and find the universal/cosmopolitan/global language of modernism. Thus, the *euro* is really tuned with the new, twentieth-century-born symphonism.

In fact, to the popular imagination, the *euro's* bridges, gates and windows are exactly what the musical staffs (on Polish, Romanian, Georgian, Armenian, Slovene, Swedish, Swiss, and Yugoslav banknotes) were: strictly decorative graffiti. Musical scripts tell nothing to common folks, because nobody reads on them any particular (musical/audible) text. Rows of lines and little notes, keys, bars, chords, accidentals, are to commoners just abstract ornaments. Their exclusively graphic/decorative value correlates to the exclusivity graphical/ornamental quality of the "universal" symbols invented for the *euro* out of nonsensorial, impalpable, mental representations. There is no history, memory, or emotions there. Like on a musical transcription, the emotion is not actualized, communicated, but only presumed. And as there is just a tiny elite capable of reading and taking pleasure out of the graphical visualization of a musical fragment, there is also a very tiny group of visually and philosophically initiated who can find satisfaction in purely artistic drawings such as those on the *euro*. *Euro* is, definitely, an elitist design, either representing a desired imaginary and representational maturity, or forcing European populace to be all spiritual and intellectual elites.

One could also interpret, that with the *euro*, the formerly talkative money is silent, in the sense that there is less speech and definitely no music coming from its iconography. Why? Perhaps because music was always nothing but invented differentiation and created struggle, emotional stirring up and mental shake, rambling and fantasy, meant to end up in a peace or happiness or tranquility that practically lasts just until the sudden noisy applause, and is remembered as an elusive/illusory past. By giving up music, the futuristic design of *euro* pleads for either constant, eternal music, or silence.

I thank here again Jeremy Montagu, Jonathan Stock, and Razia Sultanova (UK), Claire Levy (Bulgaria), Maurice Mengel (Germany), Samuel Araujo and Rafael José de Menezes Bastos (Brazil), Margaret Beissinger, Dan Bora, and Zdravko Blažeković (USA), Ana Soares (Portugal), Sofia Chapman (Australia), Triinu Ojamaa (Estonia), Olle Edström (Sweden), Joseph Jordania (Estonia), and Emma Petrossyan (Armenia) for helping me with information and answering my questionnaires concerning banknotes in different countries. Manfred Lechner (Austria), Vladimiro Canlaluppi (Italy) and Dan Lunberg (Sweden) sent me scanned images of one or two sides of particular banknotes. Martin Stokes (USA) gave me the initial information about Irish coins, and that on Curlicorn was handed over to me by Auste Nakiene (Lithuania) – thus their use here is due to them. In concern with my study on Enescu's presence on Romanian 50,000 lei, Luiza Popa, Nora Andrei, Steluța Popa, Mihaela Nubert-Chejan, Marian Lupascu and Nucu Teodoreanu answered questions and shared with me their subjective impressions.

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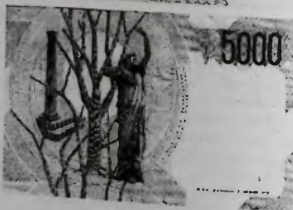
20 French *francs*
Claude Debussy



100 German *marks*
Clara Wieck Schumann



5000 Italian *lira*
Vincenzo Bellini



5000 Austrian Schilling
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart



20 English pounds
Sir Edward Elgar



20 Swiss francs
Arthur Honegger



50.000 Romanian lei
(original version)
George Enescu



50.000 Romanian lei
(current version)
George Enescu



50 Swedish kronor
(obverse)
Jenny Lind



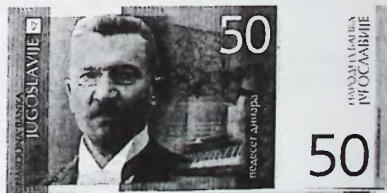
50 Swedish kronor
(reverse)



200 Slovenian tolar
Jacobus Gallus



50 Yugoslav dinars
Stevan Mokranjac



500 Brazilian *cruza*dos
Heitor Villa-Lobos



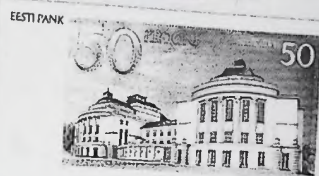
5000 Brazilian *cruza*dos
Carlos Gomes



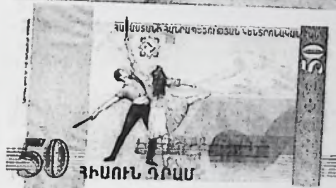
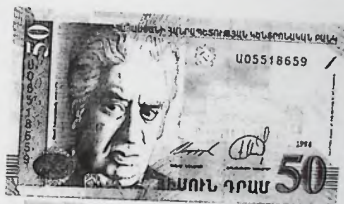
5000 Polish *złoti*
Fryderyk Chopin



50 Estonian krooni
Rudolf Tobias



50 Armenian dram
Aram Hačaturian



2 Georgian lari
Zaharij Petrovič Paliašvili



INTERPRETATIONS

THREE PAINTINGS FROM THE NARODNA GALERIJA SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA

Judgement of Midas by Abraham Janssens*Musical Instruments and a Celestial Globe* by Bartolomeo Bettera*A Shepherd Playing the Flute* by Giacomo Francesco Cipper (Il Todeschini)

by Darja KOTER

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In 1999 the Narodna Galerija in Ljubljana organized a series of lectures focused on the interpretation of paintings in its collection.¹ Among the motifs discussed were still-life paintings as a premise for researching the food and nutrition habits from the 17th to the 19th century, mythological paintings with Diana, motifs related to cartography, and motifs which included music-making and instruments.² About a dozen of 17th- and 18th-century European paintings in the collection contain musical motifs and instruments: Abraham Janssens (ca. 1575-1632), *Judgement of Midas* (oil on canvas, 115 × 168 cm, no. 3051); Matteo Ghidoni, known as Matteo de' Pitocchi (ca. 1626-1689), *Public Merry-making* (oil on canvas, 72 × 126.5 cm, no. 2102); Bartolomeo Bettera (1639-after 1688), *Musical Instruments and Celestial Globe* (oil on canvas, 95.5 × 141.5 cm, no. 1500); Almanach (active 1667-1680), *Still Life with Skull and Violin* (oil on canvas, no. 3062); Antonio Calza (1653-1725), *Battle with the Turks* (oil on canvas, 67 × 69.5 cm, no. 983) and *Battle with the Turks in front the City Walls* (oil on canvas, 93 × 122.5 cm, deposited at the Akademija Umetnosti, Ljubljana); Giacomo Francesco Cipper, known as Il Todeschini (1664-1736), *A Shepherd Playing the Flute* (oil on canvas, 75 × 60 cm, no. 982); Johann Josef Karl Henrici (1737-1823), *Concert at the Oriental Court* (oil on canvas, 68 × 96 cm, at the Akademija za Glasbo, Ljubljana) and *Concert with the Lute Player* (oil on canvas, 68 × 96 cm, at the Akademija za Glasbo, Ljubljana); Gino Severini (1883-1966), *Still Life* (tempera on cardboard, 35 × 59 cm, no. 1995). For an analysis in this essay are selected the mythological scene *Judgement of Midas* (early-17th-century copy of Abraham Janssens); a still-life painting by Bartolomeo Bettera *Musical Instruments and Celestial Globe* (second half of the 17th century); and the genre painting *Shepherd Playing the Flute* attributed to Giacomo Francesco Cipper (first third of the 18th century).³

The Flemish painter Abraham Janssens, known as Janssens van Nuyssen (Antwerp, ca. 1575-Antwerp,

1632), was first an apprentice of Jan Snellinck in his native town and then, between 1598 and 1601, studied in Rome with the Dutch painter Willem van Nieulandt I. At that time he expressed great interest in ancient and Renaissance sculpture, what strongly influence his work.⁴ Around 1602 Janssens returned from Rome and became a master in the Guild of St. Luke, the most important association of artists in Antwerp. Janssens was one of the most important painters, greatly influencing the development of Flemish art before Rubens. His works are mostly large-scale paintings with historical, religious, and mythological subjects, and also portraits modeled after Michelangelo and Raphael. His work has the characteristics of the late Dutch Mannerism and the Bolognese school, and was highly esteemed in Antwerp but later suffered in the comparison with Rubens, his brilliant contemporary and rival.⁵ Abraham Janssens was the father of the painter Abraham II and the father-in-law of Jan Breughel jr.

Janssens's composition *Judgement of Midas*, dated to ca. 1601/02, immediately after the painter returned from Rome to Antwerp, has its roots in the late Dutch Mannerism typical of Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) and Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617), and stylistically belongs to his early period. Many of Janssens's paintings had been copied already in the seventeenth century, especially after 1620, and the work in Ljubljana is the oldest known copy of *Judgement of Midas*,⁶ which Joost van der Auwer credited to Janssens's workshop. The original Janssens's work was auctioned at Sotheby's in London (9 March 1983; lot number 61) and its present location is unknown.

The mythological iconographical program represented in the painting was well known at the time, and included in canonical works like Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593, 1603) or Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XI:85-193),⁷ where it was connected with the idea of perpetual renewal, alteration, and transformation. The painting at the Narodna Galerija depicts the part of story in which Tmolus, the old god of the mountains, wearing a wreath of oak leaves around his



1. Abraham Janssens (ca. 1573–1632), *Judgement of Midas* (a copy made by a workshop, beginning of 17th century). Oil on canvas, 115 × 168 cm. Ljubljana, Narodna galerija, inv. no. 3051.

grey hair and temples, is sitting on a rock, judging the competition between Apollo and Pan⁸ in the presence of the nymphs, king Midas, and the mortals. The model for Janssens's original is not known, but the Ljubljana copy indicates that he followed sources frequently used at the time. It was his characteristic that he modified and adapted a chosen artistic model in a loose, at times professionally inadequate manner, transposing it into a new organic unity. This was Janssens's fundamental weakness in comparison to Rubens, who was well known for his connoisseurship of the literary source material. His best work Janssens produced when he could rely on the compositions of illustrious predecessors, often the art of Raphael.⁹

The figures in the painting are organized in three groups: in the foreground are five nymphs in a conversation; Apollo, Tmolus, and Pan are centrally positioned on an elevated rock; and behind them in a shade is a group which includes king Midas, and a man and a woman representing the mortals. The motif is set in a mountainous, rocky landscape, overgrown with a dark forest, leaving

just a partial view to the distance. The composition of the painting is divided in two; both halves separate the scene horizontally and semantically. Following the tradition of Dutch compositions, the central object – King Midas – is almost hidden in the background between Tmolus and Pan. His figure is markedly shaded, and under the crown are visible his ass's ears, which he received from Apollo as a reward for his misjudgement of the music played on the panpipes and denial of Apollo's superiority in singing and playing. Next to him are included the brightly lit heads of a male and female, symbolizing the mortals. In depicting main figures in this way, the painter wanted to create a complex intersection of groups and show off their inventive talents. However, he did observe the requirements of a balanced composition in which the painter's interpretation conforms to inventive art as if it opposes nature. Art had made nature beautiful, ennobled, and dramatic, what was particularly characteristic for the late international Mannerism, including Janssens's older contemporaries Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651) and Cornelis

Cornelis van Haarlem (1562-1638).¹⁰ In his allegories, Janssens lengthened figure's limbs and bodies covered with heavy and rich garments. Such feature, typical of Mannerism, resulted in the distortion of perspective, although in more accomplished works of Rubens, this distortion remains unnoticeable.¹¹ In some of Janssens's later works – bearing in mind that Janssens's original *Judgement of Midas* was produced in 1601/02 – like *Scalds and Antwerperia* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) from 1610, or *Peace and Plenty Binding the Arrows of War* (Wolverhampton Art Gallery), created in 1614, the draperies seem less ponderous, but that indicates perhaps a graduation of certain characteristics in his later period.

The composition of *Judgement of Midas* seems to be characteristic of Janssens's style. He merged here the motifs of the musical competition of Apollo and Pan, Tmolus's arbitration in Apollo's favor, and Midas's disagreement with the verdict. An unusual figure dominating a large section of the composition on the right-hand side requires a special attention. The figure depicts a mighty, grey-haired Silenus with sharp facial features, goat's legs, pointed ears, and a raised finger, which can be understood as a symbol of verdict and decision. Perhaps it is a symbol, connected to the wisdom of Socrates and his search for definitions (What is courage? What is justice?), and inner values; without them – as he believes – real cognition is not attainable. Socrates was depicted several times in antiquity transfigured onto Silenus, and the resemblance between both the face and head is striking also in this painting. Mutual characteristics are visible also in the discordance between their outer appearance and inner wisdom.¹² Socrates was aware of human double nature and called attention to the purifying rituals of transformation through which a person's ugly outer appearance is removed to reveal the beauty of the inner self.¹³ As such, the depiction of the Silenus is logical and semantically completes the symbols of the ancient myths.

Despite the dominating nymphs in the foreground of the painting, the scene is defined by the figures set in the background. There is Tmolus, depicted as the old man, with a long, grey beard and a wreathed head. His right hand, with the index finger slightly pointed, is extended towards the winner, while his left hand rests on his lap covered by purple fabric. His head is turned in the direction of Pan, as if telling him to show inclination to "lyre", according to Ovid's words. The look on the god of the mountains is not decisive, nor triumphant, but rather piteous and gentle, reflecting the eternal dilemma of choosing the best musician or showing compassion for the loser. Pan has already moved the pipes from his lips, his head is lowered, and in contrast to his nature, his face is expressing the resignation and peace. He holds in his hands an instrument in the form of a curved raft with seven pipes of graduated lengths. The painter has slightly modified the ancient instrument, adding holes in the upper part of the pipes, which were characteristic for a duct flute. Such a stroke was probably not a reflection of

his imagination; but rather looks as if he has modeled the instrument after the contemporaneous recorder, spoiling the image of the ancient instrument.

Apollo, dressed in an ancient garment and with a Phrygian hairstyle (of all the figures the most distinct in terms of style), is standing on Tmolus's right side. He is already decorated with a laurel wreath. His juvenile face is impersonating a youthful, yet mature male beauty and moral purity. His vestment outlines the body of a musician playing in ecstasy. His lira da braccio has rather small body, consistent with the late sixteenth century and the time of the original painting. Apollo's left hand is placed on the neck of the instrument, and in his right hand he holds a short arched bow. His eyes are focused on the playing, and he has his mouth open like a poet singing and accompanying himself on the lira. It seems that the painter followed the Renaissance performance practice, confirmed by the organological characteristic of the instrument.¹⁴ According to the classification of liras by Sterling Scott Jones, Apollo's instrument is an example of the body shape of the violin with four corners (type A);¹⁵ yet its body is shorter, and its size and *f*-holes make it comparable to a violin. As pictorial sources attest, the way of holding the instrument is much closer to the violin performance practice: Apollo holds it in a breast position, the pegbox is slightly raised, which is seldom found in the presented in iconographic sources.¹⁶ These elements are consistent with the period when the playing techniques were changing, gradually becoming more similar to the violin playing, and firmly established in the seventeenth century. According to Winternitz, sources relating to the instrument appeared as late as in the time of Caravaggio (1573-1610).¹⁷ Compared to other sources, the clover-leaf pegbox, with its five (rather than seven) vertically placed pegs, seems quite exceptional. On the fingerboard there are four strings (not five), and one bourdon string (not two). The bridge is slightly curved and set below *f*-holes. The body ends with the tailpiece and a visible button. The slightly arched bow is placed on the strings near the bridge. The frog, hidden in the grip of Apollo's hand, is not visible. The instrument on the copy of Janssens's painting is an example of the late-Renaissance lira da braccio, with a few exceptions: while the body shape is closer to that of the early-sixteenth-century instruments, its size, *f*-holes, and the playing position can be compared to a violin and performance practice from ca. 1600 and the seventeenth century, which brought the painter closer to the actual musical practice of his time. Particular elements of the composition support the theory that the painting (and perhaps its model) came into being at the end of the sixteenth century, what makes it consistent with characteristics of the instrument and performance practice.

The biography of Bartholomeo Bettera (Bergamo, 1639-after 1688) is only partially known. It has been proven that in 1687 he dwelled in Milan and afterwards moved to Rome. Some of Bettera's signed paintings are pre-



2. Bartolomeo Bettera (1639–after 1688), *Musical Instruments and Celestial Globe* (the second half of 17th century). Oil on canvas, 95.5×141.5 cm. Ljubljana, Narodna galerija, inv. no. 1500.

served in collections of Vienna, Prague, and Moscow.¹⁸ His still-life paintings follow the style of Evaristo Baschenis (1617–1677), the most distinguished representative of the seventeenth-century Bergamo school, and the successor of Caravaggio's style. Among the common motifs found in Baschenis's still lifes are realistically depicted musical and scientific instruments, books, flowers, fruits, and other objects surrounded by richly arranged draperies. These artworks represent not only a song of praise to the aesthetics of musical instruments; but above all, they express various symbolic meanings.¹⁹

Still-life paintings symbolize nostalgia for the lost life, as certain melancholic atmosphere radiates from the realistic depictions of nature. The genre was developed in the works of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painters and became, with some adjustments, favored in other European artistic circles of the period. That vivacious time of "dead" images produced a line of still-life paintings with various titles, realistically depicting objects – such as books, scientific and musical instruments, flowers, fruits, and dead animals – in a harmonious composition of rich

colors, highlighted by the exchange of light and shadow. All of these paintings shared a number of common features: the lack of allegory on the evanescent nature of life, yet a joy about the beauty of nature expressed in details; a more or less revealed sensuality or a wish for the everlasting existence of everything beautiful. The paintings are filled with symbolic meanings, reflecting a variety of sentiments: from pleasant and warm to threatening and monstrous.²⁰ Zeri and Rozman describe Bettera's *Musical Instruments and Celestial Globe* as an excellent example of the Bergamo still life from the second half of the seventeenth century. It is supposed that the painting once had an unknown pendant of similar composition, but with a terrestrial globe.²¹

On Bettera's painting, musical instruments, scores, books, and the globe are laid on a table covered by a vivaciously ornamented Oriental carpet. The composition is rounded by a red and golden brocade curtain. The instruments include four lutes, a shawm, a guitar, a violin, and a double bass.

One lute is placed on an elevated stand in the background to the right. It is laid with its soundboard facing down. Its pear-shaped body is obscured in the darkness, and only a ray of light, shining from an invisible source in the left corner, is emphasizing the ribbed shape of its belly. Its fingerboard is hardly visible in the dark, and the pegbox hidden behind the globe. The instrument has the shape of an Italian Baroque lute with narrow ribs, which are hardly distinguishable in the dark. On the right-hand side of the composition are placed three more lutes; two on the table and one on a stand in the background. Their shapes emphasize the roundness of the lute's body made of narrow ribs, and confirming instrument's emergence in the Baroque period. The fingerboard of the closest lute has no frets. On its body are traces of dust, as if fingers have wiped it off (the instruments were silent for a long time). The lute behind, placed at the edge of the table, has a visible rose (although its pattern is not recognizable), a few strings, and part of the neck. The body is gravitating downwards, and its alternating white and dark ribs are painted sheer. The lute behind, set on the top of a small narrow cabinet, has in the view only its body made of numerous narrow ribs. The fretted fingerboard and pegbox are left intentionally unfinished without details. In all depicted lutes, the painter has either neglected the parts of the instruments important for recognition or subordinated them to symbolism. Bettera, just as his role model Baschenis, was attracted to the roundness of the lute's body and other different shapes of stringed instruments. His liras, lutes, guitars, and a variety of other stringed instruments were expressing the harmony of the universe according to established symbolic meanings. The Greeks considered the kithara a heart, the strings as senses, musicians as reason and stringed instrument as divine memory.²¹ The strings respond to the point of the compass, the body of the instrument, closed on one side and visible on the other presents the correlation of the universe and Earth, which relates to the story of Hermes, who stole a bovine from Apollo. Hermes used the animal's skin to cover the turtle's carapace and set the strings over it. Vibrating strings have stimulated the sky to fertilize the Earth and the bellies of the females became round.²² The Christian tradition has not departed much from the Pythagorean view of the world: *musica caelestis* corresponds to the harmony of the stars, the *musica humana* demands the harmony of body and soul, while *musica instrumentalis* gives the order to cosmos, humans, and instruments.²⁴

The painting includes two bowed instruments, both having visible their upper soundboards. Due to the requirements of the perspective, the larger instrument has its body somewhat distorted what makes its identification difficult. The instrument appears to be a kind of the seventeenth-century double bass, with the body little bigger than the cello. Its *f*-holes and four strings also similar with the cello. The bow is stuck between the fingerboard and the bridge. The depiction of the violin is more detailed. The instrument has a well-proportioned body, four

strings, the pegs, bridge and even the button with tailpiece is depicted, but only one soundhole. The fingerboard with the neck is turned from the natural axis that indicates distortion in perspective.

In the center of Bettera's composition is the guitar, which has vaulted back. Pegs on the flat pagbox indicates to be a five-course guitar, characteristic for the Baroque period, but the number of strings is unclear since they are schematically depicted very close together, and they considerably outnumber the pegs. Instrument's soundboard is adorned with a rose, highlighted in color. The strings run off the soundhole axis, what can be once more explained by the distortion implemented for the perspective reasons. Guitar's pegbox and neck are depicted in detail and brightly illuminated. Their white color could indicate that the instrument is decorated with ivory, common in the seventeenth century on lavishly adorned precious instruments. This however is not entirely convincing since the outline of the pagbox is made in turquoise color, matching the carpet covering the table. The white color also used to signify, both in the Orient and in Europe, the death and mourning. It was attributed to the one who is doomed and who overcomes the temptation, who rises up and creates order amongst disorder, but also the evanescence, rebirth, and regeneration of life.²³ Such guitars are known from numerous artworks as well as some preserved instruments which have the body coated with ivory or mother-of-pearl.²⁴

The shawm is the only woodwind instrument on the painting and somehow distorts the homogeneity of the group of stringed instruments. Its body has no fingerholes, because the instrument is either depicted from the back, or the painter simply did not care to depict them, as he did not include the *f*-hole and other details on the violin.

In accordance with the features of still-life genre, the instruments on the painting are silent. Some argue that the still-life painters were attracted only to the shapes of instruments. Norbert Schneider says that Baschenis was commissioned to paint for wealthy families who considered instruments from famous Cremona workshops a customary possession. They were depicted as valuable objects that the family was especially proud of. In his *Still Life With Instruments* (Pinacoteca dell'Accademia Carrara in Bergamo), Baschenis is said to have depicted the violin made by Amati.²⁷ Some of his paintings give us the impression of real portraits of the instruments, others indicate neglect of perspective and omission of details. Consequently, a still-life painting can give the impression of aggressiveness. It seems as though the objects are falling towards the observer. This line of thought is supported by ostensible disorder, created by the casual arrangement of the instruments, while the composition is submitted to its own principles and symbolism, therefore the musical instruments can often be found in illogical positions. On the other hand, the painter aspired to the homogeneity of colors. On Bettera's painting prevail reddish-brown tim-



3. Giacomo Francesco Cipper (1664-1736), *Shepherd-boy Playing the Flute*. Oil on canvas, 75 x 60 cm. Ljubljana, Narodna galerija, inv. no. 982.

bres of wood, which is synchronized with the color of the carpet and drapery; the same feature can be seen in the majority of the paintings of Baschenis. Still lives with instruments are often considered as a tribute to the high artistic skills of violin makers from Cremona, yet there is a great deal of symbolism concealed in them. One of the explanations alludes to the return to the ancient musical theory of Pythagoras and to the harmony of the universe. According to medieval theory, music has a therapeutic role: it has sacred power and is miraculous attributes, especially where melancholy is concerned.²⁹

The instruments and the globe clearly express the cosmological and music-therapeutic aspects: music symbolizes the harmony of the world while the globe could be seen as a symbol for the perpetuity, stability, moral

strength, and eternal cycle of life.²⁹ The position of the globe in the center of the composition is parallel to the position of the guitar. Bettera supposedly depicted here the celestial globe, although this cannot be proven with certainty. The ring of the stand separates the globe into the upper and lower sections. The lower section has no identifiable object, while on the better illuminated upper section are visible five human beings, shown with the naked bodies of the desperate trying to save themselves from a disaster. Number five can be connected with the five continents foundering in water, or with the flood which symbolizes the sins and moral defections of human kind. Not determined by the human conscience but rather by a higher sphere, the flood purifies and regenerates like baptism; sins are reabsorbed generating a new mankind.³⁰

The painting *Shepherd Playing the Flute*, attributed to Giacomo Francesco Cipper (known as "il Todescini"; Feldkirchen, 1664–Milan, 1736), is dated to the first third of the eighteenth century. His comparable motifs are *Drinker* and *Smoker*, kept at the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana in Milan.³¹ Cipper worked in Lombardy and painted in the Lombard local style. In his youth, he was producing primarily still-life compositions but later devoted his attention to the genre scenes that made him famous. He preferred to depict people from the lower classes (peasants, craftsmen, old men, beggars) and often grotesque scenes from their life. Some of his works indicate that he was acquainted with the work of the Danish painter Eberhart Keilhau (Monsù Bernard).³²

The painting in Ljubljana shows a young adolescent boy sitting against a neutral background. He is dressed in a simple shepherd's (or beggar's) garment, with a bag around his shoulders, and wearing a hat. Several attributes defining the boy as a shepherd: he is young, carrying a bag (with a loaf of bread inside), has a long stick and holds a simple pipe in his hand. His clothes, worn out and ragged, are also consistent with the shepherd outfit.

The wooden instrument is a kind of home-made duct flute of the medium size. The bore of the pipe is narrow and cylindrical (contracting slightly towards its foot) with at least five finger-holes. The pipe has a rigid sharp edge or lip. The shepherd is softly holding the instrument against his lower lip, slightly toward the corner. The position of fingers on the pipe does not indicate that he is actually playing it. Three fingers of his right hand hold the instrument in an illogical way, while his left hand is in a position more natural for playing. But the reversed position of hands indicate that the painter transposed the image on the canvas from a print. Boy's eyes confirm that he is not playing; the musician usually follows playing with his eyes, while he is here gazing in the other direction. His posture denies the possibility that he is preparing to start, or that he has just finished playing. Rather, the instrument has some kind of symbolic meaning.

The characteristics of the painting indicate that Cipper followed the model of Dutch art, which often infused double meaning into what seems to be a simple genre scene. The depicted persons sometimes reveal the mental or emotional disposition of individuals or society, and it seems that in this case the painting is not just the illustration of a person, but that it expresses the spiritual life and mental state of humankind. Hidden meanings in genre art are generally anticipated in the gestures or glances of the

depicted person and the allegorical and sensorial meaning complement each other.³³ Some attributes are like conundrums, leading to different solutions. The painting of the shepherd does not appear to represent a musical event, but rather expresses a profound sensuality. Therefore, the motif of the boy with the flute seems quite unambiguous. His transformation from boy to man is perhaps indicated by the colors of his clothes, predominantly in brown shades, while his short trousers and a section of his left sleeve are bright red. The red of fire and blood generally stands for the fundamental symbol of the principle of life; in brighter tones it symbolizes manhood and defiance.³⁴ His face and the look are especially expressive. Behind the young man's melancholic, forlorn, and sorrowful look could be hidden a manly cupidity, confirmed by his stick and the flute. The woodwind instruments often symbolize lust and passion, with their shape representing an erotic signification of the phallus and symbolizing the soul separated from the divine source, and longing for return. This is the reason for the boy's sorrowful look.³⁵ The stick has multiple meanings too, among others symbolizing unsatisfied male desire.³⁶ The loaf of bread sticking out from the boy's bag can be also explained in different ways. The bread in this case is a symbol of spiritual food and transformation, as well as purity and suffering for self-sacrifice.³⁷ The attempt to analyze and interpret Cipper's *Shepherd Playing the Flute* is therefore an example which, among others, can effect the naming of the motif and title of the work. Although the title "Shepherd-Boy with the Flute" would have been the most simplistic solution, this title would not reflect the message of the painting. It is possible that this painting was a part of an undetermined series including "The desire".

The presentation of paintings featuring musical instruments, kept at the collection of European painters of the Narodna Galerija in Ljubljana, has the purpose to focus the attention of the professionals engaged in the study of music iconography on the heritage of paintings from past centuries kept in Slovenia. The presented paintings, works of various painters and workshops, depicting motifs from ancient mythology, still-life painting and genre painting in their various forms, are proof that the paintings with depictions of musical instruments preserved in Slovenia represent a significant part of European heritage, which is crying out for interdisciplinary research.

Translated by Irena Bezjak

NOTES

³¹ The collection of European paintings at the Narodna Galerija in Ljubljana, containing around 150 artworks, was researched by Federico Zeri (1921–1998) and Ksenija Rozman (b.1935), the curator of the Narodna Galerija. They produced a catalogue of

the collection (see note 6) and organized exhibitions of European paintings from the museum's collections in 1983, 1989, 1993, and 1996. In that process they evaluated the artworks and placed them in their artistic context. The catalogues of the exhibitions

contain elementary information about each work, while the interpretation of works has been left for further research.

² The lectures were published in Lidija Tavčar, ed., *Zgovornost podoba: Pogled iz drugega zornega kota*. Knjižnica Narodne galerije: Studijska zvezki 10 (Ljubljana: Narodna Galerija, 2002).

³ The earlier, less exhaustive, version of this article deals with the paintings by B. Bettera, G.F. Cipper and J.J.K. Henrici. Cf. Darja Koter, "Glasbila na slikah evropskih slikarjev iz Narodne galerije v Ljubljani", *ibid.*, 10-17.

⁴ For a selection of the most important bibliography see: *The Grove Dictionary of Art*. Ed. by Jane Turner (London: Macmillan, 1996), XVII:3-6.

⁵ Joost van der Auwera, "Janssens, Abraham", *The Grove Dictionary of Art* XVII: 3-6.

⁶ The information about the original and copy of *Judgement of Midas* was discussed in a letter from Joost van der Auwera to Ksenija Rozman. Cf. F. Zeri & K. Rozman, *European Painters: Catalogue of Permanent Exhibition* (Ljubljana: Narodna galerija, 1997), 107.

⁷ J. van der Auwera, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁸ The figure depicted on Janssens's painting is, without doubt, Pan. All of the most frequently depicted characteristics are there. The story about king Midas tells of musical competition between Apollo and Marsyas, however, at the end of the 16th century and even more often in the 17th century the figure of Pan replaced Marsyas. Therefore, it seems that the painter took this from a graphic model that came into being at the time of transformation of the motif at the end of the 16th century, which taking into account some other characteristics, such as the shape of Apollo's instrument, strongly indicates painter's acquaintance with current contemporary literature and his use of modern iconographic programs.

⁹ J. van der Auwera, *op. cit.*, 5.

¹⁰ M.C. Howatson, ed., *Antika*. Translation of *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, by K. Dolinar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1998), 508; 518-519.

¹¹ Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London, 1968), 171-176; Jure Mikuž, "Metzingerjevi slikci svetega Jerneja", *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* LXXII/1-2 (2001), 54.

¹² R.H. Fuchs, *Dutch Painting* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 23-24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴ Emanuel Winternitz, "Lira da braccio", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960), VIII:935; Howard Mayer Brown & Sterling Scott

Jones, "Lira da braccio", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan; New York: The New Grove Dictionaries, 2001), XIV:742-745.

¹⁵ Sterling Scott Jones, *The Lira da braccio* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 16.

¹⁶ E. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, 947.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ See the preface to F. Zeri & K. Rozman, *ibid.*, 14-16.

¹⁹ Norbert Schneider, *Stilleben: Realität und Symbolik der Dinge: Die Stillebenmalerei der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln: Taschen Verlag, 1989), 172-175; F. Zeri & K. Rozman, *Evropska tiložitja iz slovenskih zbirk* (Ljubljana: Narodna galerija, 1989), 24.

²⁰ N. Schneider, *ibid.*; James Hall, *Rječnik tema i simbola u umjetnosti*. Transl. by Marko Grčić (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1991); Luc Menasse, *Holandsko slikarstvo* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1960); Federico Zeri, *Tuji slikarji* (Ljubljana: Narodna galerija, 1983); F. Zeri & K. Rozman, *Evropska tiložitja*, 1989.

²¹ F. Zeri, *Tuji slikarji*, 31; F. Zeri & K. Rozman, *Evropska tiložitja*, 36; F. Zeri & K. Rozman, *Evropski slikarji*, 58.

²² Jean Chevalier & Alain Gheerbrant, *Slovar simbolov - miti, sanje, liki običaji, barve, števil*. Transl. by S. Ivanc (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1993), 231, 318-319.

²³ *Ibid.*, 231.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 52-54.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 52-54.

²⁷ N. Schneider, *ibid.*, 172.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 175.

³⁰ J. Chevalier & A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, 152, 280-283, 283-284.

³¹ F. Zeri & K. Rozman, *Evropski slikarji*, *ibid.*, 72.

³² For biography cf., *La pittura in Italia: Settecento*, 2 vols. (Milano: Electa, 1990, biography Vittorio Caprara); Rossana Bossaglia & Valerio Razzaroli (eds.), *Settecento Lombardo* (Milano: Electa, 1991, biography Vittorio Caprara), 100-103.

³³ Jure Mikuž, *Nema zgovornost podoba, Telo in slovenska umetnost* (Ljubljana: Domus, 1995), 53.

³⁴ J. Chevalier & A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, 505.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 457-458.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 430-432.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 292.

A SCHUBERT ICONOGRAPHY:
PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, LITHOGRAPHERS, ILLUSTRATORS,
SILHOUETTISTS, ENGRAVERS, AND OTHERS KNOWN OR SAID TO HAVE
PRODUCED A LIKENESS OF FRANZ SCHUBERT

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While iconography is defined as the study and interpretation of portraits, iconology is defined more broadly as the study of the meaning of pictorial motifs within their cultural and historical context. However, the term iconography is used here to cover both areas and meanings. The history of Schubert images would, it is hoped, lead toward analyzing the images in their historical and cultural contexts, that is, as an iconology. This catalogue is, therefore, only part of an exploration to that end. Before the analysis can begin, the acquisition of examples is critical. This iconography is both a practical research and reference tool for those seeking artists who have produced an image of Franz Schubert and a historical document tracing the scale of art production centered around an enduring cultural figure. It can serve as a template denoting the social, cultural, and musical influences on art production over a period of 180 years, and to trace this figure as expressed in the fine and popular arts at all levels of society. The trajectory of image production moves from the early-nineteenth-century mediums of watercolor on paper and oil on canvas to the digitized, computer-generated and computer-manipulated image of the twenty-first century.

Between canvas and computer lie postage stamps, postcards, medals, film posters, coins, paper currency, medallions, plaques, cigar boxes, buttons, greeting cards, drinking glasses, character jugs. By looking at the various images produced over the span of years, we note how Schubert still appears to look the same and yet how he no longer resembles the images produced by his living admirers and artist friends. Therefore, the vital juncture is the image, and its authentication. To find the images, we must identify and authenticate the creators of the images. Only then can an iconological analysis begin. This lexicon is the first step toward the larger project.

Franz Schubert is quite possibly the most famous of all of Vienna's composers; certainly he is among the most beloved. One of the greatest collectors of Schubertiana, Nicolaus Dumba (1830-1900), was honored for his dedication to Schubert with the exhibit *Nicolaus Dumba: Portrait eines Mäzens* – a showing of his collection at the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek – on the occasion of Schubert's 200th birth anniversary in 1997. In addition to the Schubert autographs on exhibit, the catalogue indicates that many of the famous portraits of Schubert and friends were included. Other evidence of this historical and contemporary phenomenon celebrating Schubert's fame, however posthumous, is the 1997 exhibit and catalogue titled *Schubert 200 Jahre*. This 270-page catalogue is another rich source of Schubertiana, from the exquisite to the kitsch. Beyond these invaluable guides is the World Wide Web as another source of those who created Schubert likenesses and yet more evidence that Schubert is as unforgettable to the eye as he is to the ear. On the Internet kitsch marches on. Here the researcher can find a Japanese-produced Schubert doll in his Biedermeier attire, complete with curly hair and spectacles but no facial features, or a Schubert bust sculpted entirely of pieces from a child's Lego set, or a musical Franz Schubert Teddy Bear that plays *Heidenröslein*, one of Schubert's most beloved songs. Leafing through the pages of the journal *Schubert durch die Brille*, published by the International Franz

Schubert Institute (IFS) in Vienna, one finds innumerable fascinating drawings, cartoons, old engravings, postmarks, and caricatures of Schubert. To make the point of Vienna's musical battles between traditionalists and early-twentieth-century modernists, a cartoon appeared in *Die Sonntags Zeit* of 7 April 1913 (reprinted in Malcolm Hayes, *Anton von Webern*, London: Phaidon, 1995, p. 107), caricaturing the uproar during one of Schoenberg's "scandalous" concerts. So contentious and awful was the fighting among the audience that poor Schubert was seen in the cartoon's foreground, pushed to his knees. Thus, tradition was embodied in the guise of the long dead composer. One startling example is of Schubert, like a burlesque comic, who drops his trousers and exposes his buttocks to the audience. Citing this caricature from a festival poster as reaching the limits of good taste, IFS reprinted it in *Schubert durch die Brille*, June 1997, page 146. Perhaps the single-most unsettling conjunction of an artist who created a Schubert image is that of Richard Klein (see below) who painted a portrait of Adolf Hitler.

What is instructive about the vast historical array of Schubert images is the way in which they vary. How did Rieder's, Kupelwieser's, Teltscher's, and Schwind's portraits of Schubert (even when produced years after Schubert's death, as with the famous Schwind portrait done from his excellent visual memory) metamorphose over the course of a century into some of the most distant and disagreeable likenesses of the composer? One should not fail to mention those others in the circle of Schubert's friends such as Kriehuber and Schober who used their varying artistic talents to make images of Schubert. The researcher is confronted with the artist's own dilemma, that of the post-Schubert era artist being able to find what he or she regards as the most authentic likeness available from which to produce a later image. If Schubert's death mask (or life mask as is also claimed) is any guide to a truer contemporary resemblance of the man, a re-evaluation of all post-1821 images of Schubert is overdue. Perhaps what is needed is a critical *Neue Ausgabe* of Schubert *Bildnisse*. A renewed look at Schubert image production would find some historical changes in Schubert image reception. These range from the contemporaneous 1820s single portraits and sketches of Schubert and the joyous group portrayals of the Schubertiads and outings to the 1897 centenary *hommage* for the late master. The 1897 celebration occurred at or near the height of the very popular mass market for commercially produced, inexpensive items bearing fanciful images of a highly romanticized and unrealistic *Schwammerl*, Viennese dialect for a little mushroom, the nickname teasingly and affectionately given to the short, squat Schubert by his friends. This consumer market continued to flourish up to the equally celebratory centenaries of 1928 and 1997, which in the late twentieth century included images of an erotic and sexually charged Schubert. Today, in the 21st century, Franz Schubert still dwells in people's memories and lives – his image as well as his music.

In the absence of a national identifier in an entry, assume the artist is Austrian. Non-Austrian artists are designated by national origin. The exception applies to artists about whom no such biographical information is available, therefore, there may be the absence of life years and/or national origin. However, images of Schubert have transcended national boundaries. The artist's country of origin, while a significant indicator of the local cultural impact, is of less importance than the fact that the image is shared everywhere. Because of the lack of biographical information in some instances, and the inability to find every image of Schubert attributed to these artists, this list should be used with caution. The *Schubert 200 Jahre* is broad-based in its depictions of Schubert, including film, postage stamps, postcards, medals, plaques, and a variety of everyday household and personal items such as drinking glasses and candy boxes. While it is not often that the name of the designer of a Schubert image on a drinking glass, character jug or other domestic item is known, auction catalogues may provide the name especially if the designer was associated with a well-known manufacturer of the item. One such entry was included for a character jug of Schubert. Also, there are numerous items bearing the image of Schubert such as boxes, ceramic busts, plaques, commemorative plates, film posters, and so on, the names of whose artists will remain forever unknown or anonymous.

The section in *Schubert 200 Jahre* for postage stamps provides the name of the stamp designer and/or engraver in some entries and, in a few instances, the model likeness used for the Schubert portrait. However, no attempt was made to find biographical information for all stamp designers and engravers. Similarly, not all of the coin and medal designers and engravers were researched. The exception to this is Paul Niggel's *Musiker-Medailien*, up to its year of publication in 1965 one of the most comprehensive compilations of medallion production, by sculptors and engravers, relating exclusively to musicians. Because Niggel is considered to be authoritative, all of his named entries under Schubert are included in this list. Niggel is weak on technical

details and has few birth and death years for his medalist entries. If the dates are available in standard artist lexicons, they are authenticated here. In any event, these specialties have a very wide following on the Internet, with numerous web sites. The researcher is advised to turn to the extensive, specialized numismatic, philatelic, and medallic literature – both online and in print – for biographical information about these artists and designers. Where a stamp does not bear an original image design but is one on which the stamp's designer used pre-existing art, as in the case of the 1978 one-rupee issue from India where the image used is a cropped Rieder 1875 portrait, the researcher is easily able to trace the designer's image source.

For coins, stamps, and medals, see: Thomas Aigner, "Schubert in Numismatik und Philatelie", *Schubert durch die Brille* 5 (June 1990), 65-67; *Numismatische Zeitschrift Wien* at <www.univie.ac.at/Numismatik>; the European Medal Club at <www.europeanmedalclub.com>; and the Fédération Internationale de la Médaille (FIDEM) at <www.fidem-medals.org>. The British Art Medal Society has a page of hyperlinks to groups worldwide at <www.bams.org.uk>. According to the Austrian Mint, their engravers did not always document which images were used in the design of a coin. Designs are archived in the Austrian Mint, except for old designs archived in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum.

For postcards, in addition to *Schubert 200 Jahre*, another very productive source of popular images is the 1997 exhibit catalogue *Schubert à la carte: Postkartenmotive*. Beyond the innumerable images of Schubert produced since his lifetime, there came into being yet another field of interest for the Schubertian who desired some Schubert-associated representation while not necessarily an image of the composer. This interest gave rise to the production of a unique Viennese genre: views of the composer's birthplace and monuments, churches in Vienna associated with him, his cemetery memorials, the places he visited, the houses he lived in and their interiors, the Stadtkonvikt he attended as a young choir boy and musician, and so on. These best-selling place representations appeared most frequently on greeting cards and on postcards, as did Schubert's image. Other sources of images are song cards which consisted of a variety of formats and contained a piece of Schubert's music; trade cards – cards with a Schubert image or place scene packaged with a retail item; bookmarks; calendars; and, reward cards given by music teachers to students who did well in their music studies. In our modern era, Schubert images are found on refrigerator magnets and telephone cards.

Many, if not most, Schubert vignettes portrayed on postcards are pure inventions. One such example is the Dreimäderlhaus scene in an operetta about Schubert based on a highly romanticized novel, that was among the most popular of themes although an utter fiction. Despite the rather kitsch flavor of much of this late- 19th- and 20th-century postal artwork, these cards were highly favored by the Viennese public and are today valuable collectors' items. One of the best online sources of Schubert cards, with authoritative information about their history, is a commercial web site specializing in Schubertiana found at <www.halftimesscores.co.uk/postcard/schart.htm>. Where a Schubert image appeared on a postcard, the intent is to list the artist, if known, in this iconography and to provide some authentication, if possible. While this iconography specifically covers only art production that bears an image of Schubert, the very popular 'Schwammerl places' genre should not go unmentioned or unnoticed.

Also requiring mention are the numerous postcards bearing photographs of Schubert and of the places and memorials. Obviously, photography has had an impact on commercial postcard production, from the earliest days when the two technologies of photography and the printing press combined to add their joint production to the mass consumer market. The photograph may have been published alone as it was taken, or it may have been used in a creative collage of photograph and craft to produce an 'artier' effect. Sometimes the names of the photographer and/or the publisher of the postcard are known but here the search to authenticate a late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century photographer fails for lack of reference authorities. *Schubert à la carte* excludes the names of photographers from its *Künstlerverzeichnis*, the list of artists, including that of Otto Erich Deutsch, the *Urheber* of modern Schubert scholarship, for his photograph in the *Monumenta photographica Austriaca*, which was used on a postcard (Salc, #A11/2, page 25).

An interesting subgenre of Schubert images arises from illustrated children's books about the life and work of Schubert. The entries are provided for German, Austrian, English, Italian, French, and American illustrators. These books vary from ages four years to high school students. The illustrations themselves may be original, or the illustrator may have modified easily identifiable images by earlier, well-known artists of Schubert.

The twentieth century gave rise to the mass consumer market in phonograph records and, more recently, compact disks (CDs). The number of recorded Schubert compositions is vast; the number of recordings of his *Winterreise* song cycle alone is astonishing. Record companies use the services of graphic designers to create attractive and often original artwork for record sleeves and CD covers. One striking example of original CD cover art shows Schubert in formal concert attire seated on the back of a giant trout with the composer holding the reins in one hand. Schubert has his free arm high in the air, every inch the rodeo cowboy riding the leaping trout, linking the composer in a most amusing way to his famous piano quintet, *Die Forelle* (The Trout). Phonograph and CD cover art has become a new and fascinating subgenre of Schubert image production. Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to know the names of these artists despite the high quality of the work produced. A survey of these covers, whether seeing them in record stores or viewing them online, shows a naturally limited range of design ideas almost always central to which is an image of Franz Schubert. Usually the source of these Schubert cover images has been the modern stock photo agency, which is licensed by institutions owning the original art (and the copyright) to provide the image to the graphic designer for a single use or for a limited time on a license fee or royalty basis. The graphic designer may use the rented image in its original state or may manipulate or incorporate the original image into a visually arresting collage that is the unique product of the designer. While craft remains critical to the designer's role, he is also helped by the computer in design creation. Given the recent availability of powerful desktop photo software, computer creation and manipulation of art has become a new design standard. One cover image of Schubert shows a known, much older portrait of the composer with the graphic designer's single and only addition of a halo. Ergo, a digitized, sanctified Schwammerl. A witty example of a Schubert image rendered through computer graphic design is the hallmark portrait used on its festival program and stationery by the Schubertiade of Schwarzenberg, Austria. The festival's Franz Schubert is a head-and-shoulders pointillist composition after Rieder's 1875 portrait. Viewed from a distance, the 8 x 9.5 cm image appears to be a fuzzy pen and ink drawing. When seen close up, every black dot is a note of music. Schubert's face and head were manipulated by computer using musical notation to paint the portrait and to link amusingly visual art with aural art while maintaining a semblance of the composer's features.

Several artists in this catalogue who have made images of Schubert have also created a set of representations, in a variety of mediums, based on the poems by Wilhelm Müller and set by Schubert as his *Winterreise* cycle of twenty-four songs. There are other artists who have not produced a Schubert image but who have produced *Winterreise*-inspired art. The additional names expand the group of *Winterreise* artists to over forty, including that of the legendary Lotte Lehmann (1888-1976), the great singer and teacher whose Schubert interpretations are still alive today thanks to her recordings and books; she produced a *Winterreise* series of her own. While these *Winterreise* artists do not meet the definition of this article's premise - an artist who produced an image of Franz Schubert - they were profoundly influenced by Schubert and have produced significant *Winterreise* artwork. This song cycle seems to have a specific resonance for the contemporary visual artist. Nearly all of the artists in this group were born in the twentieth century, with some works produced around the time of the Schubert 1997 birth bicentenary, and others before 1997 and since. The list of these *Winterreise* artists follows additional literature discussing Schubert iconography.

A note on using this catalogue: Differentiating brackets appear within each entry containing sources used to identify the artist's image, to authenticate the artist's name, and to verify dates. The reference to *Schubert 200 Jahre* appears first, enclosed within braces as (Schubert 200 Jahre, page 155, #190), indicating that the artist appeared in this exhibit catalogue, with the page number followed by the catalogue entry number. Other information from the exhibit catalogue will also be enclosed within braces. Additional abbreviated citations in square brackets [] - see Key to Source Citations - indicate further research was done by the author to verify, complete, and/or authenticate an artist wherever found. In a few instances, literature about an artist, and occasionally a brief description, has been included to assist further research. Many artists who have created a Schubert image appear for the first time in this iconography.

A caution must be added regarding the inclusion of Internet addresses: web addresses were checked the last time in late 2002, and since then may no longer be in use, may have changed, or may be temporarily suspended.

KEY TO SOURCE CITATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- ABMI: *Artist Biographies Master Index* (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1986).
- AKL: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* (München: K.G. Saur, 1992-). [As of 2002, the volumes with complete artist entries are volume I (A) to XXXII (Eimcke). For the remainder of the alphabet, Eimcke-Z, use the AKL B-B (see below), which provides only basic information.]
- AKL B-B: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon; Bio-Bibliographischer Index* (München: K. G. Saur, 1997-2000). [A-Z in 10 vols.]
- Andorfer: Karl Andorfer & Richard Epstein, eds., *Musica in Nummis: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis von Medaillenarbeiten auf Musiker (Komponisten, Virtuosen, Musikschaffsteller, Instrumentenmacher, etc.), ferner Sänger und Sängerinnen vom XV. Jahrhundert bis auf die heutige Zeit, mit neun Lichtdrucktafeln* (Wien: Gilhofer & Ranschburg, 1907).
- Ausstellung: Ernst Hilmar & Otto Brusatti, eds., *Franz Schubert: Ausstellung der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek zum 150. Todestag des Komponisten* (Wien: Universal, 1978).
- Bénézit: Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers, Nouvelle Édition entièrement refondue sous la direction de Jacques BUSSE* (Paris: Gründ, 1999-).
- Biedermeyer: Robert Waissenberger, ed., *Vienna in the Biedermeyer Era 1815-1848* (New York: Mallard, 1986).
- Boetticher: Friedrich von Boetticher, *Malervwerke des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: 1891-1901), 2 vols. in 4.
- Brown: Maurice J. E. Brown, *Essays on Schubert* (London: Macmillan, 1966). Notable are the chapters "Schubert's Portraits", p. 139-154, and "Schubert's 'Schubert-Abend bei Josef von Spaun'", p. 155-168. Brown cites Otto Erich Deutsch, *Franz Schubert: Sein Leben in Bildern* (München; Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1913).
- Bryan's: Michael Bryan, *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*. Rev. and ed. by George C. Williams (London: Bell; New York: Macmillan, 1903).
- Busse: Joachim Busse, *Internationales Handbuch aller Maler und Bildhauer des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: 1977).
- Clive: Peter Clive, *Schubert and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- DBE: *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* (München: K.G. Saur, 1995-2000), 12 vols. in 14.
- Deutsch-Bildern: Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert, Die Dokumente seines Lebens und Schaffens. III: Sein Leben in Bildern* (München; Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1913).
- Deutsch-Bildnisse: Otto Erich Deutsch, *Die historischen Bildnisse Franz Schuberts in getreuen Nachbildungen* (Wien; Leipzig: Karl König, 1922).
- Deutsch-Reader: Otto Erich Deutsch, *The Schubert Reader: A Life of Franz Schubert in Letters and Documents*, trans. by Eric Blom (New York: Norton, 1947). See iconography in appendix I, p. 926-928.
- Forrer: [Leonard] S. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medalists*, vols. 1-8 (London: Spink & Son Ltd., 1904-30; reprinted New York: Burt Franklin, 1970; reprinted London: A H Baldwin Ltd., ca. 1980); index volume published by the Royal Numismatic Society / British Art Medal Society, 1987.
- FRESCO: Frick Research Catalogue Online, Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
- Fuchs Bm.: Heinrich Fuchs, *Die österreichische Bildnisminiatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien: Fuchs, 1981), 2 vols.
- Fuchs 19.: Heinrich Fuchs, *Die österreichischen Maler des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Fuchs, 1972-1974), 4 vols.
- Fuchs 19.E: Heinrich Fuchs, *Die österreichischen Maler des 19. Jahrhunderts, Ergänzungsband 1-2* (Wien: Fuchs, 1978-1979), 2 vols.
- Fuchs 19.G: Heinrich Fuchs, *Die österreichischen Maler der Geburtsjahrgänge 1881-1900* (Wien: Fuchs, 1976-1977), 2 vols.
- Fuchs 20.: Heinrich Fuchs, *Die österreichischen Maler des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Fuchs, 1985-1986), 4 vols.
- Gallica: Gallica; La bibliothèque numérique, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Online at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr>>.
- GRI: Getty Research Institute Vocabulary Program, Union List of Artists Names/ULAN Name Record. [online at <www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabulary/ulan/index.html>]
- Grosse: *Das Grosse Münzlexikon* (Pirmasens: Münzenversandhaus Reppa, 1996). Online version 1.0, 1999.
- Grove entry: Artist has full biographical entry in *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner (London; New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1999), 34 vols; Grove Art Online.
- Grove mention: Artist is mentioned in a subject article or in another artist's biography, but has no biographical entry of his/her own in *The Grove Dictionary of Art*; Grove Art Online.
- Hilmar: Ernst Hilmar, *Schubert* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1989).
- HMSW Restitution Art: The Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien maintains a list of artists whose works are owned by the museum but have been designated as restitution art [meaning art stolen from the rightful owners during the 1934-1939 era of the Nazi regime in Germany and then during wartime in other countries]. The museum further identifies these acquisitions as "Dorotheumsankäufe 1938-1945". The artists in this inventory who appear on the museum's list are identified by 'HMSW Restitution Art'.
- Hommage: *Hommage à Franz Schubert 1797-1828* (Wien: Tusch, 1978). Original signed and numbered prints in color, 67 x 51 cm, limited edition of 125. *Hommage* in an entry above indicates this artist was one of the seven included in this edition.
- HTS: Half Time Scores at <www.halftimescores.co.uk/postcard/>. Dealer in Schubertiana.
- ICB: *Illustrators of Children's Books* (Boston: The Horn Book, issued 1947, 1958, 1968, 1978, 1967-1976).
- IFSI: International Franz Schubert Institute, Vienna; the publisher of journal *Schubert durch die Brille*.
- JF: Jaume Figueras, Barcelona, maintains a personal Schubert iconography research database based on secondary sources, and the web site of a Spanish Franz Schubert society "Der Wanderer" (languages are Spanish and Catalan) at: <www.geocities.com/schubertiades/>
- Gallery of Schubert Images, see: <www.geocities.com/schubertiades/galeria.htm>.
- Brief Lexicon of Schubert Images [artist names with birth/death years and reference source], see: <www.geocities.com>

- /schubertides/gal_lexikon.htm>.
- LC: Library of Congress Name Authority File; usually followed by an 8-digit ID number as indicated in the text. [online]
- MO: A. Loehr & F. Dvorschak, *Die Medaille in Österreich* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1934).
- Nigg: Paul Nigg, *Musiker-Medallien* (Hofheim am Taunus: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1965). "Schubert, Franz Peter" on p. 198-203, entries #1787-1856.
- NÖB: *Neue Österreichische Biographie*, 1815: *Grosse Österreichische* (Wien: Amalthea Verlag, 1923-), vols. 1-22.
- NYPL: New York Public Library.
- ÖBL: *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon, 1815-1950*, issued under the auspices of the Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Graz: H. Böhlau Nachf., 1957-), vol. 1-11. Online at <www.oebv.ac.at/oebv/>
- Ö-Lexikon: *Österreich-Lexikon*. [online]
- ÖNB-BA: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv.
- Online auction results: online search of auctions found biographical information about the artist.
- Online search: Refers to results obtained via online search through major search engines for data not cited elsewhere in the standard literature.
- Pre-Modern: Leon Botstein & Linda Weintraub, eds., *Pre-Modern Art of Vienna, 1848-1898* (Annandale-on-Hudson, NY: Edith C. Blum Art Institute, Bard College, 1987). Exhibition catalogue with essays.
- Rimbault: Edward R. Rimbault, *Gallery of German Composers. A Series of Portraits Engraved on Steel, from Oil Paintings by Professor Carl Jäger* (New York: Stroemer and Kirchner, 1873; and another edition: Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1881).
- RM or RM/SIUK: Richard Morris, London; affiliated with The Schubert Institute (UK), is a collector of Schubertiana and postcards.
- Rudo: *Composer portrait medallions from the Stephen I. Rudo collection* [realia] ca. 1837-ca. 1947. In the Performing Arts Collection, Music Division, The New York Public Library. Among the artists listed who produced an image of Franz Schubert are Karl Goetz, Hans Schaefer (b.1875), and Franz Stäny (b.1881).
- Salz: *Schubert à la carte; Postkartenmotive* (Bregenz: Gemeindemuseum Schwarzenberg / Vorarlberger Landesmuseum, 1997). From this iconography are excluded artists who are not shown to have produced an image of Franz Schubert.
- Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert im Spiegel der Nachwelt. Ausstellung im Schloss Achberg und im Stadtmuseum Lindau*, 3. Mai - 7. September 1997 (Heidelberg: Editions Braus, 1997). Many of the individuals identified with the key 'Schubert 200 Jahre' had not studied in a fine arts academy but had trained in a school of arts and crafts (*Kunstgewerbeschule*). Some names are incomplete; many cannot be identified in any source at present.
- SIUK: The Schubert Institute (UK). [online and print version of the quarterly SIUK Newsletter, *The Schubertian*]
- S-Lexikon: Ernst Hilmar & Margret Jestremski, eds., *Schubert-Lexikon* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1997).
- Sotheby's: Sotheby's. [artwork and biographical information about the artist found online at this site]
- Sottrifer: Kristian Sottrifer, *Modern Austrian Art*, trans. by Alisa Jaffa (New York: Praeger, 1965).
- Thieme-Becker: Ulrich Thieme & Felix Becker et al., eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Engelmann, 1907-1950), 37 vols. Reissued and updated (München: K. G. Saur, 1992-).
- Varnedoe: Kirk Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art Architecture & Design* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1986).
- Vergo: Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna 1898-1918: Klimt Kokoschka Schiele and their contemporaries* (London: Phaidon, 1975).
- Vollmer: Hans Vollmer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts*. (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1953-1962), 6 vols.
- WWAA: *Who's Who in American Art, 1999-2000* (New Providence, N.J.: Marquis Who's Who, 1999).
- WWWAA: *Who Was Who in American Art* (Madison, Conn.: Soundview Press, 1982). Compiled from the original thirty-four volumes of *American Art Annual*; *Who's Who in Art, 1898-1947*.

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gress; Jean Druessedon, Kent State University Museum; Gabriele J. Eder, Institut Wiener Kreis, Vienna; Ingrid Acebal, Madrid; Dr. Wolfgang Prohaska, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Heinz Winter, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Frick Art Reference Library, New York; Karl Machulka, Austrian Mint, Vienna; Herma Heiss, Austrian Post, Vienna; William R. Littlefield; Karen L. Marshall; Richard A. and Lois Pace; Blanka Poláková, Prague; George R. R. Martin; Betty Palmer; Peter Greenhill, UK; Merete Boye, Denmark; Trudy Weaver Miller; Dieter Wagner, Germany; Wilhelm Pirzer, Germany; Norbert Mauritus, Germany; Siegfried Rischar, Germany; Eberhard Hückstädt, Germany; Gay Lewis, Jill Oxton Publications Pty. Ltd., Australia; Ed Hart, The Hart Gallery; Marc Bettendorff, Luxembourg; Esther Brumberg, Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York; Paul Humpolezt, UK; Anna Calvesbert, Canada; Paul Gilligan, Canada; Di Noyce, Australia; Sandra Mann, Australia; Lee Delehanty, The Netherlands; Dr. Kern Wil-

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M.J. Mott, U.K.; Mariele Neudecker, U.K.; Julia Prejmean Aston, Germany; Liane Presch-Petrucci, Austria; Tim Rollins; Parkett Publishers; Rudolf Stalden; Morten Straede, Denmark; Katrin Talbot, University of Wisconsin Press; Jan Van Mechelen, Belgium; Julia Waloschek, Austria; Odin Wiesinger, Austria; Roland Wirtz, Germany; Pip Woolf, U.K.; Doms Eisenburger, Germany; Rolf Escher, Germany; Nicholas Ardizzone, U.K.; Wiener Philharmoniker.

SCHUBERT ICONOGRAPHY: AUTHENTICATED ENTRIES

ABEL, JOSEF (1764-1818). Painter and etcher. Early portraitist of FS whose painting may have been misattributed to someone else. [SIUK; GRI; LC 89015714; Thieme-Becker, I, 19; Bénétiz, I, 25; AKL, I, 116-117; Fuchs 19, I, K9; Grove entry; S-Lexikon; JF]

† Rita Steblin, *Ein unbekanntes frühes Schubert-Porträt? Franz Schubert und der Maler Josef Abel* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1992), 52 pages, a publication of the Internationales Franz Schubert Institut (IFSI). In her essay Steblin presents evidence that the 1816 (?) portrait of a young man by Abel is Schubert, shown at the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum.

† Elmar Worgull, "Ein repräsentatives Jugendbildnis Schuberts", *Schubert durch die Brille* 12 (January 1994), 55-89.

† A large reproduction of this portrait (21 x 29 cm) is found in *Heritage of Music. II: The Romantic Era*, ed. by M. Raeburn & A. Kendall (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 74. Reproduced at the beginning of the chapter on Franz Schubert. The plate is annotated as being a recently discovered portrait of Schubert by an unknown artist.

ATTCHESON, IAN (British). Illustrator. FS image. [RM; online search] No further information available.

† Jan Woodward, *Ladybird: Lives of the Great Composers* (Loughborough: Wills & Hepworth, 1969).

ALBIN, J. Painter, graphic artist, and watercolorist. May be Johan Albin Jerneman (1868-1953; Swedish) a/k/a Albin Jerneman. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Kopf*, aquarelle, 17 x 15.5 cm, 1928, page 212, #346, signed 'J. Albin'. [Online search: AKL B-B, V, 301; Johan Albin Jerneman in *Svenskt Konstnärsläxikon: Tiohundra svenska konstnärers liv och verk* (Malmö: Allhems Förlag, 1952-1967), III:277.]

ALLMAYER, HANS. Silhouette. *Silhouette* — Hilmar, page 11, plate 7. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert bei Nacht vor einer Mühle*, silhouette, 23 x 17 cm, 1917, page 213, #355]. Hans, though mentioned in daughter Josefine's entry, has no entry of his own in either AKL or Fuchs; see below: Josefine Allmayer. [S-Lexikon, see 'Postkarten']

ALLMAYER, JOSEFINE (1904-1977). Silhouette. *An Brunn von dem Thore. Postkarte nach einem Entwurf von Josefine Allmayer* [sic], n.d. — Hilmar, page 188, plate 316 [Schubert is in dark silhouette-like profile.] *Schubert vor der Mühle*, silhouette, 1920s, 12.3 x 20.2 cm (unframed), sold at Sotheby's, #1867426543 (19 October 2002). An exhibition dedicated to her work was shown on the occasion of her 25th death anniversary, at the Stift Klosterneuburg Museum, in cooperation with the Kierlinger Heimatmuseum (1 May to 17 November 2002). See <www.stift-klosterneuburg.at/museum.htm>. [Salc, silhouettes, song illustration on a postcard

and image of FS, #B12/1-B12/4, pages 43-44, #C73, page 56; AKL, II, 544, has entry for Josefine Allmayer (1904-?), daughter of Hans who was also a silhouetteist and her teacher; online is found her silhouette postcard *Die Brunnenseite*; Fuchs 20, I, K17; online search; S-Lexikon, see 'Postkarten']

AMADEUS-DIER, ERIARD (1893-1969) a/k/a ERIARD AMADEUS DIER. Painter and illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert Deutsche Tänz*, etching, 9.5 x 15.5 cm, 1922, page 212, #341] — Not in *Schubert 200 Jahre* is "Schubert and His Friends Take a Walk", reproduction by H.J. Wesseling, Amsterdam. [Bénétiz, IV, 570; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; AKL, III, 51; Fuchs 19 G, I, K12; RM notes that a *Deutsche Tänz* by Amadeus-Dier appeared in the *Illustrierte Zeitung* Leipzig (15 November 1928)]

AMBROSI, GUSTINUS or GUSTINO (1893-1975). Sculptor, graphic artist, and writer. His 1963 bronze bust of FS is based on Schwind's portrait; also did a Schubert bust for the Wiener Schubertbund's 1975 centennial. There is a Gustinus Ambrosi Museum dedicated to his art. He was awarded the 1949 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (sculpture). [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert Bieste*, bronze, no dimensions, 1963, page 188, #251; discussion on page 182] [Ö-Lexikon; AKL, III, 158-159; GRI]

ANGELO, ROBERT W. (b.1955; American). Wrote a narrative biography ("to be read aloud") of Robert Schumann in 1985, *The Poet Speaks: The Life of Robert Schumann*, illustrated with his own line drawings based on images found in standard secondary sources. Pencil, 3 x 5 in (7.6 x 12.7 cm), file card stock, 1985. The FS images in his Schumann biography were copied from Peggy Woodford, *Schubert: His Life and Times* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1983), pages 46 & 87. The artist published the book and its drawings online at <www.roangelo.net/schumann/>. [online search; personal communication to the author]

ANGERER, VIKTOR (1839-1894). Photographer and engraver. Produced a photograph of FS, 19.5 x 17 cm, ca. 1890, based on Kupelwieser's 1821 aquarelle [Gallica; online search]

† Maren Grönning, *Schatten des imaginären Museums: Die Albertina und die Fotografie im 19. Jahrhundert* at: <www.albertina.at/media/forschen/publ/Groening.pdf>

ARDIZZONE, EDWARD J. I. (1900-1979; born in French Indo-China, later British citizen). Artist, illustrator, author, designer, lithographer, watercolorist, etcher. Wrote and illustrated children's books. Named a British Official War artist and achieved wide recognition for his WWII art. [online search; Thieme-Becker, I, 422; AKL, IV, 733-734; ICB, all editions; web site dedicated to the artist by his son at <members.aol.com/tedar_dizz/homeca.htm>; personal communication from the artist's son]

- † Catherine Gough, *Boyhoods of Great Composers*, illus. by Edward Ardizzone (London: Oxford University Press, 1960, 1972). Contains section on Franz Schubert, with images.
- ARNO, PETER [Curtis Arnoux Peters, Jr.] (1904–1968; American). Illustrator and cartoonist. Cartoonist for *The New Yorker* from 1925 to 1968. [RM; online search; AKL, V, 202–203]
- † Herbert F. Peyser, *Schubert and His Works*, illus. by Peter Arno (2nd edition; New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1950). Cover drawing after Schwind's *Schubertiade*.
- BACCHI, CESARE (1891–1939; Italian). Painter and sculptor. Painted oil portrait *Schubert am Schreibtisch beim Komponieren*, 1929. Shown at the Paris Salon, 1929. — Hilmar, page 89, plate 137, 'Carlo Bacchi'. More likely this is Cesare Bacchi who exhibited at the Paris Salon between 1911 and 1939. [Sale, *Schubert am Komponieren*, postcard of 1929 oil painting, 'Carlo [sic] Bacchi, 1931, #C3/1, page 65; JF; Bénézit, I, 600; AKL, VI, 120]
- BACHER, R. (UDOLF) (1862–1945). Painter, sculptor, and illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376; uncertain if image produced] [Sottrifer, Varnedoe; Pre-Modern; Bénézit, I, 606; O-Lexikon; AKL, VI, 144; Fuchs 19, I, K24; Fuchs 19.E, I, K27; Grove entry]
- BANKEL, JOHANN (1837–1906). Artist, copper engraver, and printmaker. Portraits of composers including FS after Jäger, may refer to Carl Jäger, see below. [GRI; online research; AKL, VI, 582; Rimbaud]
- BARBIER, LUC (French). Illustrator. [RM; online search] No further information available.
- † Renée Tramond, *Schubert*, illus. by Luc Barbier (Lyon: Éditions et Imprimeries du Sud-Est, 1955; 1960).
- BARTOLOMEY, ERNST (a/k/a Bartolo) (1943–1996). Musician, writer, painter, and caricaturist. Joined the Wiener Staatsoper in 1964, and the Wiener Philharmoniker in 1966 becoming second violinist. Wrote a history of the Wiener Staatsoper. Used 'Bartolo' to sign his drawings. Unable to locate his caricature image of FS [JF; Sale, 'Ernest Bartolo', *Wiener Bildermeier*, color postcard of pen and ink drawing, n.d., #D3/2, page 79; Fuchs 20, I, K47–K48; personal communication to the author from the Wiener Philharmoniker]
- BAUER, KARL. Painter, lithographer, and graphic artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert*, charcoal drawing, 21 × 19 cm, n.d., page 212, #347] [Vergo; Sale has (b. 1905 in Graz), b/w photograph of portrait, n.d., #C43, page 53; entry in AKL, VII, 550–551 is for a painter and graphic artist born in Graz (1905–7) while Bénézit, I, 878, has an entry for German painter and lithographer Karl Conrad Friedrich Bauer (1868–1942), who was a member of the Stefan George circle; Fuchs 20, I, K54–K55; FRESCO shows (1868–1932); JF; DBE, I, 327 (1868–1942)]
- BAUER, NARN. Illustrator. Reproduction of etching, *The Etude* (March 1928), page 191. [HTS] No further information available.
- BENESCH, C. [Sale, *Dreimünderthalb* postcard series, n.d., #C12/4–C12/5, page 72. See entry for Karl Benesch (flourished 1840). Still life painter, AKL, IX, 41, uncertain if the same artist; Karl Benesch in Fuchs 19.E, I, K46]
- BENESCH, JOSEF FERDINAND (1875–1954). Lithographer and painter. *Composers Franz Schubert*, oil on cardboard, 32 × 26.5 cm, n.d., Sotheby's, lot 2CTT (25 October 2000). [AKL, IX, 41; Fuchs 19, I, K31; Fuchs 19.E, I, K46]
- BERGER, JULIUS VIKTOR (1850–1902). *Schubert Denkmal von Karl Kundmann im Wiener Stadtpark*, Tuschzeichnung, n.d. [ÖNB-BA]
- BERNT, RUDOLF (1844–1914). Watercolorist and illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376; has

first name abbreviation as 'Aud.' but this may be a typographical error] [May be Rud. for Rudolf Berni in AKL, IX, 625; Fuchs 19, I, K34; <www.icollector.com> lists three of his aquarelles at auction, June 2001; RM notes drawing of Schubertdenkmal in the Stadtpark on a *Ballschende* card for the 1897 *Ball der Stadt Wien*). During the 1890s, Berni drew the interior of the 'Golden Rose' Synagogue in L'viv (built in 1582), destroyed in WW II.

† *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, illus. by Rudolf Berni.

BEYER, JOSEF (1843?–1917? or 1861–1933?). Sculptor and medal engraver. *Plaques*, 1913, celebrating the Schubertbund's 50 years in Vienna, 100 × 70 mm; Schubert fountain, 1914 [Schubert 200 Jahre: mention in Theodor Stundl, *Schubert-Brunnen*, page 187, #248] [Niggel; AKL, X, 339; Fuchs 19, I, K35 has Josef Beyer (1861–7), a landscape and portrait painter; Fuchs 19.E, I, K54 (died 1933); *Entwurf eines Schubert-Brunnen*, photo, Deutsch-Bildern, page 83 bottom]

BIRCSAK, THEODOR (e). Signed silhouette of FS at keyboard. Modified silhouette appeared later, as part of picture titled *Zum 100 jährigen [sic] Todestage Franz Schuberts* (19. Nov. 1828), in an unidentified magazine and attributed to Leopold Wächter. [RM] No further information available.

BITHORN, WILLI. Schubert silhouette. [Hilmar, page 14, plate 11; mention in S-Lexikon as Willy Bithorn, see 'Postkarten'; Hilmar, ('Willi'), 14; Sale, print of silhouette by W.B. n.d., #C72, page 56 (not illustrated); JF; silhouette of Richard Wagner by 'W. Bithorn' online at <www.plochberger.net/NewFiles/groupportrait.html>; silhouette of Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal by 'Wilhelm Bithorn', 1914 at <www.bka.gva.at/bka/service/publikationen/oesterreich_allgemein/musik_in_oesterreich.pdf>]

BLAHA, HANS. Watercolorist and veduta artist. [Sale, active 1900–1917, color print of portrait, 1925 or 1928?, #C54, page 54; Hans (Johann) Blaha (active 1900–1908), AKL, XI, 342]

BOHLER, OTTO (1847–1913). Silhouetteist and miniaturist. Böhrler's 1897 silhouette *Die Feier von Schubert's 100. Geburtstag im Himmel* appears in many biographies of FS. This silhouette is in Hilmar, page 205, plate 349, without an artist attribution, but it is clearly Böhrler's famous work. Silhouette images of Schubert are in two other of Böhrler's silhouettes, celebrating the ascension of Brahms and Bruckner into heaven. In these two instances, FS is among the greeters. Böhrler's silhouettes are quite frequently used to this day in biographies of the many composers who were gently lampooned by the silhouette artist. [AKL, XII, 129; SIUK; Pre-Modern; GRI; S-Lexikon, see 'Postkarten'; JF; *Schubert im Himmel: Huldigung zum 100. Geburtstag*, 1897, Deutsch-Bildern, page 30; RM]

† The Schubert Institute (UK) *Newsletter* [later re-named *The Schubertian*] 12 (November 1995), page 8, silhouette reproduction of *Die Feier von Schubert's 100. Geburtstag im Himmel*. Original is owned by the Wiener Schubertbund.

† Alessandra Comini, 'The Visual Brahms: Idols and Images', *Arts Magazine* (October 1979), 123–129, which includes Böhrler's famous, amusing full-figure silhouette of Brahms followed by a red hedgehog, symbolizing the composer on his way to his favorite pub, *Zum rote Igel*.

BOHM/BOEHM, JOSEF EDGAR. Sculptor and medal engraver. Sources say that the 37 mm medal by Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), struck in 1852 (but not dated), was by his English son, Sir Josef (or Joseph) Edgar Boehm (1834–1890), who spelled his name differently, and upon whom a knighthood was conferred in later years after he left to live in England. [Andorfer; Niggel; AKL, XII, 143–144; GRI entry for Joseph Edgar Boehm; FRESCO entry for Joseph Edgar Boehm; Grove entry for Joseph Edgar Boehm; S-Lexi-

kon: JF; 1852 medal, Deutsch-Bildern, page 85; Trost says the 1852 medal was by Josef Edgar Böhm, page 11, n1]

✱ Mark Stocker, *Royalist and Realist: The Life of Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm* (New York: Garland, 1988).

BOLLHAMMER, SUST. [Salc, portrait medallions on postcard, 1928, #C21/3, page 76]. Bollhammer cannot be identified. There is artist Martha Blaschke-Pollhammer (1878-1971), Fuchs 19.E.1, K60. She produced an engraving of Katharina Lascznyi-Buchwieser or Lascznyi-Buchwieser, a singer known to Schubert. The engraving is reproduced in Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1954), plate opp. page 241. Blaschke-Pollhammer is also identified by Werner J. Schweiger online at: <www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/bt/fk_malschulen.htm>, but it is uncertain if she produced an image of FS.

BONELL, GOTTHARD (b.1953; Italian). Singer and artist. (1) Portrait of Schubert, graphic [etching?], 16 × 24 cm, 1993; in the artist's possession. Based on various pre-existing portraits of Schubert. (2) *Irlichter; Variationen zu Wilhelm Müllers und Franz Schuberts Winterreise*; [Radierung?] 25 images of varying dimensions, 1997 (Innsbruck: Haymon-Verlag, ca. 1997). — Text is accompanied by CD with Gotthard Bonell, baritone, and Norman Shetler, piano. [online search; personal communication to the author, AKL, XII, 508].

BOREHAM, JUDY (British). Artist and illustrator. FS at the piano, 4.5 × 4.5 in (11.43 × 11.43 cm), pen and ink on paper?, 1999. The cartoon FS is sitting at the piano; the panel has a balloon with the sentence: "These are my miniature operas." [online search; author's copy] No further information available.

✱ Duncan Heath and Judy Boreham, *Introducing Romanticism* (Cambridge: Icon Books Ltd., 1999), "Romantic Song," page 140 (reduced version on title page).

BOTTGER, KLAUS (1942-1992; German). Painter and engraver. *Franz Schubert*, aquatint etching, 32.6 × 24.8 cm, 1989, Arno Winterberg, Heidelberg, lot 1770 (10 October 1992). [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert-Kompositionen mit zwei Schubert-Porträts und Caroline Esterházy, aquatint etching, 33 × 25 cm, 1989, page 219, #397] [Bénézit, II, 611; GRI cites birth year as 1946; <www.icollector.com> cites death year; AKL, XII, 211 cites 1992 as death year]

BOYE, MERETE (b.1971; Danish). Theologian and artist. Comic strip done with ballpoint pen on paper, two sheets of A5 paper, 14.8 × 21 cm, 1994. Published in *Spiloppen*, monthly journal of the *Arlus Musikskole* as one in the series Great Men of Music. With Tina Steen Jensen (see below), created an FS comic strip and other historically accurate drawings done in a naïve manner with witty modern text. Jensen did the bulk of the comic strip drawing with Boye responsible for a panel based on Schwind, showing Johann Michael Vogl sitting next to FS at the piano. In this comic version, Vogl is wondering what's for dessert. In an early panel, FS was almost named Fred at birth. [online search; <www.merete.land.dk/ts/fs1.html>; personal communication to the author]

BREITWIESER, THEODOR (1847-1930). Portrait and genre painter. Framed miniature watercolor of FS, on paper in oval frame, 7 × 9 cm, n.d., Sotheby's, lot 27PL (11 October 2000), and again, lot 418M (23 February 2001). [AKL, XIV, 93; Thieme-Becker, IV, 574; Bénézit, II, 776; GRI; Fuchs 19, I, K45; Fuchs 19.E.1, K69-K70. Also found as Breidwiser and Breitwieder]

Breitwieser studied at the Vienna Academy in the studio of Eduard von Engerth; he won international acclaim for his large battlefield panoramas and genre compositions. In 1885 the artist worked in America where he painted cowboys and folk scenes.

BREND'AMOUR, (ROBERT FRANÇOIS) RICHARD or (FRANZ) ROBERT RICHARD (1831-1915). Engraver, woodcut artist, and illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Franz Schubert in Ungarn den Weisen der Zigeuner lausend und ihre Melodien aufzeichnend, um 1885, woodcut based on Schubert drawing by H. Merté (see below), 32 × 24 cm, ca. 1885, page 211, #336] [Bénézit, II, 780; AKL, XIV, 108; Grove mention in article: "Wood-engraving, history"]

BROCI, A. *Dreimäderlhaus Szene. Kolorierte Postkarte nach einem Entwurf von A. Broch, n.d.*, Hilmar, page 187, plate 311. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Vier Postkarten zu Liedern aus dem Dreimäderlhaus nach Gemälden von A. Broch page 229, #46(a); plate on page 229] [Salc, song illustration on a postcard, #B13/1-13/6, page 44, Dreimäderlhaus postcards, #C10/7-C10/10, page 71; several postcards by Broch with FS appear on JF website, with JF suggesting in his database that the first name may be Alois after a book illustrator (ca. 1914) of that era; S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"]

BROWN, BARBARA (British). Illustrator. [RM; online search] No further information available.

✱ Peggy Woodford, *Schubert* (London: J. Garnet Miller, 1969).

BRZEZINSKI, ANTON (b.1946; American). Artist. *The Composer Franz Schubert*, oil painting, 12 × 24 in (35 × 70 cm). Done in cubist style as a CD cover for a Danish label, but never used by the record company. [online at: www.eBay.com, item #901545537 (27 August 2002)]

BRZEZOWSKY, GRETE. Illustrator. FS appears in six of her eight illustrations in Anton Herget, *Der Liederfürst Franz Schubert* (Leipzig: Vienna; Prague: Haase, 1915), [RM/SIUK]. Also illustrated Herget's *Josef Haydn* (Leipzig: Wien: Praha: Haase, ca. 1914)

BURDA, J. (1825-1897 after 1886). Painter. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert in Schilhof, oil on canvas, 50 × 47 cm, n.d., page 212, #340] May be Josef Burda, painter, portraitist, and lithographer. Burda did many portraits of Vienna's aristocracy. [AKL B-B, II, 337; AKL, XV, 187-188; Fuchs 19.E.1, K78-K79 (born ca. 1827)]

CASTELLS MARTI, JOAN (1906-1980; Spanish/Catalan). Engraver and painter. Painted FS portrait on wood. [JF; AKL, XVII, 215]

CLAROT, JOHANN BAPTIST (1797 or 1798-1854 or 1855). Lithographer. [Schubert 200 Jahre, Franz Schubert, lithograph for music publisher Artaria after Rieder, 34.7 × 24.3 cm, ca. 1826, page 154, #187] [GRI; AKL, XIX, 419-420, has entry for Johann Baptist Clarot (1798-1855). Painter and lithographer; Fuchs 19, I, K56 (1797-1854); online search produced dates as 1797-1854]

COBBE, THOMAS J. (1919-1999; American). University professor, botanist, botanical illustrator, and portraitist. Using his scientific and artistic expertise, he created nearly one thousand signature portraits of composers for university music programs. Sources for the portraits were drawn from material in public library collections and from the American music publisher Theodore Presser Company. The portraits were donated by the artist to form the Thomas Cobbe Collection of Composer Portraits at the University of Cincinnati, Como Memorial Music Library. The portraits in the collection are free of copyright and may be used by anyone without restriction. Two Schubert images are in the collection. The portraits have been digitized for viewing online at <www.uc.edu/libraries/CCM/cobbe/cobbe.asp>. [online search]

COLLEY, DONALD (b.1954; American). Painter, printmaker, and illustrator. Did original illustration of FS after Rieder's 1825 aquarelle, for classical music web site. [Information and graphic viewable online at <www.andante.com>]

CONDELLI (Italian). Painted image of FS on ceramic plate, ø = 4 in (10.16 cm), after Jäger. [RM] No further information available.

COSSMANN, ALFRED (1870-1951). Printmaker and engraver. FS image engraved ca. 1905 on a bookplate for Karl Andorfer,

Deutsch-Bildern, page 31. [JF; Bénézit, III, 931; AKL, XXI, 413-414; online search; a 2-Schilling Austrian stamp with Cossman's portrait was released in 1970. He produced a noted portrait etching of Mozart ca. 1900]

CROCKFORD, J.J. Children's book illustrator. Illustrated a number of books by Kitty Barne and another author. [RM; online search] No further information available.

† **Kitty Barne**, *Introducing Schubert*, illus. by J.J. Crockford (New York: Roy Publishers, [1957]). Original line drawings.

CZOERNIG, HERTA a/k/a **CZOERNIG-GOBANZ** and **CZOERNIG, HERTHA DOROTHEA** (1886-1970). Landscape artist and etcher. Did a series of Schubert aquarelles. Best known for Musicians' Homes series consisting of twenty-eight etchings of the birthplaces and residences of famous Viennese musicians and composers, with inscriptions. Before her death, she was commissioned by the Albertina to produce an etching of the museum. [JF; online date of birth as 1896; AKL, XXIII, 317-318 (1886-1970); Fuchs 19, I, K40 (1886-1970); see online biography at www.madowncreek.com/bios/hczoenrig.html; RM cites "Goernig" in Schubert 200 Jahre as a misreading for Herta Czoernig; Schubert 200 Jahre, *Schubert-Denkmal im Stadt-Park von Karl Kundmann*, aquarelle, 37.5 x 30.5 cm, 1943, page 187, #247]

DAFFINGER, MORITZ MICHAEL (1790-1849). Painter, miniaturist, and watercolorist. Did a watercolor drawing of FS, n.d., [but possibly mid-1820s], *Schubert: Aquarellierte Zeichnung von Moritz Michael Daffinger* (?), Hilmar, page 39, plate 50; Deutsch-Bildern, page 22. He came into contact with the Fröhlich sisters - Barbara Fröhlich was his painting student for a short time - and with FS through his friendship with Grillparzer, which started in 1820. [His entries in Schubert 200 Jahre include his images of Grillparzer and of the Fröhlich sisters, Barbara and Katharina, on pages 156-157, #193, #194, #195. His image of FS is not in Schubert 200 Jahre. Daffinger is perhaps better known for his painting *Liszt am Klavier*. [JF; GRI; Bénézit, IV, 178; AKL, XXIII, 381-382; Fuchs 19, I, K59; Grove online; Deutsch-Reader; S-Lexikon]

DARRACOTT, INGRID (British). Illustrator. [RM; online search] No further information available.

† **Richard Wigmore**, *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*, illus. by Ingrid Darracott (London: Gollancz, 1988). Cover image of FS.

DAUTERT, KARL (1875-1944; German?). Medal, 90 mm, cast metal, 1928. [Niggli; AKL, XXIV, 400 has German portrait artist, sculptor, and plaque artist (1875-1944)]

DAVID, GEORG [Salic, print after a portrait by David 1943, after a painting by Novak [sic], n.d., #C56, page 54; Fuchs 20, I, K151-152 has Paul Georg David (b.1923). Painter and graphic artist. No other similar name has been found]

DEBLOIS, CHARLES-ALPHONSE (1822-ca.1883; French). Small engraving of FS, 24 x 16 cm, 1867. [JF; AKL B-B, III, 57; Bénézit, IV, 318; Gallica]

DEISINGER, WUNIBALD (1879-1963). Architect. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Porträt*, red chalk drawing, 40 x 30 cm, 1922, page 212, #345]; [AKL, XXV, 280-281; Thieme-Becker, VIII, 561-562; O-Lexikon]

† *Schubert durch die Brille* 6 (January 1991), p. 110. Original Rotelzeichnung, 1922, von D. [sic] Deininger.

DELEOIS, C. (French). Engraver? [Schubert 200 Jahre: *François Schubert*, steelpoint engraving, 11 x 10 cm, 1867, page 205, #317].

DEMAN, G. Black and white line illustrations. [RM; online search] No further information available.

† **Egon Komorzynski** (1878-1963), *Genius zwischen zwei Welten*:

Ein Schubert-Roman, illus. by G. Deman (Berlin: Hesses Verlag, 1944).

DIALER, JOSEF ALOIS (1797-1846). Sculptor and painter. Dialer produced a bust after a Schwemminger (see below) design, n.d., Hilmar, page 48, plate 65. A mould for the bust at Währing cemetery, Ausstellung, page 98. The German text has 1829 for the mould while the English text has 1830. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schuberts erste Grabstätte auf dem Währinger Friedhof*, bronze, no dimensions, 1830, page 180, #231; *Schubert-Büste*, 1830 nach Josef Alois Dialer, bronze, 30 x 10 x 17.5 cm, 1830, page 183, #233 and #234]; [Thieme-Becker, IX, 202; Biedermeier; Brown; Bénézit, IV, 544; AKL, XXVII, 63; S-Lexikon; JF; Salic, b/w photograph of bronze bust 1829, #C90, page 59. In 1829 the state of the bust was a plaster cast; the agreed date the bust was cast in bronze seems to be 1830; *Schubert-Büste*, bronze, 1829, Deutsch-Bildern, page 18]

DIER, ERHARD AMADEUS, see Amadeus-Dier, Erhard

DIET, LEO originally **DIETMANN, LEOPOLD** (1857-1942; Austro-Czech). Painter, illustrator, and etcher. Produced a silhouette after Schwind, *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 32. *Schubert in der Uniform der Hofjägerkneben*, aquarelle, n.d., Hilmar, page 9, plate 4; in Ausstellung, page 15. It is not known for certain that this uniformed choirboy is Schubert. [JF; online search; Bénézit, IV, 572-573; AKL, XXVII, 280-281; Fuchs 19, I, K65]

DIETHOR, JOSEF (b.1919). Sculptor. Bronze bust of FS for the opening of the Schubertsaal in Steyr, 550 x 400 mm, 1970. [AKL, XXVII, 289; online search; image of bust at <<http://auktion.a1.net/default1.asp?C=OfferDetails&IDoffer=5541831>> (28 November 2002)]

DIETRICH, ANTON (1799-1872). Sculptor. Portrait bust of FS in Vienna Staatsoper online at <<http://1vbethoven.com/Lieux/Autriche/Vienne/OperaBusseti/Dietrich.html>> [Online search produced questionable dates of (1833-1904), but this may be for another artist by the same name; AKL, XXVII, 295-296 (between 1795 and 1797-1872). Sculptor, artist. Schubert bust in Vienna Opera]

† **Eva Badura-Skoda**, "Erhaltene Porträt-Büsten Schuberts," *Schubert durch die Brille* 16-17 (January 1996), p. 147-157. On page 146 is a photograph of the bust captioned *Zeitgenössische anonyme Schubert-Büste (von Anton Dietrich?) (Photographie aus dem Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.)*

† **Eva Badura-Skoda & Peter Branscombe**, eds., *Schubert Studies: Problems of Style and Chronology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 186, for a photograph of the portrait bust as possibly done by Dietrich, ca. 1830, in a private collection.

DIETRICH, ANGELIKA. Her caricatures appear in the pages of *Schubert durch die Brille* 21 (June 1998), pages 144, 162; 23 (June 1999), pages 143, 189; 26 (January 2001), page 166. This artist bears the same name as the second wife of Johann Strauss, junior. The artist's copyright years are contemporaneous with the publication dates of *SdH*. No further information available.

DOLA, GEORGES (pseud. for EDMOND VERNIER; 1872-1950; French). Painter, lithographer, graphic designer, and illustrator. Noted for opera posters which are still collected. Image of FS after Otto Nowak drawing for the score of *Das Dreinäderthaus* published by Doblinger-Verlag. The Dola rendering is on a poster for the opera *Claudian d'amour*, 47 x 31 in (120 x 79 cm), lithograph, 1936. The French opera is based on *Das Dreinäderthaus*. [RM; online search; AKL, XXVII, 301]

DUNN, HARVEY THOMAS (1884-1952; American). Illustrator and painter. *Schubert Composing the Earl-King*, color portrait, 9.5 x 6.25 in (24.13 x 15.875 cm), 1918. Dunn was earlier commissioned by Steinway & Sons to produce four-color, double page ads in the

Saturday Evening Post, a highly popular, mass circulation American magazine; see Richard K. Lieberman, *Steinway & Sons* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), page 144. [GR]; online search; AKL B-B, III, 343; Bénézit, IV, 865; FRESCO; ABMI, 236; WWWAA, 176; Arpi Eymoyan, *Famous American Illustrators* (London: Quantum, 2002), pages 72-73]

James [G.] Hunecker, *The Steinway Collection of Paintings by American Artists Together With Prose Portraits of the Great Composers* ([New York]: Steinway & Sons, 1919).

Robert F. Karolevitz, *Where Your Heart Is: The Story of Harvey Duni, Artist* (Aberdeen, S.D.: North Plains Press, 1970).

DUPRE (OR DUPRÉ), PÈRE (Haitian). Woodcarver. Carved bust of FS, 16 1/2 in / 42.22 cm high, on pedestal 11.75 x 9.75 in (30 x 25 cm), ca. 1960s. [Online search at <www.tias.com>, bust shown by Keslinger Antiques, Lakeland, Florida, USA] No further information available.

DUSL, ANDREA (MARIA) (b.1961). Journalist, writer, graphic artist, and caricaturist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Andreas [sic] Dusl, *Frank, der alte Flötist*, caricature in *Falter* (May 1997), 13.5 x 24 cm, page 253, #639] Dusl's opinion columns, drawings, and sketches appear monthly in the Viennese magazine *Falter* under the pen name Comandantina Duslova [online search; Dusl web site at <www.gocities.com/Pentagon/4404/>]

EARLE, NIGEL (British). Illustrator. Cards, posters, and art prints with images of composers and music. FS image on an assortment of cards. [RM; online search] No further information available.

EIBL [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert-Karikatur, caricature, 28 x 22 cm, title page, *Profil* (7 November 1978), no. 45, page 253, #635].

EICHORN, LEO BERNHARD (1872-1938). Genre painter. [JF; Sale has Bernhard Leo and Leo P., print and photograph of portraits of FS on a postcard, #C27-C28, page 51; Bénézit, V, 66; AKL B-B, III, 424 (1872-1937); Fuchs 19., I, K77; Fuchs 19.E, I, K102; RM notes Eichorn's large output of composer and musician portrait postcards as derivative, relying on well-known portraits and photographs]

EISENBURGER, DORIS (b.1966; German). Graphic artist, watercolorist, and children's book illustrator. FS images, watercolor on paper, 70 x 40 cm, 1996. Schubert book cover image can be seen online at <www.eisenburger-illus.de/musikerbucher.htm>. [RM; online search; personal communication to the author]

Ernst A. Ekker & Doris Eisenburger, *Franz Schubert: Ein musikalisches Bilderbuch* (Wien; München: Annette Betz Verlag, 1996).

EISLER, GEORG (1928-1998). Painter and printmaker. He was awarded the 1971 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Painting and Graphics). His Schubert is in print edition *Hommage*, see Key. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert am Klavier, colored etching, 60 x 50 cm, 1978, page 218, #387] [Sottriffer; Bénézit, V, 78; GR; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B, III, 430; Fuchs 20., I, K187-K188]

ENDER, JOHANN NEPOMUK (1793-1854). Historical painter, watercolorist, and portraitist. Schubert drawing, ca. 1817, Hilmar, page 8, plate 3. [JF; GR; Ö-Lexikon; Bénézit, V, 117; AKL B-B, III, 460; Fuchs 19., I, K80; FRESCO; Schubert-Porträt, lithograph, Ender (?), n.d., Deutsch-Bildern, page 25]

Gedenkausstellung Johann Nepomuk Ender (1793-1854), *Thomas Ender* (1793-1875) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2001).

ESCHER, ROLF (b.1936; German). Artist, illustrator, and printmaker. *Schubert*, dry point etching, 18 x 27 cm, 1984, in the artist's personal collection. Main image sources used were Kupelwieser (1821), Teltscher (1821), and Schwind. [GR; ABMI, 187; online

search; personal communication to the author]

Escher's *Schubert* appears in Theodor Adorno, *Schubert* (Neulisenberg: Edition Tieschen, 1984).

Schubert durch die Brille 6 (June 1991), page 130.

EYBL (OR EYBEL OR EIBL), FRANZ (1806-1880). Portrait and genre painter. Disputed 1827 oil portrait in Hilmar, page 37, plate 48. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Franz Schubert, oil on canvas, no dimensions, 1827, page 135, #154, plate on page 141, attribution to Eybl is not yet authenticated since Willibrod Josef Mähler (see below) was earlier thought to be the artist of this portrait of FS without his spectacles] [Busse; Thieme-Becker, XI, 126-129; Boetticher, I, 1, 299; Ö-Lexikon; Bryan's, 136; Biedermeier; Brown; Bénézit, V, 228; GR; AKL B-B, III, 533; Fuchs 19., I, K86-K87; Grove entry; HMSW Restitution Art]

Elmar Worgull, "Schubert ohne Brille; Schuberts Gesichtsmaske als Vorbild für das Gemälde in der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien," *Schubert durch die Brille* 20 (January 1998), pages 133-142, "unbezeichnetes und undatierte," oil painting, 56 x 44 cm, in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, possibly by Eybl.]

FERTH, GUSTAV (1875-1951). Painter, watercolorist, lithographer, landscape painter, flower painter, and graphic artist. In *Memoriana Franz Schubert*, watercolor, 21 x 15 cm, 1926, Sotheby's, lot 29RA, 17 October 2000; and again, *Widmung an Franz Schubert*, Dorotheum, lot 254, 20 March 2001; thought to be preparatory study for a postcard. Produced a postcard *Schubert-Hof* of the courtyard to the FS birth house, with an image of FS [AKL B-B, III, 599; Fuchs 19., I, K89; JF; S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"; Sale, #A7/2, page 21, song illustration on a postcard with portrait medallion of FS, #B15/1, page 45, #B15/2, page 46; RM cites Feith's song illustration postcards and one with FS composing outside the Holdrichsmühle]

FENDI, PETER (1796-1842). Historical and genre painter, portraitist, engraver, and sculptor. *Schubert-Porträt*, oil painting, 1820, signed "Peter Fendi", Deutsch-Bildern, page 24. Schubert oil portrait, "signiert und datiert 1827 (!)", Hilmar, page 29, plate 36. [JF; GR; Bénézit, V, 37; AKL B-B, III, 607; Fuchs 19., I, K90-K91; FRESCO; Grove entry]

Walter Koschatzky, *Peter Fendi (1796-1842): Künstler, Lehrer und Leitbild, mit Beiträgen von Hubert Adolph und Alfred Bernhard Walcher* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, ca.1995).

FERENCICH, G.V. Illustrator, graphic and genre artist. Cover illustration of texts of Franz Lehar's works, 1922; online posters of his genre work, from 1900 to 1910. [Sale, series of popular opera-song, 1918, #C11/1-C11/3, page 7; online search; RM owns score of *Hannet* (sequel to *Das Dreimäderlhaus*) on the cover of which is G. v. Ferencich's drawing of bust of Schubert, ca. 1918] No further information available. Could this be Gabor von Ferencich (187-197)?

FISCHER, FRIEDRICH. Engraver. Cast metal plaque, 256 x 157 mm, 1901. [Niggli]

FLORA, PAUL (b.1922). Painter, printmaker, illustrator, caricaturist, and graphic artist. His Schubert is in print edition *Hommage*, see Key. His artwork has appeared on Austrian stamps. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Winterreise*, etching, 60 x 50 cm, 1978, page 218, #388; uncertain if image produced] [Sottriffer probably refers to the illustrator, born 1922; Bénézit, V, 526; GR; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B, III, 703; Fuchs 20., I, K209 (1922-1983 [sic]); <www.paulflora.com>; online search]

FORSTER, LUDWIG [VON] (1797-1863). Architect. His ideas were influential in the creation of the Ringstrasse, and he was a noted designer of apartment houses in Vienna. He worked with Franz

Schober on the design of the FS memorial in the Währinger Friedhof. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schuberts erste Grabstätte auf dem Währinger Friedhof, photograph, page 180, #231] [AKL B-B, III, 711 has (1797 or 1799-1863); JF has (1797-1863); Schuberts erste Grabstätte auf dem Währinger Friedhof, photo, Deutsch-Bildern, page 63; Grove entry (1799-1863)]

FOSEL, MARTA ELISABETH or MARTHA ELISABETH (1880-1965). Painter, book illustrator, and graphic artist. Etching of FS by "M.E. Fösel." Hilmar, page 24, plate 29. [AKL B-B, III, 745; JF; Fuchs 19, I, K98; Fuchs 19.E, I, K117]

FRANKE, HEINRICH. Lithographer. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert-Portrait, chalk lithograph, 23 x 15 cm, n.d., page 218, #383; Schubert-Portrait, engraving, 17.5 x 13.5 cm, n.d., page 218, #384]

FRANKE, V. Genre artist. Postcard portrait of FS. [HTS; Sale has "V. Franke" on color print of portrait on a postcard, 1918, #C47, page 53; RM notes that "Franke" postcard of Schubert in a laurel frame is clearly signed "V. Franke"].

FRASS, WILHELM (1886-1968). Sculptor. Bronze relief in St. Pölten, 1912. Deutsch-Bildern, page 78 top. [JF; online search; AKL B-B, III, 785; S-Lexikon, see "Denkmal." Willy Frass; Ö-Lexikon; Grove mention in "Austria. Sculpture. After c.1900"]

Hubert Adolph, "Wilhelm Frass: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis seines künstlerischen Schaffens," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 59 (1971).

FRÖHNER, ADOLF or ADOLPH (b.1934). Painter, printmaker, photographer, and sculptor. His Schubert is in print edition *Hannu*, see Key. Awarded the 1980 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Painting and Graphics). His work has appeared on Austrian stamps. [Online search; GR; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B, III, 822; Fuchs 20, I, K222-K223; Grove mention in "Vienna, Art. Life and Organization. 1897 and after"]

GABEL, FRIEDRICH (1901-1974; German). Illustrator and caricaturist. Famous for the 1,000 drawings he did for the *Berliner Zeitung*, including a drawing of FS on 31 January 1953 as "Zeichnung nach zeitgenössischen Darstellungen" which appears to be after Kriehuber. [RM; online search; *Berliner Zeitung* online; AKL B-B, IV, 2]

GAREIS, FRITZ (1872-1925). Artist and cartoonist. Produced patriotic propaganda posters during World War I as well as a propaganda trading stamp. Did a postcard portrait of FS. Produced a comic strip in the Viennese satirical weekly *Der Götze von Berchtesgaden*, from 1919 to his death, about the crazed encounters and daily trials and tribulations of the Family Riebeisel. Even after his death, the publisher, using the Gareis style, continued this popular comic strip. A large collection of Gareis's Riebeisel strips was produced in 1934. [HTS; JF; AKL B-B, IV, 54; Fuchs 19, II, K9; Fuchs 19.E, I, K125; Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek collection of World War I propaganda posters; online search]

GAUERMANN, FRIEDRICH (1807-1862). Painter, landscape artist, animalier, and graphic artist. A Guermann-Museum is in Miesenbach-Scheueneisen, Austria. Schubert als Zuhörer bei einer Quartettproduktion im Musiksalon von Johann Steiger v. Arnstein, pencil drawing, n.d., Hilmar, page 79, plate 121. [GR; Ö-Lexikon; online search; AKL B-B, IV, 77; Fuchs 19, II, K11; FRESCO; Grove entry; JF]

Rupert Feuchtmüller, *Friedrich Guermann, 1807-1862, der Tier und Landschaftsmaler des Österreichischen Biedermeier* (Wien: Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1962).

Franz Schubert und seine Zeit, exhibition at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (17 October - 22 December 1978, catalogue by Otto Biba (Wien: Gesellschaft

der Musikfreunde, 1978); page 25: catalogue # 59, "Streichquartett-Produktion in einem Wiener Salon" (Johann Steiger von Arnstein?), undatierte Bleistiftzeichnung (28.2 x 43 cm), auf der Rückseite von aller Hand "1837 und 1838". Franz Schubert appears in the right-hand side of the sketch.

Ulrike Jenni, *Friedrich Guermann (1807-1862): Ölskizzen und Zeichnungen im Kupferstichkabinett: Zur Arbeitsmethode des Malers* (Wien: Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste, 1987).

GEIGER, KARL JOSEF (1822-1905). Artist. *Illustration zu den "Müllerliedern" mit Büste von Franz Schubert*. [online search; ÖNB-BA] GIANNELLI, ARNALDO (1907-1992; Italian). Sculptor. Small bust of Schubert, alabaster, 30 cm high, 1966. The original 1966 alabaster bust was kept as the prototype for the subsequent production of the figurine in "synthetic stone" (a composition of alabaster powder and resin). The image model of FS was found in a publication not otherwise identified. Produced a bust of President Dwight D. Eisenhower as well as other notables. Firm still in existence under the ownership of the artist's son Alfo Giannelli as *Egredia di Alfo Giannelli*, Volterra, producing many synthetic stone figurines from the designs of his father. [RM; online search; personal communication to the author]

GIESSEL, WILHELM F. (1869-1938). Genre painter. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Painted a reduced copy in oil of Schmid's *Ein Schubertabend in einem Wiener Bürgerhause*, 80 x 110 cm, 1897, page 210, #330] [Online search; AKL B-B, IV, 163; Fuchs 19, II, K18 has Giesel (Gisel), Wilhelm F., painter, no dates; Fuchs 19.E, I, K132, corrected to Giesel (Gisel)]

GILLIGAN, PAUL (b.1965; Canadian). Illustrator, cartoonist, and designer. Former illustrator for *The Ottawa Citizen* and other periodicals. FS caricature in black ink and pencil, date uncertain, created for the National Arts Centre web site *Artslive.ca*: <www.artslive.ca/en/atlanticott/FranzSchubert.cfm>. [Online search; National Arts Centre, Canada; personal communication to the author]

GOERNIG, H. Painter [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Denkmal im Stadt-Park von Karl Kundmann*, aquarelle, 37.5 x 30.5 cm, 1943, page 187, #247] [RM cites Goernig as a misreading for Czoernig, Herta, see above]

GOETZ, KARL (1875-1950 or 1952; German). Sculptor and medal engraver. Medal, 3 versions: ø = 71 mm; 60 mm; and 36 mm silver, 1928. [Nigg; online search; Grosse; AKL B-B, IV, 248 has (1875-1950); Grove entry for Karl Xaver Goetz (1875-1950; Rudol] GOFFSTEIN, M.B. (MARILYN BROOKE) (b.1940; American). Children's book author and illustrator, watercolorist, pen and ink artist, and clay sculptor. [RM/SIUK; online search; ABMI, 235; ICB, IV, 1967-1976 edition, 122-123]

A Little Schubert, music art. by Richard Weitach (New York: Harper & Row, 1972; paperback reprint, Boston: David Godine, 1984).

Listed in *The New York Times*. Best Illustrated Children's Books, 1972.

Richard Morris, "The Collector's Guide to Schubert Books (3): M.B. Goffstein: A Little Schubert", *The Schubertian* 4 (March 1999), p. 10.

GOLDEN, CHARLES O. (1899-1976; American). Painter, illustrator, lithographer, watercolorist, and landscape artist. Portrait of FS on cover of *The Etude* (August 1928 & November 1947). [HTS; online search; GR; ABMI, 236; AKL B-B, IV, 233]

GOSSER, JOHANN WILHELM (1881-1966). Sculptor, medalist, and engraver. Cast metal plaque, 300 x 250 mm, 1930. [Nigg; AKL B-

B, IV, 246 entry as Wilhelm Gösser (1881-1966); Grove mention in entry for 'Gudrun Baudisch']

GRANER, ERNST (1865-1943 or 1945). Portraitist, urban landscape and architecture painter, and watercolorist. Postcard image of FS [JFhas (1865-1943); Salc, #A6/1, page 21, has (1865-1945), #A7/4, page 22, #A13/4, page 26; GRI; Bénétiz, VI, 374; AKL B-B, IV, 325; Fuchs 19, II, K24; Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien has (1865-1943). HMSW Restitution Art]

GRATZ, ANTON (1881-1956). Sculptor and metal engraver. Medal, undated, before 1940, two versions: $\phi = 60$ mm and $\phi = 33$ mm. [Niggli; AKL B-B, IV, 333; in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; S-Lexikon, see 'Numismatik']

GREENWALT, MARY (fl. 1930s and 1940s, last mention 1949; American). Children's book illustrator. Illustrated a number of books by Opal Wheeler in a musician's series. [online search; author's copy of *Merry Friends*; RM/SIUK] No further information available.

Opal Wheeler and Sybil Deucher, *Franz Schubert and His Merry Friends*, illus. by Mary Greenwalt (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1939).

Opal Wheeler and Sybil Deucher, *Curtain Calls for Franz Schubert*, illus. by Mary Greenwalt (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1941). A play for children and companion book to *Merry Friends*.

GRIENAUER [Schubert 200 Jahre] [May refer to Edwin Grienerauer, see below]

GRIEBLER, MARTHA. Artist and graphic designer. [Schubert 200 Jahre: "Der Wanderer". Schubert-Porträt, pencil drawing, 50 x 55 cm, 1995, page 220, #399; Handschriftlicher Brief vom 9. Aug. 1996 mit Schubert-Kopf und Anekte Kolb-Zeichnung, page 220, #400] [Website of Principality of Liechtenstein <www.liechtenstein.li>; online search] No further information available. In addition to her drawings noted in *Schubert 200 Jahre*, an online search shows among her designs a drawing in profile of Franz Schubert done for a 70-rappen postage stamp, Franz Schubert und Liechtenstein, issued in 1997 by the Principality of Liechtenstein for which she has designed many stamps. A number of her Schubert drawings were exhibited at the Feldkirch (Austria) Schubertiade.

GRIENAUER, EDWIN (1893-1964). Sculptor and medalist. Designed 1928 silver "Double-Schilling" 12g, $\phi = 29$ mm. (Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Münze nach Schwind*, 1928, 2-Schilling silver Schubert coin for Austrian Mint, modeled after Schwind, $\phi = 2.5$ cm, 1928, page 242, #519, entry is "Griebauer") [Niggli; AKL B-B, IV, 361; S-Lexikon, see 'Numismatik' - "N. Griebauer"]

GRILLICH, L. (Salc, photograph of Weigl's Schubert statue on a postcard (see Robert Weigl), 1914, #C94, page 59; online search found [Ludwig] Grillich and his photo of Sigmund Freud sitting in a chair, 1907, which appears to be a studio portrait, and his studio portrait of Johann Strauß jun., n.d. Also a reference to his 1892 photograph of Johannes Brahms. Grillich was a professional photographer in Vienna; RM notes Grillich's postcards of the Schubert birthhouse museum, and his photograph of the Schubertzimmer in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien]

GRÜNER [Salc, design for etching on Jaffé postcard, n.d., #C17/4, page 74; could this be Ludwig Grüner or Wilhelm Heinrich Ludwig Gruner or Grüner (1801-1882); online search; GRI; Bénétiz, VI, 499 (1801-1882)]

HABERLE, JOHN (1856-1933; American). Painter. *Music*, oil on canvas, 66 x 81.3 cm, ca. 1896. A recently located lost painting by a well-known *troupe d'ail* artist, done in this style. Within the painting, a "carved" wood border is depicted with the likenesses of famous composers, including that of Schubert. [Sotheby's New

York, lot # 54, sale # 1309, 4 December 2003, with lot notes. Bénétiz, VI:644; AKL B-B, IV:484; WWWAA, II, 1412-1413; Vollmer, II, 346; GRI; online search]

John Haberle, *Haberle: Retrospective Exhibition*, January 7 through 28, 1962. New Britain Museum of Art (New Britain, Conn.: The Museum, 1962).

The *Reminiscent Object: Paintings by William Michael Harnett, John Frederick Peto and John Haberle*, [exhibition] La Molla Museum of Art, 11 July-19 September 1965, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 28 September-31 October 1965. La Jolla, Calif.: The Museum [1965?] (San Diego, Calif.: Conklin Litography).

University of California, Berkeley. University Art Museum, *The Reality of Appearance: The Trompe l'Oeil Tradition in American Painting* by Alfred Frankenstein, published by New York Graphic Society for exhibition organized by University Art Museum, in conjunction with National gallery of Art [and others] (New York: New York Graphic Society, [1970]).

Gertrude Grace Sill, John Haberle, *Master of Illusion*, exhibition held at Museum of Fine Arts, 16 June-11 August 1985, at Whitney Museum of American Art, Fairfield County, 10 September-11 August 1985, and at Amor Carter Museum, 29 November 1985-19 January 1986 (Springfield, Mass.: Museum of Fine Arts, ca. 1985).

GSUR, H. F./K. F. (1871-1939) [Schubert 200 Jahre: uses both sets of initials; song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376; Schubert-Porträt, etching, 37 x 31 cm, 1928, page 240, #507] [May be painter and watercolorist Karl Friedrich Gsur (1871-1939) in Bénétiz, VI, 508; see Ö-Lexikon under "Schönburg-Hartenstein, Alois Fürst" for its 1915 portrait of the Prince by Gsur; Gsur also produced a series of lithographs depicting the daily life of the emperor, including a signed lithograph of the Austrian emperor, 1908; GRI; AKL B-B, IV, 410; Fuchs 19, II, K32; Fuchs 19, I, K141]

HACKL, F. or HACKL, LUDWIG F. *Schubert-Porträt aus Felt*, Hilmar, n.d., page 189, plate 318. [Hackl, Friedrich (b.1944) in AKL B-B, IV, 488; Fuchs 20, II, K34]

HADER, ERNST (1866-1930). Portrait painter. [Salc, print after portrait by E.H. on postcard, 1903, #C33, page 52; AKL B-B, IV, 489; first mention in 1866, last mention before 1922; FRESCO shows (1866-1930)]

HAMMERSTIEL, ROBERT (b.1933). Painter and woodcut artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert*, woodcut, 32 x 27 cm, 1996, page 220, #401] [Bénétiz, VI, 718; AKL B-B, IV, 536; Fuchs 20, II, K40; S-Lexikon, see 'Illustrationen']

Robert Hammerstiel, *Franz Schubert. Winterreise*. (Wien: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 1997). The book's format is 29 x 20.2 cm, in which Wilhelm Müller's poems are illustrated in 25 drawings of the song cycle. [Uncertain if *Winterreise* has FS image]

HANISCH, G. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Plakette*, 1928, copper, $\phi = 3$ cm, 1928, page 241, #516] [Niggli lists Eduard Hans Hanisch-Congée, 1928 medal for the Wiener Musiklehrerschaft, $\phi = 30$ mm]

HANNICH, RUDOLF (d.1963; Austrian). *Bristbild des Liederfürsten Franz Schubert*. Acquarell. Sign. Aufn. E. JEKEL-Wien. [ÖNB-BA]

HANNY, KARL (1879-1972; Swiss). Sculptor, painter, watercolorist, etcher, woodcutter, and plaque artist. Drawing of FS after Schwind drawing, Hilmar, page 13, plate 10. [F; Bénétiz, VI, 731; AKL B-B, IV, 494]

HARRACH, MAX (1874-1924; German). History and landscape painter, etcher, and illustrator. *Schubert am Klavier. Nach einem*

Gemälde von Max Harrach, Hilmar, page 166, plate 276. [JF; AKL B-B, IV, 574]

HARTIG, ARNOLD (1878-1972). Medalist, sculptor, and engraver. Did many medals of FS in the 1920s, including a well-known Schubert medallion the head for which was sculpted in 1928 for the centenary. The medallion went through subsequent mintings. Plaque, 1928, Hilmar, page 45, plate 59 [later produced in 1957]. [SIUJ; AKL B-B, XVI, 72; online search: S-Lexikon, see "Numismatik"; entry in MO]

[Schubert 200 Jahre:

† "Franz Schubert" - Medaille mit Porträt-Halbbrief, 1927, bronze, $\phi = 7.5$ cm, 1927, page 241, #512(a);

† "Franz Schubert" - Medaille mit Porträt-Halbbrief, 1928, bronze, $\phi = 4$ cm, 1928, page 241, #512(b);

† Schubert-Kopf von Wienansicht, 1928, brass-bound wood oval, oval 5×8 cm, wood 11×15 cm, 1928, page 241, #512(c)]

See Niggli:

† 1924 medal: $\phi = 75$ mm; 40 mm; 25 mm; and a cast medal, $\phi = 240$ mm.

† 1928 medal: $\phi = 75$ mm; 40 mm, 25 mm.

† 1928 oval, 80×52 mm.

† 1937 gold medal: $\phi = 25$ mm, 14g; $\phi = 22.5$ mm, 8g.

HAUSLEITNER, RUDOLF (1840-1918). Portraitist, historical and genre painter. [JF; Salc has (1840-1918), postcard, 1928, #C2/11, page 65; Bénétiz, VI, 805; AKL B-B, IV, 607; Fuchs 19, II, K47 (also Hausleitner)]

HAUSNER, RUDOLF (1914-1995). Painter and graphic artist. He was awarded the 1969 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Painting and Graphics). His Schubert is in print edition *Homage*, see Key. His work has appeared on Austrian stamps. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Dreimäderlhaus* Motta Vianor, color lithograph, 60×50 cm, 1978; uncertain if image produced, page 219, #390] [Sottriffer; Bénétiz, VI, 807; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B, IV, 607; Fuchs 20, II, K52-K54; Grove entry; online search]

HELLARD, SUSAN (b.1949; British). Children's book illustrator. Watercolor and line with wash [personal communication from artist's representative: "The artist used no formal pre-existing image of FS, so she 'just drew a boy.'"; author's copy]

† Ann Rachlin and Tony Hart, *Famous Children: Schubert*, illus. by Susan Hellard (Hauppauge, NY: Barrons Educational Series, Inc./Barrons Juveniles, 1994).

HERMANN, NORBERT (b.1947; German). Painter, graphic designer, and photographer. Caricature, 1999, of FS wildly playing an electric guitar, with the amplifier jumping into the air, *Schubert durch die Brille* 26 (January 2001), page 158. [online search; artist's website at <www.ferien-tip.de/hermann/>]

HERMANN, RUDOLF (1870-1962 or 1886-1964; two artists with identical name?). Artist and caricaturist. Engraving of FS after Kriehuber, 1924, no dimensions. Dozens of pen and ink drawings by Rudolf Hermann for the period 1914-1919 are listed as HMSW Restitution Art. Most are portraits of notables, diplomats, reigning monarchs, academics, industrialists, etc. [RM; JF; HMSW Restitution Art Dates are (1886-1964) at <www.worldbookdealers.com/>]

† Rudolf Hermann, *Sammlung von 143 Originalzeichnungen des Porträtisten und Karikaturisten* (Wien: ca. 1910-1938 & 1945/46).

HEUMANN, HUGO [Salc, b/w photograph of portrait, n.d., #C45, page 53]

HINDERKS-KUTSCHER, ROTRAUT (b.1908, fl. 1930s-1950s; German). Painter, children's book author and illustrator. Wrote and illustrated children's books about great composers. [RM; online search; AKL B-B, IV, 755]

† Rotraut Hinderks-Kutscher, *Franz aus dem Himmelportgrund* (Stuttgart: Franckh'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955). Black/white line drawings by the author and cover image of FS in color.

HOFFBAUER, LOUIS (1889-1932; Russian-born). Painter of religious scenes and portraitist. [JF; Salc, #A16/1, page 29 (1889-1932); Bénétiz, VII, 102; AKL B-B, V, 14 (b.1888 or 1889)]

HOFFMANN, RUDOLF (1820-1882). Lithographer and miniaturist. Lithographic portrait of FS, 54×34 cm, ca. 1860, Hilmar, page 38, plate 49; "um 1850", Deutsch-Bildern, page 28. He made a series about famous people for F. Paterno publishers and a large number of lithographic copies of the works of famous painters. [JF; Bénétiz, VII, 110; Fuchs 19, II, K70; Gallica]

HOFFMANN, E. A. Painter. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert in musizierender Gesellschaft bei einer Landpartie auf dem Leopoldsberg mit Blick auf Danau und Wien*, oil on canvas, 89×117 cm, ca. 1920, page 212, #342] [See entry for Egon Hoffmann (1884-1972) in Bénétiz, VII, 113; GRI; AKL B-B, V, 24 and Fuchs 19 G, I, K106 have variant E. Hoffmann-Linz]

HOFFNER, OTTO (1879-1946). Medal engraver. Two-Schilling coin, "Double Schilling", $\phi = 29$ mm, 1928, for Austrian Mint. [Niggli; AKL B-B, V, 26 has (1879-1946)]

HÖGER, RUDOLF ALFRED (1867?, 1877?-1928?, 1930?, 1931?). *Franz Schubert im Heurigenarten*. Oil on canvas, sign. Aufn. E. JEKEL, no date, image reproduction in the Bildarchiv der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Several of Höger's oil paintings of battle scenes from World War I are in the Deutsches Historische Museum, Berlin. Some of his landscape or genre paintings may have been published as postcards. [online search, ÖNB-BA; Deutsches Historische Museum, Berlin; AKL B-B V, 4]

HRDLICKA, ALFRED (b.1928). Painter, sculptor, and printmaker. Schubert sculpture in bronze with brown patina, $15 \times 19 \times 12.5$ cm, 1996 [in journal *Atelier* as $19 \times 18 \times 14$ cm, see below]. He was awarded the 1967 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Sculpture). Completed approximately forty drawings of Schubert for his 1982-83 Schubert cycle, some erotic: see *Wohngemeinschaft Schubert und Schöber* and *Dreimäderlhaus II*, as well as several other untitled erotic drawings from Hrdlicka's Schubert cycle. *Schubert zieht wieder einmal um. Zeichnung aus dem Schubert-Zyklus*, 1982, Hilmar, page 199, plate 338. Hrdlicka started work on a new Schubert series in 1996, in conjunction with the 1997 Schubert centenary [mention in Schubert 200 Jahre, page 197] [Salc, postcards from the 1982 Schubert cycle, n.d., #D5/1-D5/4, page 79; Bénétiz, VII, 212; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; online search; AKL B-B, V, 97; FRESCO; Grove entry; S-Lexikon, see "Karikatur"; Fuchs 20, II, K93-K94]

† Klaus Kemp & Peter Weiermair, eds., *Alfred Hrdlicka: Sculptures, Drawings, Prints 1945-1997*, exhibition catalogue, Frankfurter Kunstverein and the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt am Main, the Vienna Künstlerhaus, and the Städtische Galerie Klagenfurt (1997), (Külnberg; Zurich: Stemmler AG, 1997).

† Schubert: *Dreimäderlhaus*, 1997, plate on page 46 [sculpture, no dimensions].

† Schubert: *Wohngemeinschaft Schubert-Schöber*, 1997, plate on page 47 [sculpture, no dimensions].

† Schubert und Schöber planen eine Oper, *Zyklus Schubert*, 1982, plate on page 108 [print, no dimensions].

- ✱ Schubert im Gefängnis, Zyklus Schubert, 1983, plate on page 109 [print, no dimensions].
- ✱ Alfred Hrdlicka, "Franz Schubert. Meine erste Begegnung mit Schubert," in *Alfred Hrdlicka: Franz Schubert*, exhibition catalogue (Vienna: Hilger, 1982). The exhibit catalogue contains many of the erotic drawings of FS noted in the biographical entry above. [listed in Kemp, page 186]
- ✱ Eva Petrová, "Alfred Hrdlicka o Franz Schubertovi" [Alfred Hrdlicka About Franz Schubert], review of sculptures and drawings of *Winterreise*, exhibition at Prague Gallery Oskar Kokoschka (22 April – 6 June 1997), *Atelier: Fortnightly Journal of Contemporary Art* (12 June 1997), page 6. Three photos of the small bronzes in the exhibit appear on page 6. (English summary page 13)
- ✱ Gustav Erhart, "Život Franze Schuberta v představách Alfreda Hrdlicky" [Franz Schubert's life according to Alfred Hrdlicka], review of graphic works and drawings, exhibition, Prague, Gallery Oskar Kokoschka (22 April – 6 June 1997) *Atelier: Fortnightly Journal of Contemporary Art* (12 June 1997) page 6. (English summary page 13)
- HÜCKSTÄDT, EBERHARD (b.1936; German). Portraitist, landscape and still life artist. Oil, watercolor, charcoal, pastel, and chalk. *Portrait of Franz Schubert*, 25.5 x 19.5 in / 65 x 50 cm, watercolor, charcoal, and pastel on paper, 2002. [online search: Galerie Peerlings, Germany; The Hart Gallery, Chicago; GRI; personal communication to the author]
- ✱ Eberhard Hückstädt, *Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen*, Frankfurt (Oder): Galerie Junge Kunst-Ausstellungskabinett, 1975; *Gemäldegalerie neue Meister-Albertinum, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*, 1976–77.
- ✱ H. Jessen, *Eberhard Hückstädt. Aquarelle, Katalog* (Eutin-Fissau: Galerie Schwedenkate, 1990).
- HUGUENIN (Médailliers, Le Locle, Switzerland). [Niggel; AKL B-B, V, 121 has several entries for Huguenin at Le Locle: [recte] Fritz H-Jacot, medalist and engraver (1845–1914), and [recte] Henri H., medallic artist, (1879–1920); Huguenin website at <www.huguenin.ch>; online search]
- See Niggel:
- ✱ Undated medal in eight versions: ϕ = 150 mm; 100 mm; 50 mm; 40 mm; 30 mm; 25 mm; 20 mm; 16 mm.
- ✱ Undated plaque: 53 x 37 mm; 30 x 24 mm.
- HUMPOLETZ, PAUL (1889–1972; Austrian, later British). Painter, illustrator, cartoonist, and caricaturist. Contributor to *Die Muskele*. After the end of WW I, he became the chief cartoonist of *Das kleine Blatt* in Vienna. Caricature *Arner Schubert*, shows a confused FS peering over the many products and businesses bearing his name because of his popularity, Hilmar, page 203, plate 347, as "N. [sic] Humpoletz." [F; AKL B-B, V, 133; S-Lexikon, see "Karikatur" – "N. Humpoletz"; Fuchs 19.6, I, K113; HMSW Restitution Art; Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York; *Aufbau* (21 June 2001) <www.aufbauonline.com/2001/issue13/page13/12.html>]
- ✱ *Schubert durch die Brille* 10 (June 1993), pages 3; N. [sic] Humpoletz caricature *Arner Schubert* from Vienna's *Das kleine Blatt* (10 April 1928). The caricature appears also in Andreas Mayer, *Franz Schubert. Eine historische Phantasie* (Wien: Turia+Kant, 1997), page 75.
- HUNDT, JOHANN BAPTIST HERMANN (1894–1974; German). Painter and sculptor. Original etching after Kriehuber's lithograph. [IFS; AKL B-B, V, 133 has "Hermann Baptist Hundt"; Wemer J. Schweiger, *Mitteilungen aus dem Kunstarchiv* at <www.kunstarchiv.at>]
- ISNENGHI, T. Medal engraver. Medal, ϕ = 50 mm, 1928. May be Theodor Isnenghi (187–197). His 1912 bronze Mahler plaque is in the medal collection of the MTA Zeneudományi Intézet Zenetörténeti Múzeum, Budapest. "Th. Isnenghi" produced ca. 1925 a bronze plaque of Austrian Chancellor Ignaz Seipel. [Niggel; online search]
- JÄGER, CARL (1833–1887; German). Printmaker, engraver, and painter. Portrait of FS after Kriehuber, n.d., Hilmar, page 8, plate 2. A Jäger lithograph of FS appears on a greeting card, ca. 1890s. A 19th-century photograph by Friedrich Bruckmann of a Jäger portrait can be seen online at JF. [Sale, prints and photographs of portraits by and after Jäger on a postcard, #C22–C26, pages 50–51, #C60, page 54; Rimbault; GRI; AKL B-B, V, 239 (b.1833); HTS; JF; FRESCO shows (1838–1887); RM notes Jäger's engraving of Schubert as probably having been first published in Eduard Hanslick, *Galerie Deutscher Tondichter*, *Brustbilder nach Original-Gemälden von Prof. Carl Jäger*, Mit biographischer Text von Dr. Ed. Hanslick (2. Aufl., München; Berlin: Friedr. Bruckmann Verlag, o.J.). See also Carl Jäger, *Galerie Deutscher Tondichter*, Photographien nach Original-Gemälden. Biographischer Text von Ed. Hanslick (München, Bruckmann, o.J. [before 1883]). 4". Mit 12 Tafeln mit aufgezogenen Original-Fotografien Illustriertes und geprägtes Original-Leinen]
- JAGODITS, CAROLYN LEE (b.1933; American). Illustrator. Black/white line drawings for the children's book about FS. [RM; online search] No further information available.
- ✱ Brother Roy Nash, *Franz Schubert*, illus. by Carolyn Lee Jagodits (South Bend, Ind.: Dujaire Press, 1967). Dujaire Press specialized in Catholic children's books and affiliated with University of Notre Dame; Jagodits illustrated other books for Dujaire.
- JANSSEN, HORST (1929–1995; German). Painter, printmaker, and engraver. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz*, painting, 29 x 21 cm, 1983, page 219, #396] [Benéit, VII, 477; GRI; online search; AKL B-B, V, 265; FRESCO entry shows Horst-Janssen-Museum Oldenburg; Grove entry; DBE, V, 303]
- JELLIFFE, RAY (British). Illustrator and cartoonist. Caricature of FS on greeting card, ca. 1992 for Camden Graphics. [RM] No further information available.
- ✱ Terrance Dicks, *A Riot of Writers: A Ramp Through English Literature*, illus. by Ray Jelliffe (London: Piccadilly Press, 1992).
- JENSEN, TINA STEEN (b.1971; Danish). Actress and artist. Comic strip done with ballpoint pen on paper, two sheets of A5 paper, 14.8 x 21 cm, 1994. Published in *Spiløppen*, monthly journal of the Årlus Musikskole, as one in the series Great Men of Music. With Merete Boye (see above) created an FS comic strip and other historically accurate drawings done in a naïve manner but with witty modern text. Jensen did the bulk of the comic strip drawing with Boye responsible for a panel based on Schwind, showing Johann Michael Vogl sitting next to FS at the piano. In this comic version, Vogl is wondering what's for dessert. In an early panel, FS was almost named Fred at birth. [online search; <www.mere.teland.dk/1s/1s1.html>; personal communication to the author]
- JESSEL, RENATE (active 1950s to 1970s; German). Book illustrator. [RM; online search] No further information available.
- ✱ Kurt David, *Der Spielmann von Himmelfahrtgrund*, illus. by Renate Jessel (East Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, [1968?])
- JUNG, JOSEPH C. Self-taught postcard artist and versifier of FS. His imaginative cards and unusual Viennese dialect verses were produced from 1928 to ca. 1940s. [Schubert 200 Jahre, *Übermalte Schubert-Karte*, 1928 bis 1940er Jahre, pages 230–232, plates of FS images on page 232, #471(a), #471(f)]

JUNGERMANN, WILLI. Medal engraver. Medal, $\phi = 45$ mm and 33 mm, n.d. [Niggel]

JUNK, RUDOLF (1880–1943). Painter, graphic artist, and caricaturist. Designed a 1922 Austrian stamp of Franz Schubert. Junk was also a significant designer of Austrian bank notes and government bond notes. [Austrian Post: online search; Fuchs 19, II, K93; Fuchs 19.E, I, K176]

KANITZ, WALTER. 1929 drawing "Schubert als 'praktizierender Musiker' in Lichtenal." *Schubert durch die Brille* 23 (June 1999), p. 22; *Der 'Wanderer' Schubert im Kreise seiner Schüler*, 1929, *Schubert durch die Brille* 22 (January 1999), p. 133. No further information available.

KARPELLUS, ADOLF (1869–1919). Portraitist, landscape, still life and genre painter, poster artist, and postcard illustrator. Produced prolific quantity of postcards with Schubert themes, i.e., Schwammerl places and a few actual portraits of the composer. During World War I, produced numerous posters and postcards for the war effort. [JF; Salc has (1869–1919), song illustration on a postcard, signed AK. Karpellus may have signed joint work by using only his initials during his collaboration with Ernst Kutzer (see below) from 1911 to 1916, #B4/1, 4/2, 4/4, 4/6, 4/8–4/12, 4/14, 4/15, B5/1–B5/3–B5/6, B6/1–B6/6, pages 34–38, caricature on a postcard, n.d., #C1/7, page 63, Schubert am Komparieren, postcard, 1917, #C3/3, page 65, Dreimäderlhaus postcard series, #C12/1–C12/2, page 71; Bénézit, VII, 702; AKL B-B, V, 444; Fuchs 19, II, K99–K100; Fuchs 19.E, I, K182; ÖBL, III, 248; online search]

The use of the initials "AK" on a supposed collaborative effort between Karpellus and Kutzer and also Karpellus and Schütz has been called into question. JF, a collector of Schubertiana, suspects the possibility that the initials AK may stand for a different word or phrase, for example, the German word *Ausichts-Karte* or *Ansichtskarte*. Among German-speaking postcard collectors, the use of the AK abbreviation for a postcard is quite the usual practice. RM accepts the attributions used by the editor of Salc as reasonable.

KELLER, ALFRED (1875–1945). Portrait painter, illustrator, and caricaturist. Not determined if he did caricature of FS and Johann Michael Vogl, but he did the illustrations for a best-selling 1912 novel by Rudolf Hans Bartsch about FS, *Schwammerl: Ein Schubert-Roman*, which became the basis for the operetta *Das Dreimäderlhaus*. The front cover of the first edition has a silhouette of FS, but it is uncertain if Keller produced it. [Schubert 200 Jahre has entry for Bartsch novel, page 223, #407, but no mention of Keller; AKL B-B, V, 480; online search; Fuchs 19, II, K104–K105; Fuchs 19.E, I, K185; cover of Bartsch novel reproduced in Robert Werba, *Franz Schubert: Ein volkstümlicher Unbekannter in den Augen der Nachwelt* (Wien: Pichler Verlag, 1997), p. 88; RM cites picture by Keller of Vogl and Schubert in the Bartsch novel]

KETTNER, FERDINAND ROBERT (1779–1834). Miniaturist and watercolorist. *Deutsch-Reader*, page 928, cites Kettner's 1816 oil portrait of FS, auctioned at Graz in 1934, as an "alleged portrait"; the allegation is interpreted by RM to mean that Deutsch doubted that the portrait was of Schubert. [Thieme-Becker, XX, 223; ÖBL, III, 409–410; Busse; Bryan's, 131; Bénézit, VII, 774; AKL B-B, V, 509; Fuchs 19, II, K108]

KIETZ, GUSTAV (1824 or 1826–1908; German). Architect and sculptor. *Schubert-Denkmal im Garten der Liederhalle zu Stuttgart*, 1878, bust, *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 71. [JF has Gustav Adolf Kietz; AKL B-B, V, 521; Grove mention in entry for "Ernst Rietschel", and shows Kietz as (1824–1908); S-Lexikon; see "Denkmal"; DBE, V, 536 (1824–1908)]

KLEIN, RICHARD (1890–1967; German). Painter, sculptor, and medal engraver. FS image on glass medal (in possibly as many as ten colors), 35 × 30 mm, ca. 1941. [Niggel; AKL B-B, V, 563 has medalist, painter, and sculptor (1890–1967); Bénézit, VII, 843; DBE, V, 578 states he painted a portrait of Adolf Hitler; RM cites Klein glass medals with composers, politicians, and Hitler]

KLEMM, WALTHER or WALTER (1883–1957). Painter, animalier, lithographer, woodcut artist, and illustrator. Noted for animal illustrations and erotica. [Schubert 200 Jahre: original lithographs in Josef Friedrich Perkonig, *Schubert, Hendl und der Birnbaum: Eine Schubert-Novelle* (Leipzig, 1925), page 224, #416] [life years also given as (1883–1957); GR1 has Walther Klemm (1883–1957); online search (1883–1957); Grove mention in 'Bergmann-Michel, Ella'; DBE, V, 580 (1883–1957) has Austrian nationality; AKL B-B, V, 567 has German nationality (1883–1957)]

† Walther Scheidig, *Walther Klemm als Graphiker* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1959).

KLIMT, GUSTAV (1862–1918). Painter and portraitist. Design for *Schubert am Klavier*, Hilmar, page 46, plate 61; *Schubert am Klavier*, oil painting, 1899, Hilmar, page 46, plate 62. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert am Klavier*, submitted winning entry for the 1897 Schubert centenary competition, mention page 206; plate on page 211; destroyed by fire, 1945] [Fritz Novotny, *Gustav Klimt, With a Catalogue Raisonné of His Paintings* (New York: Praeger, 1968); GR1; Sottriffer; Vergo; Varmedoe; Pre-Modern; Bénézit, VII, 853–856; Ö-Lexikon; Sotheby's; FRESCO; Grove entry; S-Lexikon; Fuchs 19, II, K116; HMSW Restitution Art]

Still popular is Klimt's 1897 *Schubert am Klavier* which was submitted to the Centenary Exhibit competition along with Julius Schmid's whose entry won, noted in *Schubert 200 Jahre*. Another painting is dated 1899 as a commission for Nicolaus Dumba's music room, titled *Schubert am Klavier II*. Klimt's 1897 oil painting was destroyed by fire in 1945. The original 1896 crayon and pencil sketches that he used as studies for the painting are still in existence. They have been authenticated for inclusion in the *Albertina catalogue raisonné*. One such item was offered at Sotheby's auction in 2001, *Klavier spielender Mann nach links*, pencil on paper, ca. 1896, 44.5 × 31.5 cm, lot 199, sale L01002, 6 February 2001. In this study the facial features are not Schubert's while the figure is positioned as is Schubert in the final oil painting.

† Three more studies for *Schubert am Klavier* were on display in 2001, at the National Gallery of Canada's exhibit *Gustav Klimt: Modernism in the Making* (15 June–16 September 2001). The first study, owned by the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, is in black crayon, 45.2 × 31.8 cm. The second, lent by the Moravská Galerie in Brno is in graphite, 45.7 × 31.0 cm. The third, in black crayon with white highlights, 44 × 21 cm, was on loan from the Österreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz. These three drawings are dated 1897–98 in the National Gallery's catalogue and noted as done for the Dumba music room.

† In early 2002, a Klimt study for *Schubert am Klavier II* (1899), of a standing woman holding sheet music while she sings, was offered for sale by Sotheby's: 46.4 × 30.5 cm, pencil on paper, lot 81, sale N07767, 21 February 2002.

KLINGSBÖGL, RUDOLF also KLINGSBÖGEL (1881–1943). Painter. [JF cites Klingsbögl illustrations in *Addie Funk, Vienna's Musical Sites and Landmarks* (Wien: Knoch's, 1927), which contains a section on Schubert; RM notes that some of the composer portraits in Funk, including Schubert, were also produced as postcards; Salc, color print after portrait on a postcard, n.d., #C49, page 53; AKL B-B, V, 576; HTS; S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"; online citation of his genre oil painting; RM notes that Klingsbögl's *Dreimäderl-*

haus picture is tipped onto the cover of Dolf Six, *Liederfürst Franz Schubert und Wien 1828-1928* (Wien: Knoch, 1928)]

KOLB, C. (first mention before 1875-last mention before 1912). Illustrator and master draughtsman. Engraving of Schubert dated 1890. [F; AKL B-B, V, 635]

KOLLARZ, FRANZ (František Kolář; 1825 or 1829-1894; Austro-Czech). Lithographer, master draughtsman, illustrator, and woodcut artist. Engraving of Schubert's portrait in the Vienna Stadtpark described as "Originalzeichnung von F. Kollarz". Other works are dated in 1870s and 1880s. [RM; online search; AKL B-B, V, 638]

KONWALINKA, CAMILLO (or CAMILLA?). Painter and etcher. Watercolor of FS as the figure bearing good wishes on a congratulatory card. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert als Glückwunschnbringer mit Blumenstrauß*, 1919, aquarelle, 20.5 x 16 cm, 1919, page 248, #581] [AKL B-B, V, 650 lists "Camilla L.", last mention ca. 1953; Fuchs 20., II, K166 has "Camilla active around 1953"]

KORAB, KARL (b.1937). Painter and printmaker. His Schubert is in print edition *Hommage*, see Key. His work has appeared on Austrian stamps. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Stilleben mit Musikalien*, color print, 60 x 50 cm, 1978, page 219, #391; uncertain if image produced] [Bénézit, VII, 945; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B, V, 656; Fuchs 20., II, K167-K168]

KORÁNYI, FELICITAS [FRAU GABOR ERDÉLYI]. Medal engraver. Medal, ϕ = 280 mm, 1928. [Nigg]l

KOURL, MICHAEL. Sculptor. Bust of FS. [RM] No further information available.

KRAFT, CORA (1896-last mention before 1962). Graphic artist. [Salc, b/w photograph of portrait, n.d., #C44, page 53; AKL B-B, V, 683; produced portrait of Franz Liszt photographed for postcard production; online search; RM has postcard with head and shoulder portrait of FS]

Grimm Brothers, *Sieben alte Märchen, gereimt von Gerhard Reinhold. Bildern von Cora Kraft* (n.p.: 1923). Text and illustrations entirely cut and blackprinted by Cora Kraft.

KRAMER, KURT. Cartoon for commercial music retailer, *Schubert durch die Brille* 18 (June 1997), page 159. [SdDB cartoon appears stylistically from the 1920s/1930s; Kurt Kramer (b.1945). Painter and graphic artist, (uncertain if German or Austrian) in AKL B-B, V, 687; Fuchs 20., II, K172 (b.1945)]

KRATKY, RICHARD (1877-1944). Painter and etcher. Postcard image of FS at the piano with two young women. [F; Salc, *Schubert am Klavier*, color postcard, n.d., #C5/3, page 68; AKL B-B, V, 691; HTS]

KRAUS, (JOHANN) WENZEL (1791-1849). Artist and miniaturist. Miniature aquarelle of FS, 45 x 60 mm. [IFS; GRI; Fuchs Bm., I, 113]

Ernst Hilmar, "Zur Schubert-Ikonographie; eine unbekannte Aquarell-Miniatur," *Schubert durch die Brille* 5 (June 1990), pages 3 (color plate), 42.

KRIEHLER, JOSEF. A. (1800-1876; death year also cited as 1870). Portraitist, landscape painter, and lithographer. Two lithographs of FS, 1846. Lithograph, 1846, Hilmar, page 29, plate 35; Deutsch-Bildern, page 27. Color lithograph with the publisher C. A. Spina's dedication to Franz Liszt, Hilmar, page 31, plate 39; print after K. lithograph, n.d., Hilmar, page 36, plate 46 [Schubert 200 Jahre: mention on page 197; *Schubert-Porträt nach Kriehler*, 54 x 51.5 cm, 1846, pages 204-205, #314; 6-Schilling-Marken (nach Kriehler), 1846, page 251, #616, #620(g), #620(h) and #622] [Thieme-Becker, XXI, 535-539; ÖBL, IV, 273-274; Ö-Lexikon; Biedemeier; Brown; Bénézit, VIII, 48; GRI; AKL B-B, V, 707; Fuchs 19., II, K140 has (1801-1876); Fuchs Bm., I, 115-116; FRESCO; Grove mention in

'Lithography, 1818-89', 'Liechtenstein, House of', 'Kaiser, Eduard', 'Griebel, Carl', 'Eybl, Franz'; S-Lexikon; Salc, engraving, prints, and photographs after 1846 portrait on a postcard, #C13-C18, page 49, #C63, page 55; F; HMSW Restitution Art]

Selma Krassa, *Josef Kriehler, 1800-1876: Der Porträtist einer Epoche* (Wien: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 1987).

Margret Jestremski, "Josef Kriehlers Schubert-Lithographie," *Schubert durch die Brille* 16-17 (January 1996), pages 173-180; plates on pages 172, 176, 177.

KRUMMEL-LAARTZ, LISE-LORE (b.1964; German). Musicologist and artist. Created an FS image for Bärenreiter-Verlag, 14 x 14.8 cm, published in 1997. FS image is a collage based on the Rieder portrait and on musical notation in an FS autograph and from a contemporary FS edition. The image can be found on a card printed by the artist: *Hommage à Schubert* (1995), published by Edition Krummel 1996 (Nr. 303). [Salc, *Hommage à Schubert*, postcard, 1995, #D3/3, page 79; online search; personal communication to the author]

KRUMPEL, HELMUT (b.1941). Painter and graphic artist. His Schubert is in print edition *Hommage*, see Key. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schuberts Nachlass*, etching, 60 x 50 cm, 1978, page 219, #392; uncertain if image produced] [AKL B-B, V, 723; Fuchs 20., II, K187-K188]

Helmut Krumpel, *Helmut Krumpel: Mappenwerke, Bilder, Objekte, 1968 bis 1995*, Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseum Wien (7 February-7 April 1996).

KULAS, J.V. *Schubert im Frühling. Vignette*, n.d., Hilmar, page 190, plate 319. [online search has postcards ca. 1900 and 1922; AKL B-B, V, 743 has Josef von Kulas (first mention after 1904-last mention before 1914). Painter, graphic artist, and illustrator]

KUNDMANN. Medal engraver. Medal in gold and silver, ϕ = 187 mm, n.d. [Andorfer; Nigg]l May be Karl Kundmann, see below.

KUNDMANN, KARL or CARL (1838-1919). Sculptor. His Schubert memorials are in Vienna's Zentralfriedhof, ca. 1890, and the Stadtpark, 1872. He also created two Schubert fountains and several small busts of Schubert. [ÖBL, IV, 349-350; Thieme-Becker, XXII, 103-104; Ö-Lexikon; GRI; Brown; Bénézit, VIII, 81; AKL B-B, V, 747; Grove entry; F; Salc, photographs on postcards of the Schubert Stadtpark Denkmal, #C101-C116, pages 60-62, #C101 plate on page 94; Forrer, III, 247; HMSW Restitution Art (see below)] [Schubert 200 Jahre:]

Schubert-Denkmal, um 1866/70, plaster design, 100 x 74 x 68 cm, page 186, #241;

Schubert-Büste, um 1870, marble, 70 x 45 x 30 cm, page 186, #242;

Schubert-Büste, um 1870, plaster, 25 x 18 cm, page 186, #243 with plate;

Entwurf für Schuberts Grab auf dem Zentralfriedhof, um 1888/90, alabaster, 39 x 41 x 40 cm, pages 186-187, #245, plate on page 185]

Other sources:

Schuberts Grabmal auf dem Wiener Zentralfriedhof (um 1890), photo, Deutsch-Bildern, page 67.

Schuberts Denkmal in Wiener Stadtpark, 1872, photo, Deutsch-Bildern, page 69.

Entwurf für einen Schubert-Brunnen, Deutsch-Bildern, page 82.

Schubert-Plakette, ϕ = 187 mm, Deutsch-Bildern, page 86.

In *Moderne Wiener Grabdenkmäler die Künstlerische Ausschmückung der Wiener Friedhöfe* (Wien: Schroll, 1891), plate 20, is a large photograph of Kundmann's Schubert memorial

with the inscription: "Seinem Andenken der Wiener Männergesangsverein". The sculpture is of the muse of music, holding a lyre in one hand, crowning a bust of Schubert with a laurel wreath while a putto stands beneath the bust with more wreaths.

- † HMSV Restitution Art: Portraitbüste, Franz Schubert, 1893, sign. u. dat., lebensgroß, Carrararmarmor, Höhe 67 cm.

KUPPELWIESER or KUPPELWIESER, LEOPOLD (1796-1862). Painter. [Thieme-Becker, XXII, 121-123; ÖBL, IV, 359-360; Busse; Boettcher, I, 625-627; Deutsch-Reader, 954; GRI; O-Lexikon; Bryan's, 156-157; Biedermeyer, Brown; Bénétiz, VIII, 86; AKL B-B, V, 751; Gallica; FRESKO; Grove entry as Kuppelwieser; S-Lexikon; Salc; JF; Fuchs 19., II, K146-K147]

[Schubert 200 Jahre]:

- † Gesellschaftsspiel der Schubertianer in Atzenbrugg, aquarelle, 23.2 x 30.3 cm, 1821, page 119, #127, plate on page 157; also in Ausstellung, page 224, right (full page in color).

† Landpartie der Schubertianer zur Aumühle Atzenbrugg, aquarelle, 19.1 x 32.2 cm, 1820, page 119, #128, plate on page 125; also in Deutsch-Bildnisse, plate 4; Hilmar, page 80, plate 125; print from the aquarelle in Ausstellung, page 51.

- † Bleistiftzeichnung, 1821, pencil drawing, original dimensions not given, page 128, #151, plate on page 142; Deutsch-Bildnisse, plate 5.

Other sources:

- † Detail of the aquarelle shows the portrait of FS, Hilmar, page 20, plate 22, taken from plate on page 124.

† Seventeen-year-old Schubert, chalk drawing, n.d., Hilmar, page 20, plate 23; in Ausstellung, plate 28. [If drawn from life, the drawing would be dated ca. 1820.]

† Bildnis des jungen Schubert, b/w photograph on a postcard, 1928, of the chalk drawing (the attribution of the drawing to L.K. is still in doubt), #C1, page 48.

† Schubert 1821, b/w photograph of the 1821 pencil drawing on a postcard, n.d., Salc, #C2, page 48.

† Porträtzeichnung, signed by Schubert "10. July 1821", Hilmar, page 25, plate 30.

† "Der Sündenfall": Gesellschaftsspiel der Schubertianer in Atzenbrugg, aquarelle, 1821, Hilmar, page 80, plate 124.

† Contemporary coffee cup, 1822, with image of Schubert modeled after a pencil drawing made in 1821, in Ausstellung, plate 316.

† Otto Biba, "Es hat mich noch Weniges so entzückt": Johannes Brahms und Franz Schubert. Ausstellung im Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien. Katalog (Wien: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1997), p. 68-69.

† Rupert Feuchtmüller, Leopold Kuppelwieser und die österreichischen Spätromantiker (Wien, 1970).

† Rupert Feuchtmüller und Wilhelm Mrazek, Biedermeyer in Österreich (Wien: Forum Verlag, 1962); plate 25 of L. Kuppelwieser's *Vertreibung aus dem Paradies (Scharade)* 1821.

† Elmar Worgull, "Schuberts unbekannten Nachbar in Kuppelwiesers Aquarell 'Der Sündenfall'." Schubert durch die Brille 26 (January 2001), p. 101-108.

† Universal-Edition published a sepia version of the Charade at Atzenbrugg (1821), 9 x 11.5 mm, in its pocket score of the 1824 Schubert String Quartet, A minor [D.804], frontispiece. This publication, Universal's Philharmonia Partituren series, no. 351, is without a publication date or the work's Deutsch number, and appears to have been published well before the

appearance of the Deutsch catalogue.

- † Gesellschaftsspiel der Schubertianer, Der Sündenfall, detail on a 1928 postcard, Salc, #A19/5, page 31; #A19/9, page 32 (apparently the complete work).

† Landpartie der Schubertianer zur Aumühle Atzenbrugg, Deutsch-Bildern, page 2.

† Gesellschaftsspiel der Schubertianer in Atzenbrugg, Deutsch-Bildern, page 3.

† Bleistiftzeichnung, 1821, Deutsch-Bildern, page 7.

† Kreidezeichnung (?), 1813, Deutsch-Bildern, page 19.

KUTZER, ERNST (1880-1965; born Germany, lived and worked in Vienna). Illustrator and graphic artist. Prolific illustrator of children's books. Postcard portrait of FS writing, with his birth house shown in the background. [JF; Salc has (b.1896), song illustration on a postcard, #B4/1-4/15, pages 34-37, all in conjunction with Adolf Karpellus, Schubert am Komponieren, postcard, 1911, #C3/2, page 65; AKL B-B, V, 758; HTS; S-Lexikon, 'Postkarten'; online search has (1880-1965); brief autobiographical entry by Ernst Kutzer (b.1880) in Bertha E. Mahony and Elinor Whitney, *Contemporary Illustrators of Children's Books*, Boston: Bookshop for Boys and Girls, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 1930, pages 44-45, 86.]

LANOTTE, ALPHONSE (1844-1914; French). Copper engraver. Portrait of FS, 12 x 8.5 cm. [JF; Gallica dates the portrait between ca. 1865 and 1914, which coincides with the artist's active professional life; AKL-BB, VI, 36]

LARWIN, JOHANN (HANS) (1873-1938). Genre, landscape and portrait artist. Franz Schubert on his way to school accompanied by his father, 20th century, private collection. [online search: The Bridgeman Art Library; Roger-Viollet, Paris; AKL B-B, VI, 82; Bénétiz, VIII, 298; Vollmer, XXI-XXII, 402]

LAUER, LUDWIG CHRISTIAN (1817-1873). Medalist and engraver. [Andorfer; online search: Grosse; AKL B-B, VI, 93; S-Lexikon, see 'Numismatik' - 'Laier'; Forrer, III, 324, mention of medal only]

Niggel:

† Plaque, gold and silver, 55 x 37 mm, n.d.

† Medal, gold and silver, ø = 50 mm, n.d.

† Medal, gold and silver, ø = 27 mm, n.d., also in Deutsch-Bildern, page 85.

† Jeton, gold and silver, ø = 14 mm, n.d.

LAUFBERGER, FERDINAND JULIUS WILHELM (1829-1881). Historical, landscape, and genre painter, designer, etcher, lithographer, and fresco artist. Design drawing for a Schubert memorial, n.d., Hilmar, page 17, plate 16. [JF; GRI; Bénétiz, VIII, 322; AKL B-B, VI, 93; Fuchs 19., III, K14; ÖBL, V, 49; Grove mention in 'Klimt, Gustav']

LAX, JOSEF (1851-1909). Sculptor. Schubert-Standbild auf dem Rudolfsplatz in Prag, design after Lax photographed by Michael Frankenstein & Co., Vienna (no date), Deutsch-Bildern, page 72. Lax did the portrait medallions in the cupola of Vienna's Naturhistorisches Museum, opened in 1889; completed casting, in 1899, of the horse sculptures at the Parliament building. [JF; AKL B-B, VI, 111; online search: S-Lexikon, see 'Denkmal']

LEMOINE, AUGUSTE CHARLES (1822-1869; French). Lithographer. Schubert lithograph after Rieder, ca. 1860; Hilmar, page 34, plate 44. [Brown; Bénétiz, VIII, 498; AKL B-B, VI, 182; JF; Salc, b/w photograph of portrait on a postcard, n.d., #C40, page 52; Gallica]

† Hippolyte Barbadette, Franz Schubert, sa vie, ses œuvres, illus. by Auguste Lemoine (Paris: Heugel, 1866). [Frontispiece of FS]

LEONARDO, F. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert und Hannerle, nach einem Gemälde von F. Leonardo in Sechs Postkarten zum Singspiel 'Hannerle'*, n.d., page 230, #468(f)]

LEROUX, AUMONT or ARMAND (ca. 1880-1960; French). Lithographer. Two images of *François Schubert*: (1) 24 × 17.5 cm photomechanical reproduction, and (2) 35.5 × 28 cm lithograph produced between ca. 1840 and 1900 from a Paris printer. [Gallica; JF]

LEROUX, DUMONT (ca. 1840-1900; French). *François Schubert*, lithograph, ca. 1860: L.-A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Schubert*, illus. after lithograph by Dumont Leroux (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1903) [Gallica; JF]

The above Leroux entries may be the same artist/engraver or engraving firm. No further information available.

LEVINE, DAVID (b.1926; American). Artist, illustrator, and caricaturist. Pen and ink on paper, 1977, 3.75 × 10 in strip containing caricatures of Schubert, Schumann, Wagner, Liszt, and Stravinsky. The original strip drawing was produced on 11 × 8 in stock paper and was reduced in print production to 3.75 × 10 in. In the reduced state, Schubert's caricature, on the far left-hand side of the strip, measures approximately 2.25 × 3.25 in. The artist's image sources for Schubert were based on stock photos of Schubert paintings and lithographs by earlier artists selected and provided by the artist of the commissioning publication. [First published in *The New York Review of Books* (1977), and again on 21 June 2001, page 29; personal communication to the author from the artist's representative; AKL B-B, VI, 224; GR; WWA, 731; ABML, 369]

LIEDER, FRIEDRICH JOHANN GOTTLIEB (1780-1859). Painter. [Thieme-Becker, XXIII, 203-204; ÖBL, V, 208; GRI has (1807-1884); Erickson cites *Lieder* as portraitist of Schubert in Raymond Erickson, *Schubert's Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pages 58 and 250, page 251 plate A.4.; Bénézit, VIII, 650; AKL B-B, VI, 247 has (German) painter (1780-1850 or 1859), as well as a second entry for a Friedrich Lieder (1807-1884), portrait painter and portrait miniaturist; S-Lexikon; Salc, b/w photograph of 1827 portrait on a postcard, n.d., #C3, page 48; ÖBL, V, 208 has (1780-1859); Fuchs 19., III, K24 has Friedrich Lieder (1807-1884), son of F.J. G. Lieder]

† Rita Steblin, "Friedrich Lieder's Schubert-Porträt von 1827," *Schubert durch die Brille* 12 (January 1994), p. 93-100; plates on pages 92, 95

LOEDERER, RICHARD A. (1894-1947; Austrian, later American). Painter, illustrator, cartoonist, woodcut artist, author, and book illustrator. Portraits of FS. [RM; online search; AKL B-B VI, 311]

† Richard A. Loederer, *Immortal Men of Music: A Gallery of the World's Twelve Great Composers* (New York: The Master Prints Publishing Co., 1940). 38 × 29 cm.

† Richard A. Loederer, *Immortal Men of Music Miniatures* [series of 22; place and publisher unknown], undated, but ca. 1940s. 4 1/4 × 5 1/4 in (10.8 × 14.6 cm).

LORBER, FERDINAND (1883-1957). Stamp designer and engraver, painter, and master draughtsman. Specialized in portraits for Austrian stamps. Designed and engraved 1947 Austrian Schubert stamp, after Rieder. [Austrian Post; online search; S-Lexikon, see 'Philatelie' - Lorbeer [sic]; AKL B-B, VI, 342]

LUCCHESE, A. (1860-1924 or 1925). Sculptor. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Halbrelief*, half-relief on a pewter casting, 6.5 × 5.5 cm, n.d., page 245, #556] [Online search; may be Andrea Carlo Lucchese (1860-1924 or 1925), London-born son of an Italian sculptor; AKL B-B, VI, 369]

LUGERTH, F. (1855-1915). Engraver. Medal, 59 mm, 1927. *Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert-Plakette*, copper plaque, ø = 3 cm, 1927, page 190, #260] [Online search; may be sculptor Ferdinand

Lugert (1855-1915); Niggl]

LUPAS, LOUIS a/k/a LUIGI LUPAS (1898-1985; American, né Pasamanick). Portraitist and horse artist. Worked almost exclusively in charcoal and pastels. Portrait of FS, charcoal and white pastel, n.d., in *Great Composers: Twenty-four Original Charcoal and Pastel Drawings by Louis Lupas With Biographical Sketches by Nathan Broder* (Boston: Pleasing Arts Ltd., 1953). Lupas's musician portraits also appeared in Helen L. Kaufmann & Eva v. B. Hansl, *Artists in Music of Today* (New York: Grossell & Dunlap, ca.1933). A significant number of portraits were commissioned to accompany the text of Lowell Thomas, *The Vital Spark 101 Outstanding Lives*, ports. by Louis Lupas (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959). Lupas was trained in Italy where he changed his last name. Upon his return to New York, Lupas did sketch artwork for the *New York Herald Tribune* theater pages, *Playbill* magazine, *The New York Times*, and many other publications. Lupas is known for his portrait of J.S. Bach based on a Haussmann portrait and engraving, and for his very popular 1962 portrait from life of President John F. Kennedy. He also did notable portraits from life of Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard M. Nixon, and Lyndon B. Johnson, and of approximately forty United States Senators. Other music-related portraits, which number in the hundreds, include Ignaz Paderewski on the cover of *The Etude* magazine, Vladimir Horowitz, Fryderyk Chopin, Sergei Rachmaninoff, and a formal portrait of Arturo Toscanini surrounded by a number of the maestro's conducting poses. Lupas made a series of the ballerinas with the Sadler's Wells Ballet and was commissioned to do portraits of numerous film and stage figures. Late in his career he became noted for many fine limited print editions, in charcoal and in pastel using color washes, of horses and of horseracing action scenes. Many of the extant Lupas works, except for the Schubert and Bach portraits, are in the possession of his nephew in New York. [JF; RM/SIUC; online search; FRESCO; personal communication from the artist's nephew]

MÄHLER, WILLIBRORD JOSEF or JOSEF WILLIBRORD (1778-1860). Portraitist. Painted portraits of composers, possibly including Schubert, for the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Vienna. Disputed 1827 oil portrait in Hilmar, page 37, plate 48; also in Ausstellung, page 89 right, full page in color; Deutsch-Bildern, page 13. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert*, oil on canvas, no dimensions, 1827, page 135, #154, also discusses problem of attribution to Mähler or Eybl (see above)] [Thieme-Becker, XXIII, 540; Biedermeier; GRI; See discussion of attribution in Brown, 149-150; AKL B-B, VI, 443; S-Lexikon; JF; Fuchs 19., III, K32]

† *Franz Schubert und seine Zeit*, Exhibition at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Wien (17 October to 22 December 1978), catalogue by Otto Biba (Wien: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1978), page 23: "Franz Schubert. Ölbild eines unbekannten Malers, wohl 1827. Aus Joseph Sonnleithners Sammlung von Musiker-Portraits. Früher fälschlich Joseph Mähler zugeschrieben."

MAJON, JOHANN (1821-1898). Landscape and genre painter. Caricature by N. [sic] Majon, *Schubert durch die Brille* 7 (June 1991), page 118. [Salc has 'Major' (Majon) Johann in *Künstlerverzeichnis*], print after pen and ink drawing on a postcard, n.d., #C58, page 54; AKL B-B, VI, 468; Bénézit, IX, 83; Fuchs 19., III, K34]

MANN, SANDRA (b.1964; Australian). Pianist, flautist, harpist, and cross-stitch artist. Cross stitch portrait of FS based on a design chart which appears in *Jill Oxtan's Cross Stitch & Beading* 41 (January 2000). A cross-stitch Schubert portrait was created by the artist for the iconography research files. The 18 count cross, half cross- and backstitching are worked on White Aida Cloth with

black, copper metallic, and gold metallic thread. Stitching dimensions are 5.25 x 3 in (unframed). Schubert's famous *Brille* are stitched in copper metallic thread – the only copper color in the portrait – and the spectacles are stitched so as to appear to be a real miniature pair [online search; personal communication to the author]. See also entry for: Noyce, Di.

MAUER, HANS (1879–1962). Sculptor. Produced a marble sculpture for the 1907 Schubertade in Graz, Deutsch-Bildern, page 78 bottom. [Thieme-Becker, XXIV, 274; Busse; Bénézit, IX, 382; AKL B-B, VI, 637; JF]

MAURITIUS, NORBERT (b.1950; German). Music academy lecturer, painter, landscape artist, and portraitist. Portrait of FS, oil on canvas, 120 x 150 cm, 2000, in a private collection. Specializes in composer portraits, many of which can be seen on his web site at <www.norbert-mauritius.de/> including his Schubert. [online search; personal communication to the author]

MAUROU, PAUL (1848–1931; French). Painter, etcher, lithographer, poster artist, and illustrator. His portrait of FS is described as a photomechanical reproduction, 14 x 10 cm, n.d. [JF; Gallica has *Franz Schubert*, lithograph, 21 x 15.5 cm, between ca. 1865 and 1931; Bénézit, IX, 392; AKL B-B, VI, 643]

MAUST [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert*, etching, 16 x 11 cm, n.d., page 212, #348; *Schubert-Porträt mit Wiansicht vom Belvedere*, etching, 23 x 17 cm, 1928, page 240, #506]

MAYER & WILHELM PRÄGENSTALT. Founders of Mayer & Wilhelm Prägenstalt, Stuttgart: Mayer, Wilhelm (German). Sculptor and engraver. Wilhelm, Frantz (German). Engraver [Forrer, III, 639, 645, mention of FS medal betw. 1867 and 1892]

Niggli:

☞ Plaque, gold and silver, 50.5 x 39 mm, ca. 1905.

☞ Plaque, 70 x 50 mm, 1928.

MAYER, R. (1846–1916; German). Sculptor and medalist. [“Professor R. Mayer of Karlsruhe” in Andorfer; “Professor Rudolf Mayer, Karlsruhe” in Niggli; GR; AKL B-B, VI, 653 has Rudolf; Grove entry; “Rudolph” in Forrer, III, 630–638; Bénézit, IX, 406]

Niggli:

☞ Medal, gold and silver, 1906: o = 60 mm; 50 mm; 40 mm; 34 mm; 28.5 mm; 20 mm; 16 mm; 13 mm; 9 mm.

☞ Medal, n.d.: o = 20 mm; 16 mm; 9 mm.

MAYERHOFFER or MAYEROFER, THEODOR (1855–1941). Painter and illustrator. Print after a drawing, n.d., Hilmar, page 33, plate 42, as “Mayerhofer” [JF; Bénézit, IX, 407; Mayerhofer in AKL B-B, VI, 654; Mayerhofer in Fuchs 19, III, K45; Mayerhofer in Fuchs 19, II, K34]

MELEGH, GÁBOR or GABRIEL (1801–1832 or 1835; Hungarian). Portraitist, genre painter, and printmaker. Schubert oil portrait signed and dated 1827, Hilmar, page 40, plate 53. [Busse; Thieme-Becker, XXIV, 360; GR; Fuchs 19, III, K48 Gabriel M. (1801–1832), attributed to Melegh: *Franz Schubert bei der Jause, mit Ausblick auf Kahlenberg und Leopoldsdorf*; “signiert und 1837 (?) datiert”; Bénézit, IX, 459; AKL B-B, VI, 710; S-Lexikon article on Melegh notes 1827 date as problematical but that a recent attribution cites the work as authentic; JF; online search; *Portrait of a Man (Franz Schubert)*, oil on canvas, 60 x 48 cm, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria]

MENDELSON, STEVE (1958–1995; American). Artist, writer, and book illustrator. Illustrated children's books, which he also wrote. Worked for *The Washington Post*. Produced FS caricature for American festival organization “Schubert, Schubert and Schubert”, held annually in Washington, D.C. The caricature is now used as the festival's permanent symbol, and can be seen online at

<www.stompingground.com/schubert/steve.html>. [online search]

MERTÉ, HANS. Genre artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert in Ungarn den Weisen der Zigeuner lauschend und ihre Melodien auf. Zeichnung*, um 1885, woodcut by Brend'amour (see above). based on Merté, 32 x 24 cm, ca. 1885, page 211, #336] [AKL B-B, VI, 744 has Heinrich Merté (1838–1917; German). Genre painter, draughtsman, illustrator; Bénézit, (b.1838), IX, 515]

Ein Abend in der Gartenlaube am Goethe'schen Haus in Weimar, Holzschnitt 1879, nach einer Zeichnung von Heinrich Merté. Aus *Das Buch für Alle* XIV/1 (Stuttgart: H. Schönlene, 1879), S.5: spätere kolorierung (Foto: AKG Berlin), at <www.medienzentren-hessen.de/kompetenz/Fachbereiche/C4sthetische%20Bildung/rechts.htm>

MEZULIANIK, PAUL (b.1921; Austrian, later English). Illustrator and pianist. Illustrated children's books; did 32 gouaches for a life of Schubert: 271 x 342 mm, Bonham's, n.d., lot 643, listed in catalogue archives, search done on 16 June 2001. Mezulianik originally produced the Schubert images for educational filmstrips for children in a series of the lives of great composers. He studied the Teltcher and Rieder portraits of FS, among others, for a true likeness. [online search; Bonham's at <www.icollector.com>; personal communication to the author]

MICHALEK, LUDWIG (1859–1942). Portraitist, landscape artist, pastellist, printmaker, copper engraver, and etcher. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Porträt nach A.W. Rieder*, photoengraving, 19 x 14 cm, n.d., page 204, #311; *Schubert*, um 1880, (nach Rieder), 20 x 15 cm, etching on paper, page 204, #312] [GR; <icollector.com>; AKL B-B, VI, 779 has (1859–1942); Fuchs 19, III, K50; HMSW Restitution Art]

MICHEL, J.M. Medalist and engraver. Medal, undated, but ca. 1927, in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. [JF]

MICHEL, AURELIO (b.1835; Italian) [Salc, b/w photograph of bust on a postcard, 1909, #C91, page 59; AKL B-B, VII, 6, Sculptor (first mention before 1860–last mention before 1870); JF; online search]

MICHL, FERDINAND (1877–1951). Portrait and landscape painter, watercolorist, etcher, and woodcutter. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Porträt*, title page for youth journal *Ich diene*, no dimensions, 1928, page 243, #531] [AKL B-B, VII, 8; Fuchs 19, III, K50; FRESKO; Bénézit, IX, 598]

☞ Ferdinand Michl, *Exposition d'œuvres fortes, des monotypes et des gravures sur bois, 1907–1908*. Galerie d'art décoratif, Paris (Paris: La Galerie, 1907).

MOHN, LUDWIG (1797–1857). Landscape artist and etcher. Produced 1823 etching after Schober's drawing of the Ballgame at Atzenbrugg: *Deutsch-Bildnisse*, plate 2; Hilmar, page 124, plate 205; Ausstellung, page 309. [Thieme-Becker, XXV, 19; Busse; Clive, 135; Brown; Bénézit, IX, 700; AKL B-B, VII, 77; Fuchs 19, III, K53; S-Lexikon; Salc, #A19/7, page 31; JF; Trost has dimensions of Atzenbrugg Fest as 9.5 x 17 cm, page 8]

☞ Otto Biba, “Es hat mich nach Weniges so entzückt!”, *Johannes Brahms und Franz Schubert*. Exhibition at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (Wien: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1997), p. 91, #109, plate of the Ballgame at Atzenbrugg is on page 88.

☞ Otto Biba, *Franz Schubert und seine Zeit*. Exhibition at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (Wien: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1978), page 37, #87, plate on page 39 is Mohn's color etching after Schwind's drawing.

☞ Mohn's design of the portrait of Schubert was used on a label affixed to a glass goblet, ca. 1900.

MOSER, LOUIS (Swiss?). Painted miniature portrait of FS facing right in a brown coat, buff-coloured waistcoat and blue cravat, wearing spectacles, signed 'Louis Moser', rectangular wood frame oval, 3 in (76 mm) high, Christie's, lot 62, sale 9394, 28 May 2002. [online search; SCIPPO - an online union catalogue listing auction catalogues; in 1943, Louis Moser 'of Vienna' painted a picture of the miracle of San Gerardo for a church in the Italian village of Capodigiano at <web.tiscali.it/liceo_murlocano/liceo/capodigiano.htm> No further information available.]

MOSIAGE, HEINRICH (1896-1938; German). Wood sculptor, plaque artist of the iron foundry in Lauchhammer. Iron plaque, 120 x 120 mm, 1928. [Niggel; AKL B-B, VII, 167; Bénézit, IX, 890]

NAUMANN, ARNO (1887-1959; Czech). Painter, landscape and graphic artist. Graduate of the Národní Galerie in Prague, he studied in Paris in the 1920s and is considered a follower of the Barbizon School. *Portrait of Franz Schubert*, mixed technique on canvas laid down on cardboard, 43 x 61 cm, early 20th century, Sotheby's, lot 56B6, 28 March 2001. [AKL B-B, VII, 266, has two entries spelled differently with the same birth place and birth year but different death years: for Arno Nauman (12.7.1887-1959) and Arno Naumann (12.7.1887-1939); response to author's inquiry from the Národní Galerie in Prague cites him as Naumann, and states that he died sometime in his "sixties," making 1959 the more plausible death year; his portrait of Beethoven is online]

NAUMANN, CARL or KARL FRIEDRICH (1813-1859; German). Watercolorist and miniaturist. Painted Schubert in watercolor after Teltcher, ca. 1840-1859. [Thieme-Becker, XXV, 361-362; Bénézit, X, 115; GRI; AKL B-B, VII, 266; JF]

† Rita Steblin, "Schubert und der Maler Josef Teltcher", *Schubert durch die Brille* 11 (June 1993), pages 119-132.

† Richard Morris and Roger Neighbour, "A New Schubert Portrait", *The Schubertian* (July 2000), pages 16-17.

† The acquisition is reported, and the new portrait is reproduced in *Schubert durch die Brille* 27 (June 2001), page 208.

NAUMANN, EDITII. Pen and ink artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert Klavier spielen vor Stephansdom*, 11.5 x 13.5 cm, n.d., page 210, #332; *Schubert Klavier spielen vor Stephansdom*, 12 x 13 cm, n.d., page 211, #333. Uncertain if these contain images of FS] No further information available.

NEUBERGER, RUDOLF (1861-1916). Plaque, 65 x 50 mm, 1911. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Relief nach Kriehuber*, 1911, bronze, 6 x 5 cm, 1911, page 190, #256; also *Schubert-Plakette*, 1911, Hilmar, page 18, plate 19; *Deutsch-Bildern*, 54 x 50 mm, 1911, page 86] [Thieme-Becker, XXV, Rudolf Neuburger (1861-1916), a medalist who worked in the Vienna mint; online search produced dates as 1872-1922; Niggel; AKL B-B, VII, 293 shows Rudolf Neuburger (1861-1916) as medalist; 1911 medal in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; S-Lexikon, see 'Numismatik' - 'Neuburger' [sic]; JF]

NEUMANN, AUGUST. Artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert, um 1870*, woodcut, 22.5 x 25 cm, ca. 1870, page 205, #318] Known to have done 13 x 12 cm woodcut portraits of German astronomers accompanying article in *Deutsche Jugend* VII (1889). [Online search]

NEWLAND, PAUL. Children's book illustrator. Illustrated a number of books by Percy M. Young. [RM/SIUK] No further information available.

† Percy M. Young, *Masters of Music: Schubert*, illus. by Paul Newland (New York: David White; London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1970). Newland created line drawings of FS from famous contemporary images of the composer's era, which are easily identifiable.

NISENSEN, SAMUEL (1905-1968; American). Writer, designer, and illustrator. Works found from the 1930s to the 1970s. Created a Schubert likeness as one of 74 full-page portraits in Eva v. B. [von Baur] Hansel and Helen L. Kaufmann, *Minute Sketches of Great Composers* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1932). The book is appropriate for young readers interested in music or for young music students. This prolific artist exemplifies those who produced composer illustrations for a variety of books. The artist's source of the composer's image is unknown. [Online search; New York Times Historical Database; author's copy; ABML, 453, has an entry for Nisenson in Martha E. Ward and Dorothy A. Marquardt, *Illustrators of Books for Young Readers* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1975)] No further information available.

NITZSCHE, PETER (German). Graphic artist and stamp designer. Designer of 100-Plennig German commemorative stamp "200. Geburtstag Franz Schubert", 35 x 35 mm, 1997. Used detail from Kupelwieser's *Schubertianer in Atzenbrugg*. [Online search; Deutsche Post website <www.deutsche-post.de>; personal communication to the author]

NOEL, ALPHONSE LÉON a/k/a LÉON NOEL (1807-1884; French). Artist and lithographer. Schubert lithograph after Rieder, 27.5 x 21.5 cm, Paris, 1834, Hilmar, page 16, plate 14; *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 26. [Brown; GRI; LC 97862838; Bénézit, X, 246; AKL B-B, VII, 352; JF; Gallica]

NOLTE, UDO (b. 1950; German). Painter, illustrator, watercolorist, etcher, designer. Schubert image, an etching designed for online site of the Internationaler Schubert Wettbewerb für Klavier. Nolte specializes in music and graphic designs for music and television catalogues and programs, and CD covers and booklets. Produces designs for the Deutsche Grammophon label. [Artist's online home page at <www.udo-nolte.de>; online search; Internationaler Schubert Wettbewerb für Klavier web site at <www.Schubert-competition.de/main.asp>; personal communication to the author]

NOSEK, N. Postcard portrait of FS [HTS; Salc has 'J.' and 'N.' Nosek - 'J. Nosek', *Schubert als Wanderer*, n.d., #C2/9, page 64; online has illustration titled "Schubert Walking by a Tree"]

NOVAK (NOVAK), OTTO ROBERT (1874 or 1875-1945). Genre and portrait painter. Numerous images of FS. *Schubert und Therese Grob*, etching, n.d., Hilmar, page 14, plate 1; *Schubert auf dem Lichtentaler Marktplatz*. *Anonyme Zeichnung nach dem Ölbild von Otto Novak*, n.d., Hilmar, page 186, plate 309; *Schubert i selkabinenfor et hus*, oil on canvas, 65 x 65 cm, n.d., Bukowskis, Copenhagen, lot 42, 18 September 1990; *Schubert in einer Winterlandschaft*, oil on cardboard, 50 x 72.5 cm, n.d., framed. Dorotheum Wien, lot 59, 28 January 2003. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Deutsch-Bildern*, 54 x 50 mm, 1911, page 86] [Thieme-Becker, XXV, 528; Bénézit, X, 292; AKL B-B, VII, 381; HTS; Fuchs 19, III, K68 (1874-1945); S-Lexikon; Salc has (1874-1945), song illustration, #B9/6, page 41, color print after portrait, n.d., #C48, page 53, *Schubert als Wanderer*, postcard, 1911, #C2/1, 1902, #C2/2, n.d., plate on page 91, #C2/3-#2/6, page 64, #C2/10, page 65, *Schubertiade* [with AK [Adolf Karpellus?], color postcard, n.d., #C5/4, page 68, centenary postcard, 1928, #C20/3, page 75; JF; RM notes that Novak was a member of the Wiener Schubertbund]

Nowak, a student of Julius Schmid, single-handedly became a Schubert image factory with twelve art works, three postcards, and two cigar boxes listed in Schubert 200 Jahre. His career was primarily oil but his works listed in Schubert 200 Jahre include watercolor, print, and pencil. Bénézit lists two oil on canvas paintings: *Schubert avec deux amis dans une rue*, 120 x 181 cm, n.d.; and *Schubert dominant Salzbourg*, 59

* 59 cm, n.d.

- ¶ *Schubert durch die Brille* 5 (June 1990), p. 42; 21 (June 1998), p. 3.

NOYCE, DI (b.1948; Australian). Craft designer. Created design chart for cross-stitch portrait of FS, 55 × 90 cm. Source for ready-to-use was a copyright-free design found in Bob Giuliani, *Portrait To-Use: Classical Music Illustrations*, Dover Clip-Art Series (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1990). [online search; chart appears in Jill Oxtori's *Cross Stitch & Beading* 41 (January 2000); personal communication to the author]

OBERMUELLER or OBERMÜLLER, FRANZ (1869–1917). Portrait and genre painter. Franz Schubert, oil on board, 34 × 28 cm, 1916, Sotheby's, lot 3FNMW, 19 December 2001. [Fuchs 19.E, II, K47]

ODEBRECHT, RUD(OLF) [Salc. Dr. (Rud.). Odebrecht, "Das letzte Lied". Schubert mit Violine, silhouette on postcard after Odebrecht, 1920, #CA/1, page 66, plate on page 67, Schubert, *Schwind und Baron Schöber*, silhouette on a postcard, 1921, #CA/7, page 67]

- ¶ Rudolf Odebrecht (b.1883), *Kleines philosophisches Wörterbuch: Erklärung der Grundbegriffe der Philosophie* (Berlin: Hilde, 1909). The last mention of this name is in 1942, as the editor of a philosophy text. It is possible that this author did some postcard artwork, but it is not certain.

OLBRICH, VICTOR or VIKTOR (1887–1960). Artist. [Salc. postcard with Schubert medallion after Olbrich, 1928, #C21/2, page 76, plate on page 76; Fuchs 19.G, II, K31]

OPITZ, FRANZ Bronze head of Schubert, 1912, *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 84 [JF; may be Ferdinand Opitz (1885–1960). AKL B-B, VII, 462 has "Sculptor"; Bénétiz, X, 388]

PASCHKO, MICHAEL (b.1960; German). Designer and graphic artist. Using photographic software on a computer, an existing image of FS wearing his spectacles is altered to turn the Brille into a pair of sunglasses. [online search; personal communication to the author; image seen at <www.kattenhoefer.de/bilder/fame/schubert_fame.jpg>]

PASSINI, JOHANN NEPOMUK (1798–1874). Painter, engraver, and printmaker. Engraving after Rieder, 1825, Hilmar, page 29, plate 34; *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 10. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Franz Schubert, copperplate after Rieder's 1825 watercolor, 24.5 × 20.7 cm, ca. 1828, pages 175–176, #228] [Fuchs 19, III, K74; Thieme-Becker, XXVI, 286; ÖBL, VII, 333–336; GR; Biedermeier; Brown; Bénétiz, X, 622; AKL B-B, VII, 592; S-Lexikon; Salc; JF]

- ¶ Johann Nepomuk Passini, 1798–1874, *Gemälde und Grafik*, exhibition 23 July–28 August 1983 (Graz: Neue Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum; Stadtmuseum Graz, 1983).

¶ Otto Biba, "Es hat mich noch Weniges so entzückt": Johannes Brahms und Franz Schubert, exhibition at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (Wien: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1997), page 69, #82, plate on page 70.

PAYA, ULY (b.1970; born in South Africa, lives in Vienna). Painter. [Schubert 200 Jahre: oil on canvas, *Äussere Innensicht von Franz Schubert*, 110 × 80 cm, 1997, page 20, #402] [online search; see artist's homepage at <www.artland.at> Franz Schubert komponiert, oil on wood, 1997, Wiener Mänergesellschaft.]

Produced a three-quarter seated frontal nude portrait, "Interior View From the Outside of Franz Schubert". The portrait is not shown in Schubert 200 Jahre but can be seen online at <www.artland.at/oval/Uly/210.html>. This painting is a travesty of Rieder's 1875 portrait of Schubert. Like Rieder, Paya has Schubert holding a quill pen in his right hand, with his right elbow resting on a table on which sits a sheet of music, while his left hand rests on his thigh. Schubert's head

is turned to his right—in the opposite direction from the Rieder portrait. Like Rieder's fully dressed Schubert, Paya's Schubert, although nude, is wearing his famous spectacles.

PAYER, ERNST (1862–1937). Genre, portrait, and landscape painter. *Schubert in Dreimadlhaus* [sic], charcoal and white chalk on gray paper, 34.6 × 25.7 cm, early 20th century, Sotheby's, lot P322, 15 November 2001. [AKL B-B, VII, 618; Fuchs 19, III, K76; Fuchs 19.E, II, K54; GRI cites German artist (b.1863)]

PECH, W. (German). Engraver, painter, and graphic artist. Presented at auction were sixteen original signed etchings, 9.5 × 11.5 cm, of composers including Schubert, done ca. 1900. This artist produced a postcard of an "athlete in motion with shot-put" for a 1921 Dresden gymnastics competition. *Friedrich der Grosse* engraving after the portrait by A. Graff, nd, 12 × 10 cm, signed in pencil "W. Pech." [online search; may be Wilhelm Pech, active in the first half of the 20th century; see <www.icollector.com> for *Chopin. Portrait*; see eBay online, 21 June 2002, and <www.artnet.com> for auction results between 1991 and 2001]

PERICOLI, N. (Italian). Caricaturist. Caricature appeared in *L'Espresso* (17 September 1989). [S-Lexikon, see "Karikatur"] No further information available.

PERL, KARL (1876–1965). Medal engraver. Medal, ø = 90 mm, 1928. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Medaille*, 1928, bronze, ø = 9 cm, 1928, page 241, #514] [Niggel; AKL B-B, VII, 679 has (1876–before 1956; German). Sculptor, medalist; two 1928 medals in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; entry in MO; DBE, VII, 601 (1876–1965)]

PERLBERG, CHRISTIAN or CHRISTIAN JOHANN GEORG or JOHANN CHRISTIAN GEORG (1806–1884; German). Genre and historical painter. *Das Schubert-Denkmal in Wiener Stadtpark: Stahlschiff nach Entwurf von Christian Johann Georg Perlberg*, n.d., Hilmar, page 206, plate 350. [RM owns Perlberg engraving titled *Das Schubertdenkmal in Stadtpark – in Wien*; JF; Bénétiz, X, 753, brother of Georg]

PILCH, ADELBERT (BERTL) (b.1917). Painter, stamp designer and engraver, graphic and portrait artist, caricaturist and book illustrator. Designed 1978 Austrian Schubert 6-Schilling stamp, after Kriehuber. Post is a prolific producer of engravings for the Austrian Post. [Ö-Lexikon; Austrian Post; AKL B-B, VIII, 2; Fuchs 20, III, K177]

PILOTY, J. [Salc. silhouette on a postcard, 1925, #C77, page 57] No further information available.

PINDER, BRIAN (British). Drawing of FS after Rieder, *The Schubert Institute* (UK) Newsletter 10 (1995), page 12, 23 × 16.5 cm. Bicentenary medallion for The Schubert Institute (UK), ø = 2 in, 1997, after Rieder. [RM; HTS] No further information available.

PING, FREDERICK (FREDDIE) (1902–1977; British). Master modeler of toy soldiers and historical figures. A prolific and highly respected artist and designer. Created and painted figures of English actors of the 19th century, including one of English actor-manager Sir John Hare (1844–1921) as Franz Schubert; possibly on commission for a collector of theatrical memorabilia, the late English actor Sir Peter Cushing. A photograph of Sir John Hare does not show any physical resemblance to the composer. *Assorted actors by Frederick Ping*, early 19th century, including Sir John Hare as Franz Schubert (C) (10), Phillips, London, lot 4b, sale 1000775, 1 July 1996. [online search, with excerpt below; George R.R. Martin in personal communication to the author, and at <www.georgemartin.com>]

Frederick Ping, with Richard Courtenay, made many of his own medieval figures. Courtenay chose Ping to take over his molds upon his death in 1963. Ping was one of the most incredible makers of 54 mm figures, working in the French

style of building each figure from layers of lead, on a simple lead figure. Ping kept the molds from 1963, until Peter Greenhill produced the Courtenay molds in 1978 and continues to market miniatures under Courtenay and Greenhill. <www.locksley.com/toysoldier/courtney.htm>

PIRZER, WILHELM (WILLIE) (b.1949; German). Lawyer, municipal government legal administrator, singer, pen and ink artist, and watercolorist. Created FS image in color on a greeting card, ink and aquarelle, 10 × 14 cm, ca. 1997 or 1998. This image design was later used by German tenor Dieter Wagner for the cover of his 2000 CD of *Die Schöne Müllerin*. The CD cover can be seen at Wagner's web site <www.dieter-wagner.com/Aufnahmen/CD-Cover.JPG>. Another example of a composer portrait in the same medium by Pirzer is Domenico Scarlatti at <www.scarlattisti.de>. [online search; personal communication to the author]

PLACHY, FRANZ (active ca. 1923-1928). Portrait and poster artist, drawings. Did watercolor illustrations for newspapers. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert. Zu seinem hundertsten Todestag*, newspaper cutting, 30 × 22 cm, 18 November 1928; page 252, #62; 1928 drawing, *Schubert durch die Brille* 23 (June 1999). *Franz Schubert: Zu seinem 140. Geburtstag*, newspaper cutting, 24 × 22 cm, 31 January 1937, page 252, #630; unclear if image included] [first mention ca. 1923, AKL B-B, VIII, 34; Fuchs 19.E, II, K47; HMSW Restitution Ari]

† *Schubert durch die Brille* 2 (1989), page 41, for drawing of FS. Plachy is not identified as the artist but his signature on the drawing is legible.

† James Gordon, *Story from Vienna*, illus. by Franz Plachy (Wien: Urban, 1946).

POCK, HANS (b.1855). Genre painter. *Portrait of Franz Schubert*, oil on board; rondo, ø = 25.5 cm, signed and dated 1934, Sotheby's, lot 77HM, 3 August 2001. [Sotheby's: "Hans Pock [sic] was a well known Austrian Painter who was active in the middle 1930's"; Bénézit, XI, 72; AKL B-B, VIII, 56; Fuchs 19, III, K91]

POGL, JOSEF (1867-1945). Landscape and veduta artist. [Salc, active 1900 to after 1921, *Schubert am Klavier*, postcard, n.d., C3/9, page 66; AKL B-B, VIII, 56; Fuchs 19, III, K91; Fuchs 19.E, II, K62]

POKORNY, RICHARD (1907-1997). Painter and graphic artist. Portrait of FS, aquatint-etching, 34 × 28 cm, n.d. [AKL B-B, VIII, 65; Fuchs 20, III; image online at <http://cgi.eBay.at/ws/cBay/SA-Pl.dll?ViewItem&item=925814032>]

POLZER, JOS. [Salc, photograph of Wiener Männergesangs-Verein's Schubert medal on a postcard, 1924, #C82, page 58]

POPISCHIL, WILHELM ALEXANDER. Illustrator. *Schubert model in a Schubert-Glücksspielautomat*, book illustration. [RM] No further information available.

† Robert Werba, *Schubert und die Wiener; der volkstümliche Unbekannte* (Wien: Jugend und Volk, 1978).

† Robert Werba, *Franz Schubert: Ein volkstümlicher Unbekannter in den Augen der Nachwelt* (Wien: Pichler, 1997). [reissue of the 1978 edition]

POPT, RUDOLF (1861-1923). Painter and illustrator. *Schubert-Porträt*, oil painting, n.d., *Schubert durch die Brille* 24 (January 2000), page 183. [AKL B-B, VIII, 57; Bénézit, XI, 142 (b.1861); Fuchs 19, III, K92; Fuchs 19.E, II, K63]

POWERS, LAURA (b.1958; American). Singer, recording artist, composer, and painter. Commissioned to copy Klimt's *Schubert am Klavier*, 50 × 40 in / 127 × 101 cm, oil on linen, 1995. Model used was double-page reproduction in a book, not further identified, from which a small preliminary study in oil was made. The painting and the study are in the private collection of the patron who

commissioned the work. The final version can be seen online at <www.laurapowers.com/Lpainting8Schubert.1.html>. [online search; personal communication to the author]

PRAST, OTTO [Salc, print of portrait after a woodcut by Prast, on a postcard, n.d., #C46, page 53]

PRECHTL, MICHAEL MATTHIAS (b.1926; German). Painter, ceramist, caricaturist, book illustrator, woodcut and graphic artist. *Franz Schuberts Vision der Forelle*, aquarelle, 21.5 × 25.5 cm (image format in book) in Michael Mathias Prechtl, *Denkmäler, die intime Sitte und Kulturgeschichte des Abendlandes, Dürer-Suite, Köpfe und Gesichter, Öffentliche Bilder, Bilder zum Lesen*, ed. by Christoph Stölzel (München: C.J. Bucher, ca. 1968), page 59 [Salc, *Franz Schuberts Vision der Forelle*, color postcard of aquarelle, 1966, #D3/1, page 79; AKL B-B, VIII, 133; "Michael Mathias Prechtl; Der Witz der frühen Jahre", *Der Tagesspiegel* (24 March 2001 (on his 75th birthday); online search; GRI]

† Michael Mathias Prechtl, *Michael Mathias Prechtl: Das lithographische Werk 1952 bis 1973* (Nürnberg: Hans Carl Verlag, 1974).

† Michael Mathias Prechtl, *Michael Mathias Prechtl: Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Gouachen, Lithographien aus den Jahren 1955 bis 1970* (München: H. Moos, 1970).

† Michael Mathias Prechtl, *Michael Mathias Prechtl: Bilder und Zeichnungen, 1956-1981*. Exhibition at the Kunsthalle Nürnberg am Marientor, 27 November 1981 - 21 February 1982 (Frankfurt am Main: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1981).

PRINZ, HANS (1865-1925). [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Kolorierte Zeichnung einer Schubert-Landpartie am Fusse des Leopoldsberg in Wien: Wiener Mode*, no dimensions, n.d., page 253, #634; uncertain if FS image produced] [AKL, B-B VIII, 150, has entry for Hans Prinz (1865-1925). Illustrator, genre and portrait painter; online search produced 1865-1925; Fuchs 19, III, K98 and Fuchs 19.E, II, K67 have Prinz (d.1925); birth year has been cited in sources as 1865 and 1885; RM cites Hans Prinz, *Schubert Kalender für 1911* with cover of Schubert composing on a bench and twelve song illustrations; JF notes Schubert, F., *Schubert-Kalender für 1909*, 12 Lieder. Mit 12 tlw. farb. Illustrationen von H. Prinz auf Tafeln und tlw. goldgehöhl. Buchschmuck]

PRINZ, J. Medalist and engraver. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Plakette*, 1927, cast metal, 3 × 2.5 cm oval, 1927, page 190, #259] [Online search found this name without dates; two medals dated 1911 in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna]

QUINNELL, C.W. [CECIL WATSON] (1868-1932; English, born India). Artist, miniaturist, and illustrator. Produced notable portraits in postcard series, *Men of Letters* (English and American). [Salc, color print after portrait on a postcard, 1911, #C52, page 54; AKL B-B, VIII, 201; online search; Bénézit, XI, 388]

RACHY, F. Portrait drawing after Schwind, n.d., Hilmar, page 41, plate 54.

RADNITZKY, C. (1818-1901). Medal engraver. Electroplated medal, gold and silver, ø = 199 mm, n.d. His work is in the medal collection of the MTA Zenetudományi Intézet Zeneotörténeti Múzeum, Budapest. Josef Radnitsky, *Schubert-Plakette, goldanplastik*, *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 84 bottom. [Andorfer; Niggel; AKL B-B, VIII, 217; online search; S-Lexikon, see "Numismatik"; JF; Bénézit, XI, 383; Forrer, V, 11-16, FS medal, 1878; entry in MÖ]

REINELT. Postcard portrait of FS at the piano. [HTS]

REINIOFER, S. Medal engraver. Medal: ø = 58 mm; 34 mm, 1928. [Niggel; S-Lexikon, see "Numismatik" - "A. Reinhofer" [sic]]

RENÉ. Miniature in oil - copy of Rieder? [HTS]

† *The Schubertian* 29 (July 2000), p. 17.

RENNER, KALMAN. Medal engraver. Cast metal plaque, 200 × 130 mm, 1950. [Nigg]

RESOLD, WILHELM (flourished in the first half of the 20th century; German). Silhouette artist and book illustrator. Joseph August Lux, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild aus deutscher Vergangenheit* (Berlin: Flemming u. Wiskott, 1922). The book's cover has an original drawing of FS, not a silhouette [online search; author's copy]

RICHARDS, WALTER DUBOIS (b.1907; American). Painter and illustrator. Painted image of FS in a series of composer, musician, and conductor portraits for Magnavox magazine advertisements in the 1940s. In that era, Magnavox was an American manufacturer of radios and record players. The portraits were later produced in a set known as the "Art Reproductions from the Magnavox Collection." He designed 37 U.S. postage stamps. [RM; online search; AKL B-B, VIII, 369]

RIEDER, WILHELM AUGUST (1796–1880). Historical, portrait and genre painter. Produced a lithograph, a sepia drawing, and an 1825 aquarelle which has been used as an image model. Also produced one of the most famous oil portraits of Schubert in 1875, which inspired many other artists to copy, in several mediums. [Thieme-Becker, XXVIII, 322; Busse; Boetticher, II, 1, 429; Clive, 165–166; Deutsch-Reader, 956; Bryan's, 232–233; GRI; Biedermeyer; Brown; Bénézit, XI, 688; *Yeka kompozjtorów: Portrety – Najwybitniejsi twórcy do XVI wieku do współczesnych 64 rotogravury* (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne), 1 seria, #5; AKL B-B, VIII, 385; *Musiker-Bildnisse aus der Sammlung Wilhelm Heyer in Köln* (Berlin: Henrici & Liepmannssohn, 1927), page 42, plate 526, original 1825 Rieder lithograph; FRESCO; Deutsch-Bildnisse, plate 7; S-Lexikon; Salc; Fuchs 19., III, K121; ÖNB-BAJ

[Schubert 200 Jahre]:

† Franz Schubert (Rieder's drawing), 18.8 × 24 cm, 1825, page 135, #152.

† Franz Schubert (Clarot's lithograph), 34.7 × 24.3 cm, ca. 1826, page 154, #187.

† Franz Schubert (Passini's engraving), 24.5 × 20.7 cm, after 1828, pages 175–176, #228.

† Franz Schubert 1875 (Rieder's oil portrait), no dimensions, 1875, page 204, #307, after page 205.

Other sources:

† Sepia-Zeichnung, signed by Schubert and Rieder, Hilmar, page 26, plate 31; Ausstellung, page 73.

† Aquarelle, signed Schubert and Rieder, 1825, Hilmar, page 43, plate 56; Ausstellung, page 193 right; Deutsch-Bildern, page 9.

† Other anonymous works after Rieder: lithograph, Hilmar, page 36, plate 47.

† Portrait medallion after Rieder on a 1928 postcard, Salc, #A16/3, page 29, #C17/5, page 74; prints and photographs of Rieder's portraits on a postcard, Salc, #C5-C11, pages 48–49; photograph of painted Gedenktafel with portrait after Rieder on a postcard, Salc, #C87, page 58; Schubert Portrait, Salc, #C7, plate on page 81.

† Franz Schubert 1875, oil portrait, Deutsch-Bildern, page 29.

† Original lithograph, Deutsch-Bildern, page 11.

† The Rieder 1825 aquarelle was reproduced in *Kunst dem Volk* (1940).

† Koschatzky, page 80, for his discussion of Rieder's 1825 aquarelle of Schubert, which he praises as the Schubert portrait with the most vivid immediacy.

RIEDL [RIEDEL], FELIX (1878–1950). Landscape and veduta artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert mit den Schöllmaderl in Vier Postkarten mit Szenen aus dem Dreimäderlhaus, n.d., page 230, #467(b)] [JF; HTS; Salc has (1878–1950), postcard, n.d., #C2/12, page 65, series of Dreimäderlhaus postcards, #C10/1-C10/6, page 70, #C10/5 plate on page 87. Schubert's portrait is on the wall as a framed painting in the scene depicted: AKL B-B, VIII, 385; S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten" – "Riedel" [sic]; Fuchs 19.E, II, K81]

RISCHAR, SIEGFRIED (b.1924; German). Artist, watercolorist, illustrator. Works in pen and ink, pencil, pastel, and oil. Double portrait of Franz Schubert and Wilhelm Müller, colored-pencil drawing, 70 × 85 cm, 1995. [GRI; online search; personal communication to the author]

† Siegfried Rischar, *Die Winterreise* (Berlin: Galerie Ars Vival, 1984). While Rischar's twenty-four representations of the *Winterreise* cycle contain no images of FS, Rischar's image of FS after Rieder on the book's cover has also been used as a CD cover.

† Siegfried Rischar and Günther Mahal, *Die Winterreise: Bilder zu Wilhelm Müllers von Franz Schubert vertontem Gedichtzyklus "Die Winterreise" mit einem Essay von Günther Mahal "Die Winterreise" – drei Zugänge zu einem Thema* (München: TAL38 Galerie Edition, 1995). The volume contains Rischar's double portrait of Müller and Schubert.

† Siegfried Rischar, *Malerei, Zeichnung, 1984–1994*, exhibition catalogue, 3 July–7 August, 1994 (Aschaffenburg: Jesuitenkirche, Galerie der Stadt Aschaffenburg, and Kunsthalle Darmstadt und der Kunstverein Darmstadt e.V., 1995).

ROHLING, CARL (1849–1920 or 1922; German). Historical painter and illustrator. *Schubert in Kreis seiner Freunde*, photographic reproduction after drawing by C.R., n.d., Hilmar, page 63, plate 92. [JF; Bénézit, XI, 842; AKL B-B, VIII, 466; DBE, VIII, 350 (1849–1920)]

ROMANOVSKAJA, M. (Russian) Sculptor. Medallion of Schubert's head. *Opus Illyriem*, 1979–1828, bronze medal, Russian Mint, 1973, ø = 2.75 in. [RM; collection of Nicholas Rust, UK; online search]

ROSENTHAL, CONSTANTIN DAVID (1820–1850). FS image included in a composer series. [RM; (Constantin) David Rosenthal (Hungarian). Figure and genre painter, sculptor (1820–1850) in AKL B-B, VIII, 523; GRI entry (1820–1851); Grove entry; online auction; Konstantin Rosenthal (1820–1851) in Bénézit, XI, 913]

Constantin David Rosenthal, *Seven Composers: Schubert*, smallest sheet: 10 3/4 × 8 in (273.05 × 203.2 mm); largest sheet: 14 × 10 in (355.6 × 254 mm), seven etchings and mezzo-tints printed on wove paper, six signed in pencil, unframed. Auction at Butterfields, Los Angeles, 10 February 2002; lot 7183, sale 7306T.

ROSS, GORDON (1872 or 1873–1946; American). Painter and illustrator. Original sketch of FS in Henry Thomas and Dana Lee Thomas, *Living Biographies of Great Composers* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing Company, 1940); in later edition called Blue Ribbon Books, 1946, opp. page 89. [AKL B-B, VIII, 528; online search; FRESCO; ABMI, 533 (1873–1946); WWWAA, 530; ICB, 1947 ed., 435; author's copy]

ROTH, KARL (b.1900; German). Sculptor, painter, and medal engraver. Medal, silver, ø = 36 mm, 24g., 1928. [Nigg; AKL B-B, VIII, 543 has (1900–) Sculptor, medalist, painter; online search found his design of the five Deutschmark commemorative coin honoring the centenary of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, 1952; S-Lexikon, see "Numismatik"]

ROTHAUG, ALEXANDER (1870-1946). Painter and illustrator. Specialized in mythological scenes. Also known for decorations of auditoriums and theatre sets. Signed portrait of FS, mixed technique on paper, 23 x 35 cm, n.d., Dorotheum, lot 221, 19 November 1997. [Bénézit, XI, 951; GRI; AKL B-B, VIII, 544; Fuchs 19, III, K128]

ROTHENBURGER, ADOLF (1883-last mention before 1935). Sculptor and medal engraver. Cast metal plaque, 160 x 120 mm, 1928. [Niggli; AKL B-B, VIII, 545; Bénézit, XI, 953]

ROZYSKI, KURT VON (1864-1908; German). Painter. Postcard. [JF; Bénézit, XII, 65; AKL B-B, VIII, 569; online search; Sale, *Schubert am Klavier*, color postcard, n.d., #C3/10, page 66]

RUMPF, FRIEDRICH (FRITZ) HEINRICH (1856-1922; German). Genre, architecture, and landscape painter, etcher, and writer on art. Composer portrait series includes Schubert after Jäger? [JF; Bénézit, XII, 99; AKL B-B, VIII, 593]

RUMPF, FRITZ (1888-1958). Silhouetteist. [AKL B-B, VIII, 593; JF] [Is this Friedrich Carl Georg Rumpf, son of Friedrich (Fritz) Heinrich Rumpf?]

A Rumpf portrait of FS appears on a postcard; uncertain which Rumpf produced it. See Sale, b/w photograph on a postcard, one card dated 1909, #C36-C38, pages 52, 105. Advertising posters by Fritz Rumpf, ca. 1913 and 1914 in Max Gallo, *The Poster in History*, trans. by Alfred and Bruni Mayer (New York: New American Library, 1975), page 61. Uncertain which of the above Rumpfs is the artist.

SAHLIGER, EMIL. Veneerist? [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert am Klavier mit Sanger und Zuhörerin*, wood inlay, 12 x 11.5 cm, 1926, page 211, #335]

SANDOR, MAX a/k/a SANDOR-DUSCHNITZ, MAX (1897-1945). Painter. Postcard portraits of FS: one strumming a guitar, and another of FS strolling outside Vienna with a walking stick, 14 x 9 cm, between ca. 1880 and 1911. [JF; Sale, color print, n.d., and b/w photograph, 1928, of portrait on a postcard, #C33, page 54, composition with Totenmaske after M.S., n.d., #C92, page 59, *Schuberts letzte Stunde*, n.d., #C1/1, page 63, *Schubert als Wanderer*, n.d., #C2/8-C2/9, page 64, *Schubert mit Gitarre*, postcard after M.S., n.d., #C3/7, page 66; AKL B-B, VIII, 681 (1897-1942); Gallica; HTS; online search; Fuchs 20., B2, K75 (1897-1942); S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"]

SCHAEFFER, HANS (1875-last mention before 1935). Sculptor, medalist, and engraver. Medal, ϕ = 70 mm, 1909. The 1909 FS silver medal is in the medal collection of the MTA Zenetudományi Intézet Zenei Történeti Múzeum, Budapest. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Medaille*, 1909, ϕ = 7 cm, bronze, silver, and pewter, 1909, page 190, #255; *Schubert am Klavier, von singenden Mädchen umgeben*, bronze half-relief, ϕ = 30 cm, 1909, page 246, #359; uses Schaeffer's 1909 design on reverse] [AKL B-B, VIII, 735; Niggli; has photo of 1909 medal, obverse and reverse; online search; S-Lexikon, see "Numismatik" - "Schäfer"; Sale has 'H. Schaeffer', print of photograph of relief on a postcard, n.d., #C86, page 58; medal, ϕ = 70 mm, 1905, Deutsch-Bildern, page 86; Bénézit, XII, 363 (1875-after 1919 in US); Forrer, V, 353 entry for Schubertiade; Forrer, VIII, 190 entry for FS medal for Schubertbund; Rudo]

SCHANK, GABRIEL GABY (b.1933; Luxemburger). Sculptor. Created bust of FS for website of the pianist Marc Bettendorff. [online search; personal communication to the author from Marc Bettendorff; bust can be seen at <www.schubertiade.org/schubertiade/startdir/home.htm>] No further information available.

SCHIAFFÉ, ANTON (1845-1903). Medal engraver. Medal, ϕ = 50 mm, n.d. Worked for the Vienna mint. Plaque, Hiltmar, page 45, plate 58. [Niggli; online search; Grosse; AKL B-B, VIII, 746 has

Scharff (1845-1903) Medalist; Grove mention in 'Medals, History, 19th century'; medal collection of the MTA Zenetudományi Intézet Zenei Történeti Múzeum, Budapest, collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; JF says plaque is 210 mm; Deutsch-Bildern, page 86; 5 entries in MO; HSMW Restitution Art]

SCHAUKAU, HANS (1900-1981). Genre artist. Caricature from *Die Brille* (6 December 1928), in *Schubert durch die Brille* 20 (January 1998), page 7. [possibly Johann Wolfgang von Schenk a/k/a Wolfgang Hans von Schaukau (1900-1981) AKL B-B, VIII, 748; Fuchs 19, G, II, K79]

SCHIEFFER, ROBERT (1859-1934). Landscape, genre and portrait artist. Postcard of FS with stick and hat in a room with two girls admiring his buttonhole. [RM; AKL B-B, VIII, 752; Bénézit, XII, 391; Thieme-Becker, XXX, 6; Fuchs 19: IV, K14]

SCHIFF, N. 1928 drawing of FS as a schoolmaster, *Schubert durch die Brille* 23 (June 1999), page 131.

SCHINDLER, H. H. Original engraving after 1900, *Schubert durch die Brille* 9 (June 1992), page 156.

SCHIRNBÖCK, FERDINAND (1849 or 1859-1930). Stamp, bank note and copper engraver. Engraved Austrian 1922 Schubert stamp. Noted for his collaboration with Koloman Moser for a series of stamps in 1906 and later. Schirnböck and Moser also noted for their joint work on a famous postcard celebrating Emperor Franz Joseph's 60th jubilee. Schirnböck is famed for his international production of stamp designs for many countries in South America, Europe, and Asia. [online search; AKL B-B, IX, 3 (1859-1930); Bénézit, XII, 434; ÖBL, X, 163]

Maria Rennhofer, Koloman Moser: *Master of Viennese Modernism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002). Cites Moser's collaboration with Schirnböck in producing striking new designs.

SCHLESIMANN, HANS (1852-1920). Silhouetteist. [Schubert 200 Jahre [listed as 'Franz']: *Schubert am Klavier*, silhouette, 21.5 x 18 cm, 1902, page 213, #353. *Schubert begleitet die Schwestern Fräulein am Klavier*, drawing, Hiltmar, page 56, plate 79. *Schubert am Klavier*, pen and ink drawing, n.d., Hiltmar, page 188, plate 314; *Der junge Schubert am Klavier*, drawing, n.d., Hiltmar, page 198, plate 337; "Die Forcell": *Imagination*, n.d., Hiltmar, page 199, plate 339. Silhouette, *Schubert durch die Brille* 14 (January 1995), page 140. [GRI lists Hans Schliesmann; AKL B-B, IX, 10, (1852-1920), caricaturist, watercolorist, woodcutter, artist, and illustrator, who also did silhouettes; Ö-Lexikon, d. 1920; Fuchs 19, IV, K21 (Hans S.); online search (1852-1920); S-Lexikon, see "Karikatur" and "Postkarten"; Sale, silhouette on a postcard, #C74-C75, pages 56-57; JF; Bénézit, XII, 447 (worked for many satirical journals)]

SCHLOSSER or SCHLOSSER, CARL BERNHARD (1832-after 1914; German). Etcher, figure, portrait, interior, and genre painter. Two signed lithographs: a portrait of FS dated 1928, and a view of the composer's home. These lithographs are in the Harold Bauer Collection, U.S. Library of Congress, Special Collections, Music Division. (The 1928 date was not verified and should be used with caution). [online auction; AKL B-B, IX, 11; Thieme-Becker, XXX, 114; Bénézit, XII, 448-449; GRI; FRESCO has (b.1836)]

SCHMID, JULIUS (1854-1935). Historical, portrait, and genre painter. [Schubert 200 Jahre: discussion page 206; *Ein Schubertabend in einem Wiener Bürgerhause*, aquarelle on paper, 25.3 x 36 cm, n.d., page 208, #322, plate on page 207; *Franz Schubert und unidentified Modell*, oil on canvas, 53.5 x 64.5 cm, n.d., page 208, #323; *Ein Schubertabend*, photograph, 77 x 126 cm, n.d., page 208, #326; additional discussion on page 210]. *Schubert-Abend in einem Wiener Bürgerhause*, preliminary study, charcoal drawing, Hiltmar, page 63, plate 93. *Ein Schubertabend in einem Wiener Bürgerhause*, oil painting, n.d., Hiltmar, page 193, plate 324. The *Schubertabend*

appears in a recent volume of juvenile literature to illustrate the section on Franz Schubert: *The Story of Music. II: Classical Music: Romantic to Modern* (Danbury, Conn.: Grolier Educational, 2001). *Franz Schubert mit sechs Freunden beim Heurigen*, oil painting [photo in ÖNB-BA]. [Busse; Fuchs 19, IV, K22; Bénézit, XII, 457; Thieme-Becker, XXX, 156-157; GRI; ÖBL, X, 279-280; AKL B-B, IX, 17; S-Lexikon; JF; DBE, VIII, 704]

Fuchs, IV, K22: "Für sein Gemälde 'Schubertabend in einem Wiener Bürgerhause' wurde er im Jahre 1894 in Berlin mit der Goldmedaille ausgezeichnet." This statement, if accurate, calls into question the date the painting was done and the reason.

In a personal communication from Schmid's great-grandson, he re-confirmed that there are several versions of the *Schubertabend*, in Vienna. These are the 1897 oil painting submitted to the Schubert centennial competition. *Ein Schubertabend in einem Wiener Bürgerhause*, 172 x 255 cm, owned by the Wiener Männergesangs-Verein, a gift from Marie Dumba, the widow of Nicolaus Dumba, and another version which is owned by the City of Vienna and is in the Rathaus.

Schmid painted four known likenesses of Franz Schubert: in the *Schubertabend* (five, if both versions of *Schubertabend* are counted separately); in a ceiling lunette in the *Kammermusiksaal* and in a medallion en grisaille in the *Stefaniensaal*, both concert venues within in the *Graz Congress*; and lastly, in a small watercolor, 1900, 14.5 x 9 cm, of Schubert alone at the piano, apparently after his own *Schubertabend*.

Die Steiermärkische Sparkasse 1825-1925. Eine Denkschrift anlässlich ihres hundertjährigen Bestandes über veranlassung des Kuratoriums verfasst von Dr. Wilhelm Kaiserfeld und Dr. Heinrich Poschacher (Graz, 1925). An exhaustive commemorative history of this bank, and of the conception, financing, construction, and cost of what is known today as the Graz Convention Center, located in Graz. Altstadt. Particularly relevant are pages 114-120, 202-203, 324-352, which mention the building's interior design and decor, including Schmid's wall and ceiling paintings.

Rupert Feuchtmüller and Wilhelm Mrazek, *Kunst in Österreich 1860-1918* (Wien: Forum Verlag, 1964); page 67: "Julius Schmid (1854-1935) wählte mit seinen musikalischen Themen 'Schubertabend' oder 'Haydnquartett' historische Stoff."

"Anstaltsgebäude und Konzertsäle der Steiermärkischen Sparkasse", *Stadterweiterung von Graz: Gründerzeit*, ed. by Wilhelm Steinböck (Graz: Wien: Leykam-Verlag, 1979), vol. II, 143-147. Publikationsreihe des Grazer Stadtmuseums. This volume includes a brief historical review of the construction of the building known today as the *Graz Congress*. There is mention of Julius Schmid's interior décor – the medallions of famous composers – in the *Stefaniensaal*.

Max Mayr, "Ein stolzer Tag für das Kunsthandwerk", *Kleine Zeitung* [Graz] (17 September 1980), page 19. A newspaper article about the Graz painters and art restorers, Ferdinand Fladischer and Emmerich Mohapp, who did the restoration work on the Schmid ceiling lunettes, with close-up photos of the lunettes and of the restorers. Schmid worked in one of his favorite mediums – dry fresco (*seccomaleren*) – which has a tendency to flake thus requiring restoration.

Erika Kaufmann, ed., *175 Jahre Musikverein für Steiermark Graz, 1815-1990* (Graz: Musikverein für Steiermark, 1990). Pages 168-170 include closer photos of the restored *Kammermusiksaal* ceiling and its three lunettes, including the

Schubert lunette.

Wiltraud Resch et al., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz: die Profanbauten des I. Bezirkes, Altstadt* (Wien: Schroll, 1997), 354-358. In five pages, the authors present a modern though brief history of the building and later renovation of the *Graz Congress* in Graz Altstadt. This includes interior decoration of the *Stefaniensaal* (the fourteen medallions en grisaille) and of the *Kammermusiksaal* ceiling with Schmid's three lunettes of Mozart (with Haydn in one corner), Beethoven, and Schubert.

SCHMIDHAMMER, ARPAD (1857-1921; German). Illustrator, painter, caricaturist, and art designer. Wrote and illustrated children's books as well as illustrating children's books by other authors. After 1896, contributed drawings to the periodical *Die Jugend*, including one of FS. Produced a World War I patriotic poster in Germany, 1914, and illustrated many patriotic war books for children, one of which is known to have been re-published in Berlin, 1944. [GRI; AKL B-B, IX, 19; online search; Bénézit, XII, 459, worked for journals and newspapers; DBE, VIII, 708]

SCHMID, W. See WAEHNER, TRUDE SCHMID

SCHMIDT, BOTHO (German). *Schubert, nach einer Lithographie von Botho Schmidt. Als Vorlage hat Kupferstechers Schubert-Portrait gedient*, no dimensions, n.d.; Hilmar, page 185, plate 308. His name is on the expanded 1913 membership list of *Die Brücke*. In 1940, Schmidt was anonymously denounced to the Gestapo for alleged anti-Nazi remarks regarding art. He was not one of the so-called 'degenerate artists'. [JF; online search]

Paul Ilg, *Ein glückliches Paar. Erzählung. Zeichnungen von Botho Schmidt* (Zürich: Füssli, 1924).

SCHMIDT, RUDOLF (1894-1980). Sculptor and medal engraver. Medal, 1965. [Niggli; AKL B-B, IX, 28; online search; Bénézit, XII, 468; DBE, IX, 19]

SCHOBER, FRANZ (ADOLF FRIEDRICH) VON (1796-1882; born in Sweden of Austrian parents). *Michael Vogl und Franz Schubert ziehen aus zu Kampf und Sieg*, Hilmar, page 21, plate 24; *Johann Michael Vogl und Franz Schubert aus zu Kampf und Sieg. Erster Entwurf der Bleistiftskizze von Franz von Schöber*, Hilmar, page 59, plate 83, Deutsch-Bildern, page 6; *Entfussung von Schobers Bleistiftskizze*, Hilmar, page 59, plate 84; also in *Ausstellung*, page 164; *Schubert in 17. Lebensjahre, Bleistiftzeichnung*, Lichtdruck, Deutsch-Bildern, page 20. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Michael Vogl und Franz Schubert ziehen aus zu Kampf und Sieg*, original drawing "allegedly" [sic] by Schöber, 1814, photoengraving of original pencil sketch, orig. 19.6 x 14.7 cm, page 136, #157] [Thieme-Becker, XXX, 21; Busse; Clive, 187-192; Deutsch-Reader, 957; Boetticher, 699-717; ÖBL, X, 420-421; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; Biedemeier; Brown; Bénézit, XII, 492; AKL B-B, IX, 46; Deutsch-Bildnisse, plate 6; S-Lexikon; Salc, #A19/7, page 31; JF]

SCHÖNPLUG, FRIEDRICH "FRITZ" (1873-1951). Painter, illustrator, postcard artist, and caricaturist. Served as a reserve captain in the Austrian Army during the First World War. As a result, the military became the satirical subject of much of his genre work. In 1905, he founded a satirical journal *Die Muskele* to which he continued to contribute until publication was halted in 1941. He produced a 1923 political poster for the anti-Semitic Christian Social Party, and painted racehorses to which he was dedicated as an active rider. The Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien had an exhibit dedicated to his postcard work. Noted for an original and famous 1907 caricature of Gustav Mahler on the cover of *Die Muskele*. [S-Lexikon, see "Karikatur"; GRI has Fritz S. (1873-1951); online search; Fritz Schönplug (1873-1951). Commercial artist genre painter, AKL B-B, IX, 54; Fritz Schönplug (1873-1948) in

Bénézit, XII, 511; DBE, IX, 99 has (1873-1951); Grove mention in 'Kempf-Hartenkamp, Gottlieb Theodor von'; Fuchs 19, IV, K31; Fuchs 19 E, II, K105; HMSW Restitution Art]

Der Postkartenmaler. Fritz Schönpflug (1873-1951). Leporello mit 10 Ansichtskarten zum Abtrennen. Exhibition at the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien (28 March 1996 - 16 February 1997).

Roda Roda, *Roda Roda erzählt*, illus. by Fritz Schönpflug (Wien: P. Zsolnay, ca. 1990).

SCHÖNWALD, RUDOLF (b.1928). Painter and graphic artist. Awarded the 1976 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Painting and Graphics). His Schubert is in print edition *Hommage*; see Key. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert und Wien, color etching, 60 x 50 cm, 1978, page 219, #393] [GRI, AKL B-B, IX, 54; Fuchs 20, IV, K47]

SCHRAMM or SCHRAM, ALOIS HANS (1864-1919). Painter, muralist, and sculptor. [In Schubert 200 Jahre identified as submitting an entry for the 1897 Schubert competition, page 206] His reputation has been revived recently via the Internet because of a widely popular poster of his genre painting *The Last Days of Summer*. [Bénézit, XII, 523; GRI; AKL B-B, IX, 66; Hans Schramm; Fuchs 19, IV, K33, both spellings; online search; Grove mention of Schram in article 'Mural, Europe, 1810-1930'; ÖBL online; HMSW Restitution Art]

SCHROEDTER or SCHRODTER or SCHIROETER, ALWINE née Heuser (1820-1892). Painter and flower artist. Chromolithograph portrait of FS as book illustration, large quarto, in a group of ten great artists, writers and composers in *Penfenn*, illus. by A. Schroedter (Düsseldorf: Breidenbach & Co., 1871). Bloomsbury Book Auctions, sale no. BBA 379, lot no. 250, 21 September 2000. [Bénézit, XII, 535; online search found *Musius, Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, 3. illustrierte Prachtausgabe von 1842. Holzschneitten nach Originalzeichnungen von L. Richter, R. Jordan, G. Osterwald, A. Schröder; AKL B-B, IX, 75; personal communication from Bloomsbury Book Auctions]

SCHRÖDER, ANNY (1898-1972). Silhouetteist, painter, woodcut artist, and illustrator. Her designs were used by the Wiener Werkstätte. 1932 Austrian State Prize for Graphic Art. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Schubert, *Scherenschnitt*, silhouette, o = 22 cm, page 213, #356] [AKL B-B, IX, 72 lists Anny Schröder-Ehrenfest; online search produced dates as (1898-1972); Fuchs 19 G, II, K90]

SCHROTT, F. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Ich hört' ein Bäldelein rauschen*, tinted photoengraving, 32 x 24 cm, n.d., page 212, #343] [Could be Eugen Schrott or Schroth (1862-1945). Genre painter, AKL B-B, IX, 76; Painted many members of the Royal family; ÖBL online (1862-1945); Fuchs 19 E, II, K108-K109 has Eugen Schroth (1862-1945)]

SCHUBERT, (FRANZ) CARL (or KARL) (1795-1855). Landscape artist, etcher, and lithographer. Brother of Franz Schubert. Ausstellung, drawing, family portrait with FS on left, ca. 1822, page 66, plate right. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Plakette*, cast bronze bas-relief plaque, o = 12 cm, n.d., page 191, #268]. Schubert 200 Jahre lists this entry on page 191 as 'Carl Schubert' but it could more correctly be attributed to Carl Rudolf Anton Schubert (see below). [JF; Bénézit, XII, 540; AKL B-B, IX, 78; Fuchs 19, IV, K37; S-Lexikon; ÖBL online]

SCHUBERT, HEINRICH KARL (1827-1897). Painter. Nephew of FS, son of Schubert's brother Franz Karl Schubert (1795-1855). Copied Rieder's 1825 aquarelle. [Brown; Bénézit, XII, 540; GRI; AKL B-B, IX, 78; Fuchs 19, IV, K37, has Heinrich Carl S. as son of Carl and brother of Ferdinand; ÖBL online; RM reminds that FS had two nephews who were painters, one the son of brother Karl/ Carl and the other the son of brother Ferdinand]

There is much confusion about Schubert genealogy. Please refer to the Schubert family tree at the web site of the Schubert Institute (UK) at <<http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/franz-schubert/tree/tree01.html>>.

SCHUBERT, HUGO (1874-1913). Painter, miniaturist, etcher, and illustrator. *Quartettabend bei Schubert's Vater*, 1912; postcard of FS as a schoolteacher, early 20th century; *Franz Schubert als Lehrer*, postcard, used ca. 1919, see HTS. [JF; Sale, postcard series, ca. 1922, #C6/1-C6/6, page 68, #C6/2, *Franz Schubert als Lehrer*, plate on page 90; Bénézit, XII, 540; AKL B-B, IX, 78; Fuchs 19, IV, K37; HTS; RM notes Hugo Schubert postcard of Franz Schubert meeting the Tscholl sisters as part of a composer series]

SCHUBERT, KARL RUDOLF ANTON (1884-1945). Metal worker. Great grand-nephew of FS and great-grandson of Franz Schubert's brother, Ferdinand Lukas Schubert (1794-1859). Plaster cast after 'original' death mask, Hilmar, page 44, plate 57. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert: Lebend- oder Totenmaske*, bronze, 24 x 22 cm, 2,440gr, '1925/30', page 172, #223, plate on page 177; *Brüggner mit Schubert-Kopf*, um 1925, 'Carl Schubert' bronze letter opener, 26 x 4 cm, ca. 1925, page 248, # 589] [S-Lexikon, see 'Totenmaske'; Sale, b/w photograph, *Totenmaske*, 1928, #C89, page 39]

Photographs of the so-called death mask actually seem quite life-like, without evidence in the features of the eleven-day period before Schubert died, when he was unable to eat or retain fluids. One might expect that an eleven-day starvation would have left some pathological or structural changes in facial tissue. That the mask was made from the head of Franz Schubert is not an issue. The mask is of a stout, relaxed man, and whether it is a life or death mask is still open to question.

Eva Badura-Skoda, 'Eine authentische Porträt-Plastik Schuberts', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* XXXIII/11 (1978), 578-595.

Rita Steblin, 'Neue Gedanken zu Schuberts "Toten-Maske"', *Schubert durch die Brille* 6 (January 1991), pages 66-70.

SCHÜLE, G(OTTFRIED) F(RIEDRICH) (1902-1968). Landscape, veduta, and genre painter. [HTS; JF has 'Professor'; Sale, postcard, 1928, #C19/1-C19/4, page 75; AKL B-B, IX, 80; Fuchs 20, IV, K56 (born 1901); RM notes that of Schüle's six cards in an official folder in 1928 for the tenth Deutsches Singerbundfest in Vienna only one is of FS, and that Schüle is called 'Professor' on the postcard folder]

SCHULTHEISS, CARL (KARL) MAX (1885-1961; born in Germany, emigrated to USA in 1940). Painter, illustrator, engraver, printmaker, and etcher. Children's book illustrator. [online search; WWWAA, I, 352; GRI; AKL B-B, IX, 76; Vollmer, IV, 229; author's copy; RM]

Maudeleine Goss, *Unfinished Symphony: The Story of Franz Schubert*, illus. by Carl M. Schultheiss (New York: Henry Holt & Co., [ca. 1911]).

SCHWENNINGER, HEINRICH (1803-1884). Historical painter and portraitist. Painted single and family portraits of Schubert's brother and descendants. Son of Anton and brother of Joseph Schwemmer. *Schubert-Büste von Josef Alois Dieler nach der Entwürfen von Heinrich Schwemmer*, Hilmar, page 48, plate 65. [JF; Bénézit, XII, 584; AKL B-B, IX, 111; Fuchs 19, IV, K44; online search; SIUK; GRI; S-Lexikon; ÖBL online]

Painted portrait of Carl Schubert with his family. Karl's son, Heinrich Carl Schubert (see above) was apprenticed to his uncle, Heinrich Schwemmer. Theres Schwemmer (1799-before 1855), daughter of Anton Schwemmer.

married Franz Schubert's brother Franz Karl Schubert (1795-1855) in 1823; their son was Heinrich Karl Schubert. There is much confusion about Schubert genealogy. Please refer to the Schubert family tree at the web site of the Schubert Institute (UK) at <myweb.tiscali.co.uk/franzschubert/tree/tree0.html>

SCHWENINGER, KARL or CARL D.J. (1854-1913). Genre painter and sculptor. Portrait of FS, b/w and color, *The Etude* (April 1909 and March 1917). [Online search has (1854-1912); AKL B-B, IX, 112; Bénézit, XII, 585; Fuchs 19, IV, K45 (1854-1903); HTS; GRI entry for Karl Schwenger II (German) (1854-1903); ÖBL online has (1854-1912); Fuchs 19 E, 2, K114, corrected to 'born 1913', sic]

SCHWERTNER or SCHWERTNER or SCHWERTDNER, JOHANN [D.Ä.] (1834-1909? or 1920?). Medalist. Designed gold and silver Schubert medals, $\phi = 46.5$ mm, 1901. *Schubert-Medaille der Wiener Schubert-Bildnisse und Wiener Männergesangs-Vereins*, by N. Schwertner [sic], 1863, Hilmar, page 23, plate 28; Johann Schwertner sen., medal, $\phi = 46$ mm, 1888, Deutsch-Bildern, page 85; medal, $\phi = 46.5$ mm, 1901, Deutsch-Bildern, page 85. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Medaille*, 1888, bronze, $\phi = 4.5$ cm, 1888, page 190, #254] [May be Johann Schwertner (1834-1909) in Forrer, V, 441-443; Andorfer, Niggel; AKL B-B, IX, 113, shows Schwertner, Johann (1834-1920). Medalist; S-Lexikon, see 'Numismatik' - 'J. Schwertner'; JF; Schwertner (1834-1920) in Bénézit, XII, 586; RM notes medal for the *Teschen Männergesangsvereins* [sic], which is the spelling RM found on the item]

SCHWERTZKE (or SCHWERTZAK) KARL (1848-1919). Sculptor. Noted classical sculptor of famous Romans. *Schubert-Denkmal in Teschen*, bust on pedestal, 1901, photo, Deutsch-Bildern, page 74. [Mention in Schubert 200 Jahre, page 182; JF; AKL B-B, IX, 113 (1848-1919); online search; S-Lexikon, see 'Denkmal'; Bénézit, XII, 587 (1848-1919); ÖBL online (1848-1918)]

SCHWIND or SCHWIND-GROSS, CHRISTL VON (1913-2002). Painter, graphic artist, master draughtsman, illustrator, and silhouette artist. Trained at the predecessor of Vienna's Hochschule für angewandte Kunst. She established a reputation as an illustrator of children's books, which are still in publication and widely sold. She is especially noted for her portraits, landscapes, and animal illustrations. Her more recent work in silhouettes, including those of Schubert (1992) in a note and postcard series of popular Viennese composers, is found on sale in bookstores in Vienna today. (Christl Schwind née Gross married a great-nephew of Moritz von Schwind, and lived in Vienna. *Source*: Gabriele Eder, Vienna, 2001) [JF; Sale, silhouette series on a postcard including FS, 1992, #D4/1-D4/5, page 79; AKL B-B, IX, 114; Fuchs 20, IV, K69; FRESCO]

Michael Martitschnig, *Christl von Schwind-Gross: Kunst gegen den Geist der Zeit: Eine Künstlermonographie* (Wien: Österreichischer Kunst- und Kulturverlag, 1996).

SCHWIND, MORITZ VON (1804-1871). Historical painter and illustrator. (Schubert 200 Jahre, pages 201-203; #302, #303, #304, #305, see entries below) [Thieme-Becker, XXX, 386-390; Busse; Boetticher, II, 2, 699-717; Clive, 207-210; Deutsch-Reader, 958; Bryan's, 55; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; Biedermeier; Pre-Modern; Brown; Bénézit, XII, 587-588; AKL B-B, IX, 114; Fuchs 19, IV, K46; FRESCO; Grove entry; S-Lexikon, and see also 'Lachner-Rolle'; Sale, #A19/7, page 31; #A19/8, page 32; #A19/10 and 19/11, page 32; ÖBL online] [Schubert 200 Jahre]:

Entwurf zur Linette 'Franz Schubert' im Foyer der Wiener Oper, 1865, 16 x 22 cm, page 200, #301; no image of FS in plate 30]

Bildnisstudien zu Franz Schubert, Michael Vogl und Theresé Gut-

herz, um 1865/68, pencil drawing, 23.5 x 20.4 cm, page 201, #302 with plate.

Ein Schubert-Abend bei Ritter von Spanu, um 1865/68, oil on canvas, 74 x 119 cm, page 201, #303, plate on page 203.

Ein Schubert-Abend bei Spanu, um 1865/68, sepia drawing, 114 x 74 cm, page 202, #304 and plate.

Schuberts Kopf im Profil nach rechts, 1870, pencil on plaster, 16.9 x 17.8 x 3.3 cm, page 203, #305, plate on page 201. See also: Hilmar, page 12, plate 8.

Other Schwind images in Reinhard Göttl, *Franz Schubert und Moritz von Schwind. Freundschaft im Biedermeier* (München: Nymphenburger Verlag, 1989):

Franz Schubert, portrait sketch ca. 1868, page 101, plate 10.

Lachner-Rolle, pen and ink drawing, 1862, page 132, plates 32 and 33 (details).

Schubert und Vogl, pen and ink drawing, 1868, page 140, plate 40.

Schubert-Linette fresco, 1866, page 133, plate 34. The lunette does not appear to contain an image of FS

In Hilmar:

Blattstichzeichnung, ca. 1825, Hilmar, page 29, plate 37.

Schubert am Klavier, colored drawing, n.d., Hilmar, page 42, plate 55.

Memorial design (sepia drawing), Hilmar, page 47, plate 60.

Drawing design for Ein Schubert-Abend bei Joseph von Spanu, Hilmar, page 55, plate 76. (See also page 90)

Der Spaziergang vor dem Stadtor, lithograph, Hilmar, page 55, plate 82.

Ein Schubert-Abend in Wien, incomplete oil painting, ca. 1868, Hilmar, page 61, plate 89.

Ein Schubert-Abend bei Joseph von Spanu, sepia drawing, 1868, Hilmar, page 62, plate 90.

Jagdgesellschaft in Ebenweg bei Gmünd, pen and ink drawing, n.d., Hilmar, page 78, plate 120.

Two sections from Lachner-Rolle, 1862, Hilmar, page 79, plates 122 and 123; a section is in Ausstellung, page 206.

Schubert und Johann Michael Vogl am Klavier, pen and ink drawing, 1868, Hilmar, page 160, plate 267.

Anonymous drawing after Lachner-Rolle, Hilmar, page 189, plate 317.

Other sources:

Medallion, Schubert durch die Brille 8 (January 1992), page 55.

Ballspiel in Atzenbrugg, engraving, 9.8 x 16.7 cm, 1821, Deutsch-Bildnisse, plate 2; Deutsch-Bildern, page 5.

Schubert, original drawing, Ausstellung, page 49.

Schubert at age 17, Ausstellung, page 28.

Geschichte eines Liebespaares, aquarelle, n.d., Deutsch-Bildern, page 42.

Kaffeeasse, portrait, Deutsch-Bildern, page 54.

Schubert-Brunnen, design, pen and ink drawing, 1868, Deutsch-Bildern, page 80.

Musikerbrunnen, design, n.d., Deutsch-Bildern, page 81.

Symphonie, oil painting, 1852, in *Die Musik in der Malerei*, introd. by Curt Moreck (München: G. Hirth's Verlag, [1928?]), page 135; detail, Deutsch-Bildern, page 33; Moritz von Schwind, 31 meist farbige Bilder. Text von Harald Busch (Königstein im Taunus: Langewiesche-Bücherei-Verlag Karl Robert Langewiesche, n.d.), page 25.

- † Schuberts Kopf im Profil nach rechts, 1870, pencil on plaster, Deutsch-Bildern, page 40.
- † Franz Schubert, portrait sketch, ca. 1868, Deutsch-Bildern, page 39.
- † Lachner-Rolle (selections), Deutsch-Bildern, pages 34, 35, 36.
- † Schubert und Vogl, pen and ink drawing, 1868, Deutsch-Bildern, page 37.
- † Widmungsblatt zu Eduard von Baurensfelds 70. Geburtstag (1872), sepia drawing (1870), Deutsch-Bildern, page 41.
- † Der Spaziergang vor dem Stadttore, lithograph, Deutsch-Bildern, page 14.
- † Ein Schubert-Abend in Wien, incomplete oil painting, ca. 1868, Deutsch-Bildern, page 38.
- † Ein Schubert-Abend bei Joseph von Spanni, sepia drawing, 1868, Deutsch-Bildern, page 38.
- † Jagdgesellschaft in Ebenau bei Gmunden, pen and ink drawing, Deutsch-Bildern, page 8.
- † Schubert und Johann Michael Vogl am Klavier, pen and ink drawing, 1868, Deutsch-Bildern, page 37.
- † Silhouette, appears on Grazer Schubert-Fest poster, 1907, Deutsch-Bildern, page 32.
- † Vogl und Schubert, drawing, n.d., Deutsch-Bildern, page 37 bottom.
- † Rita Seiblin, "Schwinds Porträtsskizze 'Schubert am Klavier,'" Schubert durch die Brille 10 (January 1993), pages 45-52; plates on pages 46, 48, 49.
- † Franz Schubert am Klavier. Bleistiftzeichnung (Skizze zu dem Bild: Ein Konzert bei Ritter v. Spaun). In Passepartout [ÖNB-B.].
- † L. zhs. mit Franz Schubert ... u. Eduard v. Baurensfeld ... beim Abendessen in Grinzer Weinlaube (Wien: Heuriger) sitzend. Druck, etwas koloriert, nach Zeichnung v. Moritz v. Schwind, erschienen im Kunstverlag Franz Hanfstaengl, München [ÖNB-B.].
- SELIGMANN, ADALBERT FRANZ a/k/a A.F. SELIGMANN (1862-1945). Painter, illustrator, teacher, and writer. Work is in Schubert Museum, Vienna. *Schloss Zseliz und Schuberts Wohnzimmer in Schloss während seiner Aufenthalte 1824*, aquarelle, n.d., Hilmar, page 121, plate 199; '1897', Deutsch-Bildern, page 258. Was art critic of the Vienna newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*, see <www.proarte.co.at/schweiger/schweiger.htm>. Also known for his painting of famous surgeon Dr. Theodor Billroth in a medical lecture hall, ca. 1880, at <www.aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclopedic_right_image/b/485169a.htm> [RM; JF; Bénézit, XII, 675; AKL B-B, IX, 150; Fuchs 19, IV, K48-K49; online search]
- † Wendy Thompson, *Franz Schubert* (New York: Viking, 1991), page 19, shows the panel with the lunette of Schubert at the piano with two women singing and two men looking on.
- SEWOLL (Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Porträt*, charcoal, 58 x 41 cm, 1969, page 218, #386) [AKL B-B, IX, 180 has Waldemar Sewohl (1887-1976; German) Landscape painter; GRI entry for Waldemar Sewohl (b.1887); online search has (1887-1976); Bénézit, XII, 719 (b.1887); AKL B-B]
- SIMON, G. Medal engraver. Medal, bronze, ø = 68 mm, n.d. [Niggel; Sale has Gustav Simon producing a photograph "Ochsenburg bei St. Pölten" with a Schubert relief after which a print was produced, possibly ca. 1915, Sale, #A9/3, page 24. See: Gustav Simon (19th century), Portraitist in Bénézit, XII, 822. Painted portrait of Emperor Ferdinand I (in Salzburg). May not be the same person]

- SIMPSON, TOM (British). Painter. Oil portrait of FS on commission, 1997. [RM] No further information available.
- SLEIGH, BERNARD (BARNAY) (1872-1954; British). Painter, illustrator, woodcut and stained glass artist, decorator, and muralist. Image of FS in frontispiece of book noted below: "Drawn and engraved on wood from the Gravestone in the Central cemetery, Vienna." [RM; online search; AKL B-B, IX, 277]
- † Eva Mary Grew, *Franz Schubert: A Sequence of Sonnets and a Prose Anthology*, illus. by Bernard Sleigh (Birmingham: British Musician Office, 1928).
- SOKOL, ERICH (b.1933). Cartoonist, graphic artist, and caricaturist. *Schubert-Karikatur*, 1978, Hilmar, page 200, plate 341. His caricature of FS, in Biedermeier attire, as a disk jockey sitting at a turntable with control switches. He was awarded the 1977 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Applied Arts). [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert "mit Schöber und Vogl in Atzenbrugg"*, 1990, caricature, 50 x 43 cm, 1990, page 253, #638] [Online search; AKL B-B, IX, 323; S-Lexikon, see 'Karikatur'; JF]
- SOLYMARI WALKÓ, LÁSZLÓ (1908-1984; Hungarian). Medal engraver, marble artist, modeller, and painter. Medal, cast process, ø = 85 mm, 1955. [Niggel; online search at the MTA Zenetudományi Intézet Zenetörténeti Múzeum, Budapest. Made traditional one-sided medals on musical themes; AKL B-B, IX, 336 (b.1909)]
- STALH. Postcard reproduction of miniature oil portrait of FS, ca. 1875, signed "stallh.", 9 x 7 in (22.86 x 17.78 cm). [HTS; JF] No further information available.
- Fuchs 19.E, II, K122 has Louise von Stahl, née Gräfin von Almassy, portrait artist, active before and after 1873.
- STAUDIGL, FRANZ. 1908 bust, *Schubert durch die Brille* 26 (January 2001), photo of bust on page 3. [Franz Staudigl (1885-1942). Figure painter, graphic artist, landscape and still life painter, in AKL B-B, IX, 423 (but not a sculptor); Fuchs 19.G, II, K105]
- STEINRUCKER, LEOPOLD (1801-last mention 1848). Portrait painter. *Cristine im Schuberts Grab* (Illustration zu einer Novelle). *Stich von Leopold Beyer nach Steinrucker* [sic] (1836). [JF; AKL B-B, IX, 448; online search has (1801-1879)]
- STIASNY, F. (b.1881). Medal engraver. Also designed medal for Kant's 200th birthday, 22 April 1924. Franz Stiasny (1881-?). In the medal collection of the MTA Zenetudományi Intézet Zenetörténeti Múzeum, Budapest [Niggel; online search; Rudo]
- See Niggel:
- † Medal, ø = 90 mm, n.d.
- † Cast medal, ø = 144 mm, n.d.
- † Cast plaque, 65 x 62 mm, ca. 1910.
- † Oval plaque, 90 x 75 mm, 1916.
- † Cast plaque, 64 x 37 mm, n.d.
- STOHL, MICHAEL (1813-1881). Watercolorist, portraitist, and lithographer. Copied Rieder's 1825 aquarelle. [Brown; Bénézit, XIII, 267; GRI; online search; AKL B-B, IX, 490; Fuchs 19, IV, K72]
- STREY, J. (1879-1961). Painter and illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert mit musizierenden Elfen und kranz-flechtendem Mädchen*, 19 x 24 cm, n.d., page 252, #633] Alfred Eduard Forschners, *Neue Märchen*, illus. by Josef Strejz (Straubing, Bavaria: Attenkofer [1910]). Note to online listing of children's books: "Der österreichische Maler und Illustrator Josef Strejz (Strejz) lebte von 1879 bis 1961." [Sale, #B9/2, page 41; AKL B-B, IX, 516 lists Josef Strejz (1879-1961). Painter and illustrator; with alternative spelling as Strejz; online search; Fuchs 19.E, II, K130 has Strejz, Josef (1879-1961)]

STUNDI, THEODOR (1875–1934). Sculptor and metalworker. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Brunnen*, plaster castings of the heads adorning the Schubert Fountain, Vienna, 70 × 80 × 50 cm, 1928, page 187, #248; plate of one head is on page 187] [AKL B-B, IX, 537; S-Lexikon, see "Denkmal"; Salc, photograph on a postcard of fountain sculpture, n.d., #C15/2, page 73; online search of Schubert Memorial Places at: <www.composersmusic.com/muziekgeschiedenis/schubert_gedenken_e.html>]

TABACCO, MARIO. Painter. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Die Liebe hat gelogen*, oil on canvas, 60 × 70 cm, 1997, pages 202–221, #404, plate on page 221] His 1997 painting is not a portrait but a skull, presumably Schubert's, next to which rest the famous Schubert reading spectacles.

TAUTENHAYN, JOSEF D. (1837–1911). Sculptor and medal engraver. Medal, gold and silver, 64 mm, 1872. The 1872 silver medal is in the medal collection of the MTA Zenetudományi Intézet Zeneotörténeti Múzeum, Budapest. The 1872 medals were created in conjunction with the unveiling of the Schubert memorial in Vienna. Medal, ϕ = 64 mm, 1872, *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 85. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Medaille*, 1872, bronze, silver, ϕ = 6 cm, 1872, page 189, #252; *Schubert-Medaille*, 1872, silver and wood, no dimensions, 1872, page 189, #253] [Online search; AKL B-B, IX, 629; Forrer, VI, 35–40; Andorfer; Niggli; S-Lexikon, see "Numismatik"; JF; FS medal, ϕ = 64 mm, 1872; Forrer, VI, 37; 2 entries in MO; *Entstehung der Schubertdenkmäler in Wien*, 15/v; AV, 60 mm, n.d., in A. R. v. Loehr, *Wiener Medailleure* (Wien: Anton Scholl & Co., 1899), page 14 and plate]

TAUTENHAYN, (JOHANN) JOSEF D.J. (1868–1962). Sculptor. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert-Plakette*, 1912, plaque, ϕ = 4 cm, 1912, page 190, #257 [for opening of Schubert Museum]; *Anstecknadel mit Schubert-Halbrelief*, 1928, pin, copper, 4 × 3 cm, 1928, page 242, #520] [O-Lexikon; online search; AKL B-B, IX, 629; Forrer, VI, 40–41; Niggli; 1912 and 1928 medals in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; S-Lexikon, see "Numismatik"; Salc, photograph of Schubert plaque on a postcard, n.d., #C83, page 58; JF; Schubert medal, Forrer, VIII, 232; Grove mention in 'Wittig, Edward']

See Niggli:

Plaque, ϕ = 50 mm, 1928.

Plaque: hollow, 40 × 30 mm, 1928; cast, 157 × 117 mm, 1928. [same design]

Medal: ϕ = 40 mm; ϕ = 23 mm, n.d.; 1912; *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 86.

Medal, ϕ = 25 mm, n.d.

TAYLOR, STANLEY JAMES (British). Designer and modelist. Created a large character jug of Schubert for Royal Doulton, item number D7056, 1996, 17.1 cm high. [Online auction results; Taylor was a freelance designer at the time this Schubert mug was done, according to Royal Doulton in response to the author's inquiry. Taylor has been producing designs for Royal Doulton since the 1970s] Online description at a commercial site: "D7056 SCHUBERT CHARACTER JUG - This fine character jug was designed by the renowned Stanley James Taylor, was produced in a limited edition being part of the Composers series. It depicts the famous composer and the handle cleverly incorporates a music rack and an excerpt from the "Cradle Song". Superbly detailed. This character jug stands 7 inches high and is now retired." The image of the mug is at <http://worldtraders.nl/images/38Schubert_jug.JPG>

TELTSCHER, JOSEF EDUARD (1801–1837). Painter and lithographer. [Thieme-Becker, XXXI, 513; Busse; Clive, 237–238; *Deutsch-Reader*, 960; Brown; Bénézit, XIII, 522–523; GRI; AKL B-B, IX, 647 has [1801 or 1802–1837 or 1838]; Fuchs 19, IV, K87; Gallica; S-Lexikon; JF]

[Schubert 200 Jahre]:

Jenger, *Hilttenbrenner und Schubert*, lithograph after his 1827 color drawing, 15.9 × 20.6 cm, 1828, pages 155–156, #190, plate on page 155.

Franz Schubert, um 1897, anonymous woodcut after Teltscher, 26 × 21.5 cm, 1897, page 205, #316]

In Hilmar:

Colored portrait drawing, n.d., Hilmar, page 19, plate 20.

Pen and ink drawing, Hilmar, page 27, plate 32.

Lithograph, 1826, Hilmar, page 28, plate 33.

Schubert in Teltscher's atelier, colored pencil drawing, ca. 1827, Hilmar, page 52, plate 70.

Jenger, *Hilttenbrenner und Schubert*, color print after the aquarelle, ca. 1827, Hilmar, page 52, plate 71.

Other sources:

Jenger, *Hilttenbrenner und Schubert*, color drawing, 20.6 × 16.2 cm, ca. 1827, *Deutsch-Bildnisse*, plate 9; Ausstellung, page 311; *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 15.

Schuberts Freunde, engraving after a plate of the aquarelle Jenger, *Hilttenbrenner und Schubert*, postcard, 1928, Salc, #A19/2, page 31; postcard print after the aquarelle, n.d., Salc, #A19/6, page 31; Schubert 1825/26, b/w photograph of lithograph on a postcard, Salc, #C4, page 48.

Lithograph, 1826, *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 12.

Aquarelle, n.d., *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 16.

Rita Steblin, "Schubert und der Maler Josef Teltscher," *Schubert durch die Brille* 11 (June 1993), pages 119–132.

TEMPLE, HANS (1857–1931). Portraitist and genre painter. Oil painting of FS, 31 × 38 cm, date uncertain. *Ein Schubert-Abend bei Spann*, oil painting, Hilmar, page 62, plate 91. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Ein Schubertabend bei Ritter von Spann*, um 1890, woodcut after Temple, 31 × 38 cm, page 210, #329; mention on page 210 as having made an oil painting in 1890 on the Schubert-Abend theme which was the same theme used for the later 1897 centennial competition] [GRI; Sotheby's; online search; AKL B-B, IX, 648 also has [1857–1931]; Fuchs 19, IV, K87 [1857–1931]; JF; Bénézit XIII, 524]

THEER, ROBERT (1808–1863). Portraitist, miniaturist, and lithographer. Schubert miniature, 1829, *Deutsch-Reader*, page 92, cites the miniature quality (then in the Kestner Museum, Hanover) as an "alleged portrait" of Schubert; Hilmar, page 30, plate 38. [Thieme-Becker, XXXII, 587; Busse; Boetticher, II, 2, 881; GRI; Bénézit, XIII, 566; AKL B-B, IX, 671 has [1808 or 1815–1863]; Fuchs 19, IV, K90–K91; FRESCO; JF; Grove mention in 'Daffinger, Moritz Michael'; Fuchs 19, II, K134 corrects year of birth to 1815; HMSW Restoration Art]

THIEDE, OSKAR (1879–1961). Sculptor and medal engraver. Award medal, ϕ = 75 mm, 1928. [Niggli; online search; AKL B-B, IX, 679]

THUL, SISTER MARY GRACE, OP (b.1935; American). Painter, sculptor, woodcarver, and printmaker. Monoprint, 5.5 × 10.75 in (13.97 × 27.3 cm), 1997, for article on Schubert's 200th birth centenary, first published in *Crisis* (September 1997). The Schubert image was also displayed online at the journal's website but has appeared nowhere else. [She did not herself select the source images for her rendering of Schubert but used images selected by the art director of *Crisis* – personal communication to the author. This preparatory image selection process – by someone other than the artist – appears to have become standard in contemporary magazine publishing.]

TILGNER, VIKTOR OSKAR (1844–1896). Sculptor. *Gedenktafel am Schellmühlhause in Slegg: Marmordiebstahl Viktor Tilgner* (1890), photo, *Deutsch-Bildern*, page 77 left. [JF; AKL B-B, IX, 724; GRI; Grove entry]

TORFF, E. Sculptor and medal engraver. Medal, $\phi = 60$ mm, 1907 [Nigg], online search found Emil Torff, creator of a two-sided bronze medal of József Joachim, violinist and composer, in the MTA Zenetudományi Intézet Zenelótörténeli Múzeuma, Budapest, medal collection at www.zti.hu/museum/room1/room1medal.htm

TORGGGLER, HERMANN (1878-1939). Portraitist. Oil portrait of Schubert, ca. 1910; same on a postcard? [JF; Sale has (1878-1939), color print of portrait on a postcard, n.d., #C50, page 53; Bénézit, XIII, 725; AKL B-B, IX, 768; IFS; Fuchs 19, IV, K97; S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"]

Mathieu Schneider, "Schubert wird Porträtiert", *Schubert durch die Brillen* 24 (January 2000), pages 155-157; plate on page 3.

TOTH, RUDOLF. Artist and stamp engraver. Engraved 1978 Austrian #Schilling Schubert stamp after Kriehuber. Was one of the important restorers of Vienna's Stephansdom, which was partly destroyed by bombs in World War II. [online search]

TRAUTZL, JULIUS (b.1859). Sculptor and medalist. *Schubert-Denkmal in Gahlnitz a.d. Neisse* (1900), photo, Deutsch-Bildern, page 73. [JF; AKL B-B, X, 21; mention in Schubert 200 Jahre, page 182; S-Lexikon, see "Denkmal"; online search]

TRENHOLM, ZACH (b.1961; American). Caricaturist and illustrator. Produced a Schubert caricature used by an online classical music website. His medium is "wholly digital". [Online search; artist's website www.zachtrenholm.com; personal communication to the author; one of his caricature portraits appears in *The Readerville Journal* (September-October 2002), page 16]

TRUMM, PETER (1888-1966; German). Portrait, landscape, flower and woodcut artist, illustrator, and etcher. *Schubert als Schulgehilfe*, drawing, n.d., Hilmar, page 190, plate 320. [JF; Bénézit, XIII, 829; AKL B-B, X, 49; online search]

TUSZYŃSKI, LADISLAUS (1876-1943). Commercial artist, news illustrator, and painter. 1928 caricature of Schubert dancing with American dancer and singer Josephine Baker. *Schubert mit der Neger-sängerin Josephine Baker. Karikatur*, 1928, Hilmar, page 201, plate 342. May be the animation artist for a 1932 silent film short, *Die Abenteuer des Herrn Anti-Marx* (4') produced for the Austrian Social Democratic Party as anti-Fascist propaganda. [JF; AKL B-B, X, 72; online search; S-Lexikon, see "Karikatur"; Fuchs 19, II, K140]

TYREE, C. Silhouetteist. Silhouette of FS, 1940. [RM] No further information available.

ULLMANN, ROBERT (1903-1966). Sculptor and designer. Did a marble relief on a commemorative tablet, 1928. Awarded the 1953 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Sculpture). [AKL B-B, X, 92, has Robert Ullmann (1903-?) Sculptor; online search]

ULLREICH, FRITZ (1865-1936). Painter. *Franz Schubert an die Gitarre. Postkarte nach einem Ölbild von Friederike Ullreich*, n.d., Hilmar, page 187, plate 313. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert am Klavier in Damenbegleitung bei Kerzenlicht*, chromolithograph, 80 x 100 cm, ca. 1912, page 210, #331; Franz Schubert, chromolithograph after Rieder painting, 37 x 48 cm, n.d., page 212, #349] [AKL B-B, X, 93; online search has her active ca. 1900; a/k/a Friederike Ullreich/Ullrich; Sale, *Franz Schubert lauscht den Glocken der Lichtenthaler Kirche*, plate of hersigned oil painting on a postcard, which has a legible printed attribution "Fr. Ullreich, pin[xil]" which may be the publisher's typo, n.d., #C3/6, page 66, plate on page 66, *Schubert am Klavier*, color postcard, 1927, #C5/1, page 68; JF has 19th-century postcard portrait of Schubert strumming a guitar after her oil portrait of FS; her cover portrait of FS at piano with female, *The Etude* (March 1912); Fuchs 19, II, K140]

Evelyn Kain, "Stephanie Hollenstein: Painter, Patriot, Paradox," *Woman's Art Journal* (spring-summer 2001), 27-33.

Excerpts below from online article at www.ripon.edu/

faculty/kaine/00402Steffi.html>: "This unit of the military press corps ["art squadron"] engaged enlisted professional artists in public relations and documentary activities for the war effort and included a number of well known artists and writers, among them Kokoschka, Berthold Löffler, Roda Roda (Sandro Friedrich Rosenfeld), and three other women, the painters Fritz Ullreich (1865-1936)."

n12: "According to Palokini-Försthuber, *Künstlerinnen*, 181, Ullreich, who was the wife of an officer and daughter of a major general, in spite of an unspecified physical handicap, spent three years disguised as a laborer under the name "Friedrich Ulrich" in Serbia and on the Romanian front."

Sabine Palokini-Försthuber, *Künstlerinnen in Österreich 1897-1938, Malerei, Plastik, Architektur* (Wien: Picus Verlag, 1994/1995/1998?).

UNGER, LUDWIG [S-Lexikon, see "Karikatur" (first mention ca. 1925). Genre painter and portraitist. AKL B-B, X, 99; Fuchs 19, E, 2, K141]

VERMI, EDUARD (1856? or 1858?-1925). Painter, muralist, and illustrator. He painted the auditorium ceiling of the Municipal Theatre (1907), Prague, renamed in 1990 the Antonín Dvořák Theatre. [In Schubert 200 Jahre identified as submitting an entry for the 1897 Schubert Centenary competition, page 206; song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376] [Vergo; Bénézit, XIV, 91; GRI; AKL B-B, X, 198; Fuchs 19, IV, K106; Fuchs 19, E, II, K142; online search (1856-1925); HMSW Restitution Art]

VENTURA, MARCO (b.1963; Italian). Artist, designer, and illustrator. *Schubert Portrait*, 3 x 4.5 in (7.6 x 11.4 cm), oil on gessoed Fabriano paper, 1988, in the artist's collection. Modeled his image after a period portrait of Schubert not otherwise identified. Created portrait of FS and a scene with FS in the courtyard of what appears to be Schubert's birth house, for a children's book of famous musicians, in Piero Ventura, *Great Composers*, trans. by Maureen Casey (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1989), page 56. [online search; author's copy; personal communication to the author]

VIAJATEN, FRANZ. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Zeichnung*, title page of M. Rosenau, *Die schönen Finken* (Wien, 1925), page 224, #415]

VOAKE, CHARLOTTE (b.1957; British). Illustrator. FS image in children's book. [RM; online search] No further information available.

Paul de Bouchet and Charlotte Voake, *Franz Schubert*, illus. by Charlotte Voake (Paris: Errato/Gallimard/Jeanne, 1999).

VOGT, ERNST [Sale, *Schubert als Liedbegleiter*, color postcard, signed with AK (Adolf Karpellus?), n.d., #C5/2, page 68]

WACK, FRANZ (1883-1938). Painter, designer, etcher, illustrator, and decorator. Images in Hilmar are from the Kirchhof book cited in full below: *Schubert im Spital, auf dem Krankenlager an seinen "Müllerriedern" arbeitend* (drawing of FS in the hospital working on his *Die Schöne Müllerin*), Hilmar, page 17, plate 15. *Schubert in Altschneid*, drawing of FS playing guitar, n.d., Hilmar, page 131, plate 19. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Grillparzer, Wien/Prag*; no publ., n.d., page 254, #643] Other Wack images in Kirchhof include *Der junge Schubert an der Orgel der Lichtenthaler Kirche* and *Schubert mit Vogel am Klavier* [after Schwind Schubertabend!] [JF; Bénézit, XIV, 380-381; AKL B-B, X, 353; Fuchs 19, G, II, K134; HMSW Restitution Art; RM]

A. Kirchhof, *Franz Schubert* [also titled *Österreichs Ruhmeshalle. Patriotisches Jugend- und Volksbildungswerk*], illus. by F. Wack (Prana: Haase, 1915). Cover has silhouette of FS.

WABERN, TRUDE SCHMIDT (1900-1979). Painter and woodcut artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre as "W. Schmidt": *Schubert-Portrait*, red chalk drawing, 11 x 11 cm, n.d., page 218, #381; *Schubert-Portrait*, pencil drawing, 11 x 9 cm, n.d., page 218, #382] [AKL B-B, X, 357, and drawing, 11 x 9 cm, n.d., page 218, #382]

AKL B-B, IX, 19; Fuchs 19, G, II, K135-K136. 'W. Schmidl' is most likely Trude Schmidl-Wachner a/k/a Trude Wachner (1900-1979). Painter; online search; Galerie St. Etienne web site; signed her works as T S W and T. S. WAHNER]

In 1938, Trude Wachner went to the USA; much later she left for Italy and France. Exhibited internationally, including 1955 solo exhibition of portraits and watercolors at Neue Galerie, Vienna. A website dedicated to Trude Wachner is at <www.trudewachner.at>

Trude Wachner: *La Resistenza della Creazione*, xilografie, ed. by Franco Patrino (Castel Maggiore: Book, 2000).

WAHNER, HERBERT (b.1961). Artist, sculptor, and coin designer. Designed 500-Schilling commemorative gold coin, $\phi = 22$ mm, for 1997 Schubert bicentenary, issued by the Austrian Mint. Obverse is portrait of FS after Kupelwieser's 1821 sketch; reverse is based on Schwind's *Ein Schubert-Abend bei Ritter von Spanu*. [Austrian Mint web site <www.austrian-mint.com>; response from Austrian Mint, 2002, to the author also confirms Kupelwieser as source of obverse image; online research; RM notes that in 1997 Wähler produced designs for the Austrian edition of 5 and 25 Eurocents, with Wähler's name clearly shown on reverse]

WAIBL, WILHELM. Cartoonist. Worked in Vienna in collaboration with several newspapers and journals. *Vienna Composers*, 1909; unframed drawing, black ink on paper, 26.7×18.5 cm, 1909, Sotheby's, lot 28XR, 15 October 2000. The cartoon has five composers, and shows Franz Schubert with a top hat, cigar and walking stick, wearing his famous spectacles, strolling at the side of Franz Liszt, with an alarmed-looking cat in foreground. The other composers appear to be Bruckner, Wagner, and Beethoven. [online search]

WALDMÜLLER, FERDINAND GEORG (1793-1865). Painter, portraitist, and landscape artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Franz Schubert im Freundeskreis*, pencil drawing, 18.1×12.2 cm, 1827, page 159, #199, plate on page 159; also Hilmar, page 51, plate 69]. *Hausmusik*. Bleistiftzeichnung aus dem Skizzenbuch mit 49 Blättern aus dem Jahre 1827. [ÖNB-BA]. [The Metropolitan Museum of Art library; Bénédiz, XIV, 402-403; LC; Thieme-Becker, XXXV, 74-77; NÖB, X, 54-61; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; Beidermeier; Pre-Modern AKB-B, X, 375 has (1783?) or 1793?-1865; Fuchs 19, IV, K115; FRESCO; Grove entry; Waldmüller's portrait appears on a 3-Schilling Austrian stamp; JF]

Franz Schubert und seine Zeit. Exhibition at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (17 October to 22 December 1978), catalogue by Otto Biba (Wien: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1978), pages 28-30.

Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller zum 200. Geburtstag. *Werke im Besitz des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien*. Exhibition at the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, catalogue by Hans Bisanz (Wien: Museum der Stadt Wien, 1993).

Elmar Worgull, "Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller skizziert Franz Schubert im Freundeskreis: Ikonographische und kompositionsspezifische Aspekte eines unikatigen Bilddokuments," *Schubert durch die Brille* 18 (January 1997), pages 103-124, plates on pages 116-124.

WALTER, OTTO (KAR) (1853-1904). Portraitist and horse painter. Engraving after a lithograph by Kriehuber, Hilmar, page 35, plate 45. [JF; Sale has (1853-1904), original engraving of portrait on a postcard, #C64, page 55; GRI; Bénédiz, XIV, 422; AKB-B, X, 392; Fuchs 19, IV, K117-K118; online search has Otokar W. (1853-1904); S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"]

WASCHMANN, C. (1848-1905). Engraver. Medal, cast, gold and silver, $\phi = 223$ mm, n.d. [Andorfer; Niggli; AKB-B, X, 413 has Karl W.

(1848-1905). Medalist; Forrer, VI, 379, has Carl Waschmann, but no mention of FS medal; Forrer, VI, 379 also has J. von Waschmann with portrait-plaque of FS]

WECKBECKER, AUGUST (1888-before 1961?). Sculptor. *Schubert-Büste*, n.d., Hilmar, page 202, plate 346. [JF; AKB-B, X, 437; online search]

Karl Busch, *August Weckbecker 1888-1933* (München; Zürich: Schnell u. Steiner, 1963).

WEGER, AUGUST (1823-1892; German). Engraver. *Der Wanderer*, portrait of FS, 28×19 cm, between ca. 1840 and ca. 1900. [JF cites the portrait in *F. Schubert Vocal Album* 1, ed. by Pauer (London: Augener & Co., n.d.); Gallica; AKB-B, X, 443; online search]

Weger, *Profilstudie des Schriftstellers Otto Ludwig* (Leipzig: Albach jun., 1884) portraits: 10.4 cm in page format of 19.9×15 cm.

[August] Weger, *Hans Christian Andersen* (Leipzig: ca. 1880). Illustrations: ca. 11.5×17 cm.

[August] Weger, *National-Denkmal auf dem Niederwald* (Leipzig: H. Bokelmann, n.d.) picture 12×23 cm in page format 22×31 cm.

WEIGAND, EMIL (1837-1906; German). Medalist. [Sale, Dreimäderlhaus postcard series, after Weigand, 1918, #C12/3, page 71; AKB-B, X, 449; DBE, X, 385. Medailleur (1837-1906)]

WEIGL, FRANZ (1810-1846). Painter and illustrator. Photograph of a lost aquarelle, Rieder's portrait as a model, detail, Hilmar, page 32, plate 40; *Teilphotographie, Deutsch-Bildern*, page 17. [JF cites O.E. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert: Die Dokumenten seines Leben*. III, 1913, page 17, which dates the aquarelle "um 1829"; GRI; Bénédiz, XIV, 510; Fuchs 19, IV, K121 (last mention 1842); AKB-B, X, 450 (1810-1846). Portrait and genre painter and illustrator]

WEIGL, ROBERT (1851-1902). Sculptor. Statuette, Hilmar, page 48, plate 64. *Sculpture of Composer Franz Schubert (1797-1828) after Robert Weigl (1851-1902)* [after Weigl's monument in Vienna's Schubert Museum], miniature bronze, 17 cm high, 1928, Sotheby's, lot 3P6KL, 23 April 2002. [Schubert 200 Jahre, FS bronze statuette, 16.5 cm high, n.d., signed R. Weigl, page 246, #561] [JF; Bénédiz, XIV, 510-511; AKB-B, X, 450; Sale, photograph by Grillich (see above) on a postcard, 1914, #C94, page 59]

WEINBERGER, ANTON RUDOLF (1879-1942). Medal engraver. [Niggli; GRI lists Anton Weinberger, German (1843-1912); AKB-B, V, 453 has (1879-1942; German). Sculptor and medalist; medal in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; S-Lexikon, see "Numismatik"]

See Niggli:

Plaque, 50×40 mm, 1928.

Medal, 60×57 mm, 1928.

Medal, $\phi = 35$ mm, n.d.

WEISSENBERGER, FRANZ XAVER (1819-1875). Design for memorial, n.d., in Hilmar, page 45, plate 60. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Schubert-Denkmalentwurf*, 1850, painted plaster model of FS sitting with his left elbow resting on his *Liederbuch*, as an entry in the competition for the Schubert memorial in the Wiener Stadtpark, $28 \times 15 \times 22$ cm, 1850, page 183, #235; plate on page 183] [AKB-B, X, 466 has Franz Xaver Weissenberger (1819-1875). Sculptor; JF]

WEISZ, MAX M. [Sale, signed b/w photograph of a portrait on a postcard, 1927/1928, #C21, page 50, b/w photograph of unknown portrait on a postcard, #C32, page 52; JF]

WELKER, ERNST (1788-1857). Artist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Unsinniger-Überreichung*, aquarelle after Kupelwieser's *Unsinnige*, 30×51 cm, 1818, pages 82-83, #37, plate on page 83; an image of FS with curly hair and his spectacles holding a wine glass high in his left hand appears to be the sixth figure from the left, except that

this figure is quite tall and slim) [GR] (1788-1857); AKL B-B, X, 470 has Landscape painter; Fuchs 19, IV, K124]

WEST, FRANZ (b.1946 or 1947). Painter and sculptor. He was awarded the 1988 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Sculpture). *Schubert traf Beethoven im Mai* (vermutlich), 1826, 1982, mixed technique on newsprint, 40.2 x 57.3 cm, 1982, Dorotheum, lot 53, 2001. [Bénézit, XIV, 560-561; GR; online search; AKL B-B, X, 493 has (b.1946); Fuchs 20, IV, K252 (b.1946); Grove enlry (b.1947)]

WHITTEMORE, (RUBY) MARGARET EVELYN (1897-1983; American). Illustrator, painter, printmaker, landscape and woodcut artist, and lithographer. [RM/ SIUK; online search; NYPL; Phil Kovinick and Marian Yoshiki-Kovinick, *An Encyclopedia of Women Artists of the American West* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), pages 328-329; WWWAA, 677; WWWAA, 85; AKL B-B, X, 517]

Cecil Whitaker-Wilson, *Franz Schubert, Man and Composer: The Story of a Man Who Never Wasted Time*, portraits and illustrations by Ruby Margaret Whittemore [a/k/a Margaret Evelyn Whittemore?], London: William Reeves Ltd., 1928, frontispiece, and pages 24, 64, 104. The portraits and silhouettes of FS, says author in introduction, were based by the illustrator on well-known images of FS [but the author does not say who the original creators were.]

WIDLICKA or WIDLICKA, LEOPOLD (1870-1924). Portraitist, landscape, and still life artist. Photomechanical reproduction of FS, at the piano with two young women standing and listening, 8 x 8 cm, between ca. 1880 and 1911. [JF; Bénézit, XIV, 592; AKL B-B, X, 525; Gallica (Widllicka); Fuchs 19, IV, K128; Fuchs 19 E, II, K155]

WIMMER, GEORG. Coin and medal engraver. [Schubert 200] Jahre: *Schubert-Prägung*, 1972, stamping, 11 x 16 cm, 1972, page 191, # 264; *Schubert-Medaillon mit Szenen aus Liedern*, 1928, medallion, 40.5 x 33 cm, 1928, page 240, #508; uncertain if image produced] [AKL B-B, X, 574 has two entries: (1) Georg Wimmer (1916-1977). Painter and bookplate artist, (2) Georg Wimmer (1892-before 1961). Copper engraver and engraver of maps and charts; Fuchs 20, IV, K260 (1916-1977); Bénézit, XIV, 643 (b.1892); RM notes proof copies by 'Wimmer', possibly first initial 'G', who was a stamp engraver and whose design for a Schubert stamp was never issued; Austrian Post did not identify Georg Wimmer but did identify another engraver, Prof. Hubert Woytyl-Wimmer (1901-1972)]

WOOLF, PIP (b.1954; British). Artist. Line drawing of FS after Schwind in Pip Woolf, Robert Lloyd and Julius Drake, *Winterreise: Interpretations Across Two Centuries of A Winter's Journey*. From *Franz Schubert & Wilhelm Müller to Robert Lloyd, Julius Drake & Pip Woolf* (Bridgend, Wales: Seren; Poetry Wales Press Ltd., 1999), with CD of *Die Winterreise* by Robert Lloyd, bass, and Julius Drake, piano, with facsimile of Robert Lloyd's working score. Aside from the FS image, Woolf's twenty-three book illustrations are her representations of *Winterreise*; the original *Winterreise* oil paintings are owned by the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center in Dallas. [online search; RM/ SIUK; personal communication to the author; University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center at Dallas; for information about the artist and the book's conception see <www.era21.co.uk/meander/pip.htm>]

WORGULL, ELMAR (b.1949; German). Artist and art historian. [Schubert 200] Jahre: *Oesterliche Schubertiade 1997*, felt pen drawing, 29.6 x 21 cm, 1997, page 253, #640] [online search; artist's website at <www.art-worgull.de> with citations to: Elmar B. W. Worgull in *Who's Who in the Arts* (Otobrunn, 1975), vol. 2, p. 201; Elmar Worgull in *Lexikon Pfälzer Persönlichkeiten*, ed. by Viktor Carl (2nd ed., Edenkoben: 1998), p. 775]

Elmar Worgull, "Ein repräsentatives Jugendbildnis Schuberts", *Schubert durch die Brille* 12 (January 1994), pages 55-83.

Elmar Worgull, "Zwei Fehlzuschreibungen in der Schubert-Ikonographie", *Schubert durch die Brille* 16 (January 1996), pages 158-172.

Elmar Worgull, "Franz Schuberts Gesichtsmaske und ihre Vorbildfunktion in Zeichnungen Moritz von Schwind's", *Beiträge zu Buch, Bibliothek und Schrift* (Wien: Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 1997), 345-388.

Elmar Worgull, "Ikonographie", *Schubert-Lexikon*, ed. by Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jęstremski (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1997), 206-209.

Elmar Worgull, "Schubert ohne Brille: Schuberts Gesichtsmaske als Vorbild für das Gemälde in der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien", *Schubert durch die Brille* 20 (January 1998), pages 133-149; plates on pages 143-149.

Elmar Worgull, "Kunsthistorische Untersuchungsmethoden als ein interdisziplinärer Aspekt in der Schubert-Ikonographie", *Schubert und seine Freunde*, ed. by Eva Badura-Skoda, G.V. Gruber, W. Litschauer, C. Ottner (Wien: Böhlau, 1999), 343-360.

WUERTEMBERGER, ERNST (1868-1934; Swiss, lived in Germany). Portraitist, draughtsman, lithographer, and illustrator. Drawing of FS, head and shoulders, described as an allegory for inspiration. The composer sits out of doors beneath a shade tree with his chin in hand, leaning on his elbow. Above his head hover *pitti* playing instruments. The drawing, dated 1902, is in Robert Werba, *Franz Schubert. Ein vollständiger Lebenskammer in den Augen der Nachwelt* (Wien: Pichler Verlag, 1997), page 58. [AKL B-B, X, 645; online search; RM]

Ernst Wuertenberger, *Eine Darstellung seiner Form und seiner Lehre* (Basel, 1925).

Ulrich Bräcker, *Der arme Mann im Tockenburg. Lebensgeschichte und natürliche Abenteuere* (Zürich: Morgarten-Verlag, n.d.), with original woodcuts by Ernst Würtenberger.

WULF, M. [Schubert 200] Jahre: *Schubert am Klavier*, title picture for Viktor Trautl, *Franz Schuberts letzte Liebe* (Reutlingen, 1928), page 224, #424] [may be Max Wulff (1871-1913; German). Painter, artist, and illustrator, AKL B-B, X, 647]

WUNDERLICH, MAX JULIUS (1878-1966). Sculptor, genre and landscape painter, etcher, and watercolorist. Lifesize engraving, n.d., Hilmar, page 39, plate 51. [Schubert 200] Jahre: *Beethovens und Schuberts erste Grabstätten am Währinger Friedhof, um 1920*, aquatint etching, 16.3 x 23.8 cm, ca. 1920, page 180, #232] [AKL B-B, X, 649, has entry for Max Julius Wunderlich (1878-1966); online search produced first name Maximilian; JF; Fuchs 19, IV, K142; Fuchs 19 E, II, K162]

ZADRAZIL, FRANZ (b.1942). Painter and graphic artist. Awarded the 2000 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts (Painting and Graphics). His Schubert is in print edition *Hommage*. See Key. [Schubert 200] Jahre: *Klavierhaus Fichtenbauer*, color etching, 60 x 50 cm, 1978, page 219, #395; uncertain if image produced] [GR; Ö-Lexikon; online search; AKL B-B, X, 691; Fuchs 20, IV, K282-K283]

Exhibited in *Wien-Bilder*, 1988-1993, at the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien (25 November 1993-13 February 1994). The museum's exhibit catalogue consists of twenty-four detachable postcards of the artist's illustrations.

ZASCHE, THEODOR (THEO) (1862-1922). Miniaturist, caricaturist, and illustrator. *Schubert-Karikatur*, n.d., Hilmar, page 197, plate 334. [Schubert 200] Jahre: caricatures on page 252, #624, #625, #626; joke illustration, page 253, #637; song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376] [Bénézit, XIV, 852; GR; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B, X, 708; Fuchs 19, IV, K146; S-Lexikon, see "Karikatur"; JF]

ZENS, HERWIG (b.1943). Painter and graphic artist. Series of prints, *Die Winterreise: Graphikzyklus nach Franz Schubert*, 25 × 18 cm, 1996. In some of the twenty-four prints, images of FS are found; often not Schubert's face but Schubert's spectacles are a leitmotiv within a print. [Online auction: AKL B-B, X, 726; Fuchs 20, IV, K290-K291; Ingrid Acebal. Panta Rhei Galeria & Libros de Arte, Madrid, provided a copy of Herwig Zens, *Die Winterreise. Graphikzyklus nach Franz Schubert* (Wien: Kunstverlag Wollform, 1996).]

ZIERLER, ALFRED (b.1933). Master engraver of the Vienna Mint. [Schubert 200] Jahre: *Schubert-Münze nach Kriehuber*, 1978, 50-Schilling

silver coin for the 150th death anniversary, o = 3 cm, 1978, page 191, #265] [Online search; Austrian Mint, 2002, says there is no documentation specifying the image source by Alfred Zierler who retired several years ago]

ZIMMERMANN, CARL FRIEDRICH (1796–1820). Painter and printmaker. [Schubert 200] Jahre: *Viva! Es lebe Blasius Leks*, aquarelle from Kupelwieser's "Unsinniaide", 28.5 × 36 cm, 1818, page 83, #38, plate on page 85; the character in the center of the picture appears to be FS, with a shock of hair and wearing the famous spectacles [GR; AKL B-B, X, 746 has (German). Lithographer]

SCHUBERT ICONOGRAPHY: UNAUTHENTICATED ENTRIES

The following list includes artists to whom (1) an image of FS is misattributed; (2) an image is associated with a FS representation (such as a 'Schwammerl' place) but it is not his portrait; (3) an image is known from literature but has not yet been located; or, (4) the artist cannot be authenticated.

BERNHARDT, JOSEPH also BERNHARDT, JOSEF NEPOMUK (1805–1885; German). Portrait painter. [JF; GR; Bénézit II, 188–189; Thieme-Becker, III–IV, 457; AKL IX, 594–595; FRESCO. S-Lexikon (J. Bernhardt), Postkarten; DBE, I, 470; perhaps better known for his 1868 portrait of Richard Wagner, which was used later to produce Wagner images]

BOEHM, ADOLPH (1861–1927). Illustrator. [Schubert 200] Jahre: song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376; uncertain if FS image produced [Sottriffr refers to Adolph Boehm as a member of the Secession and professor of decorative and applied art at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule; Vergo; Varnedoe; AKL, XII, 131–132; GR; O-Lexikon; Fuchs 19, I, K41]

Adolf Boehm (Wien 1861–1927 Klosterneuburg). Blaue Blume, programmiert, datiert AB. 18.7.1900. Bleistift. Aquarell auf Papier, Passep.-Ausschnitt 27,3 × 17,7 cm, ger. (K). Online Katalog Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts 16 April 2002, Dorotheum Wien.

Villa Wagner I, Huettelbergstrasse, 1886–1888. Windows by Adolf Boehm. [May be seen online at <www.topicfineart.com/P248-028.HTM>]

CZERMAK, HANS [Sale, song illustration on a postcard (ca. 1929?), #B14/3-B14/7, page 45]

DANIAUSER, JOSEPH (1805–1845). Graphic artist, history and genre painter. Also a noted designer of Biedermeier furniture for a Danhauser family business. Despite Danhauser's contacts within the Schubert circle, there is no known Schubert portrait attributed to him. The artist is famous for his *Liszt at the Piano* (1840) which can be viewed online at: <http://mhfeiff.web.wesleyan.edu/alma texts/alnamusicology/germanchaps2-4/largeimg1.htm> and in print in James Parakakis, et al., *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pages 256–257. In 1822, Danhauser made the inlaid floors in the Albertina's State Apartments. He made Beethoven's death mask in plaster on the morning of Beethoven's death, 26 March 1827. Danhauser was honored by Austria with a portrait stamp in 1935. [JF; GR; Bénézit, IV, 227; AKL, XXIV, 118–120; Fuchs 19, I, K60; Grove entry; S-Lexikon]

Joseph Danhauser, *Beethoven auf dem Sterbepfuhl*. Lithografie nach einer eigenen Zeichnung, um 1827 Beethoven-Haus Bonn.

The drawing and mask may be seen online at: <www.asksi.org/kb_202/kb202beethoven.htm>.

DOLBIN, BENEDIKT FRED (pseud. Ben Bindol; 1883–1971). Artist, caricaturist, musician, and journalist; born in Vienna where he first worked. Went to Berlin; then later to the USA. He also worked as an engineer. Studied musical composition with Arnold Schönberg and art with Egon Schiele. He produced approximately 5,000 original pencil and pen-and-ink drawings of American and European musicians, writers and public figures between 1922 and 1969 to accompany his articles in *Aufbau*, a New York German émigré newspaper, and in *Musical America*. No FS image is kept in U.S. finding list in the State University of New York at Albany, and it is uncertain if image of FS could be found in German collections. There are fifteen entries about and by Dolbin in the catalog of the New York Public Library. His drawings are also in the State University of New York at Albany Special Collections and Archives at <www.library.albany.edu/specoll/findaids/ger012.htm>. Dolbin's remaining personal papers and drawings at the library of the Institut für Zeitungsforschung in Dortmund. No Schubert image has been located in his *Nachlass* at Dortmund. As a working newspaper illustrator, he may have produced images of living persons only. Some of his letters are at Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach am Neckar, at <www.dla-marbach.de/>. Prof. John Spalek, who was responsible for acquiring the SUNY Albany collection, also doubts the existence of an FS image by Dolbin. [online search; GR; WWW AA, 168; Fuchs 19, I, K47. AKL, XVIII, 304–305.]

Schubert durch die Brille 21 (June 1998), page 83, for his sketch of Anton Webern.

"Benedikt Fred Dolbin, der Porträtist eines halben Jahrhunderts", *Deutsche Publizistik im Exil* 1933 bis 1945. *Personen, Positionen, Perspektiven: Festschrift für Ursula E. Koch*, ed. by Markus Behmer. Kommunikationsgeschichte 11 (Münster: 2000), 134–144.

EDER, MATHILDE. Portraitist and miniaturist. Aquarelles of FS memorial places; uncertain if she did an FS image. [Schubert 200] Jahre: *Zehn Schubert-Stätten*, nach 1916, aquarelles, page 193, #282, includes the first memorial in Währinger Friedhof; 15 *Schubert-Stätten-Briefmarken*, 1928, after Eder aquarelles, 5.5 × 50 cm, 1928, page 194, #283] [May be Mathilde Eder-Daubek (1868–1914) in AKL

B-B, III, 801; Fuchs 19., I, K74; Salc, #A17/1-A18/4, page 30, no images of FS indicated in these 8 postcards; JF]

EIDA [Salc, colotype of portrait on a postcard, nd, #C81, page 57. Unable to identify this name]

ELSNER, OTTO (1893-1956). Landscape artist, watercolors and oil painting. He was an active member of the Mödlinger Künstlerbund. JF; Salc, song illustration on a postcard, after Elsner designs, #B8/1-B8/6, page 40, plate of B8/4 on page 84; S-Lexikon, see 'Postkarten'; Fuchs 19.G, I, K53-K54]

FISCHER-DIESKAU, DIETRICH (b.1925; German). Painter and watercolorist. [Schubert 200 Jahre: various mediums, *Elf Gemälde zu Werken von Franz Schubert*, no dimensions, page 230, #398; uncertain if FS image produced] [online research; personal communication to the author]

The German baritone and conductor has had a third career as an artist in oil, watercolor, pen and ink, and pastels. He has also written extensively of the biographical basis of Schubert's Lieder. Fischer-Dieskau is well acquainted with the career of Schubert's champion and early performer of his Lieder, Austrian baritone Johann Michael Vogl.

† Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Schubert's Songs: A Biographical Study*, trans. by Kenneth S. Whitton (New York: Limelight Editions, 1984).

GEIGER, CARL (KARL) JOSEPH (1822-1905). Painter, illustrator, enamel, and etcher. [Sotheby's; Ö-Lexikon; GRI; AKL B-B, IV, 98; Fuchs 19., II, K13]

Painter of religious art - scenes of Christian allegories. Commissioned by the emperor and members of the Austrian aristocracy to paint genre scenes and illustrate songbooks of famous composers such as Schubert, Mozart, Haydn, Weber, and others. However, it is not yet absolutely certain that he produced an image of Schubert.

† "Carl Joseph Geiger (Vienna 1822-1905), *A design for a curtain for the Theater an der Wien*, Vienna. Old Master Drawings, Prints before 1900, Watercolours & Miniatures, Dorotheum, 1 October 2002."

† "Carl Joseph Geiger (Austrian, 1822-1905), *Mozart directing imaginary actors from the operas 'Don Giovanni' and 'The Magic Flute'* inscribed 'Carl Geiger Nachlass' (on the stretcher), oil on canvas, 195/8 x 28 in (50 x 71 cm), Christie's, 19th-Century European Art Including Orientalist Pictures, London, South Kensington, 21 November 2002, lot #54, sale # 9513."

HANSEN, THEOPHIL (THEOPHILUS) EDVARD (1813-1891; Danish). Architect. Pedestal of Schubert's grave monument in Vienna's Zentralfriedhof, ca. 1890. JF; GRI; AKL B-B, IV, 556; Grove entry]

Hansen did not himself produce an image of FS but he was obviously important to the design of the Denkmal.

HARTMANN, A. Postcard illustrator. *Kolorierte Postkarte*, n.d., Hilmars, page 193, plate 325. May be Adolf Hartmann (1900-1972; German). Painter, graphic and decorative artist. JF; Salc, Dreimäderlhaus postcard series (with Adolf Karpellus?), nd, #C12/1, page 71; GRI; AKL B-B, IV, 585; Fuchs 19., I, K148 has Anton Hartmann. Landscape artist, active ca. 1900]

There is the painter Adolf Hartmann whose portrait of composer Karl Amadeus Hartmann appeared on CD cover of K.A. Hartmann, *The Eight Symphonies & Gesangs-Szene* (1935-63) Bavarian Radio SO, Wergo WER60187-90-50.

HASS, FRITZ (1864-1930; German). Painter, illustrator, and engraver. [Schubert 200 Jahre: song illustrations, 1902, page 217, #376; uncertain if FS image produced] [Bénézit, VI, 792; AKL B-B, IV, 595;

JF]

HEY, PAUL (1867-1952; German). Genre and landscape painter, watercolorist, etcher, and illustrator. Uncertain if FS image produced. Hey was well known for his work on postcards, folksong cards, and cigarette cards, and painted an extensive collection of scenes depicting different aspects of life in Bavaria from the 1890s to the 1930s; his illustrations on cards are still popular. Hey illustrated many children's books including the Grimm *Märchen*, one in the popular Heidi book series by Swiss author Johanna Spyri, and a book of German children's popular folk songs collected by Engelbert Humperdinck. JF; Bénézit, VII, 24; AKL B-B, IV, 731; FRESKO; online search; eBay.de; DBE, V, 15]

† Bertha E. Mahony and Elmor Whitney, *Contemporary Illustrators of Children's Books*, Boston: Bookshop for Boys and Girls, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 1930, page 8, for mention of Hey's *Märchen* illustrations.

HOLZAPFEL, ANTON (1792-1868). A silhouette of FS inscribed by Holzapfel was posthumously discovered, but his authorship is uncertain. Holzapfel was a fellow student of FS at the Stadtkonvikt. [Brown; Deutsch-Reader; Clive; S-Lexikon]

† JAFFÉ (or JAFFE), MAX (1845-1939). [Salc, etching after design by Grünner, nd, #C17/4, page 74; ÖBL, III, 59; online search]

Kunststalt Max Jaffé was a Viennese art and book publisher, as well as a postcard publisher, from late 19th to the 20th century. Jaffé, who started his career as a photographer, was noted for the many technological innovations he developed in printing and photographic reproduction. Regarding the Schubert image in Salc, it is more probable that Jaffé was the printer of the image, not the artist.

† Maren Gröning, *Schatten des imaginären Museums: Die Albertina und die Fotografie um 19. Jahrhundert* at <www.albertina.at/-media/forschung/publ/Groening.pdf>

† Arthur Jaffé and Margaret A. Fellows, *The House of Jaffé: Its Diamond Jubilee, 1875-1950* [Max Jaffé Kunststalt and Verlag, Wien], (New York: privately printed by the Arthur Jaffé Heliochrome Company, New York), 1951]

† From the *Lexikon Satz, Druck und Papier*, "Max Jaffé, Maler und Fotograf, gelangen 1877 erste Rasteraufnahmen (Jaffétypie), die Halbton im Buchdruck möglich machten" at <www.mediasun.de/satzdruck/index.php?action=eda=791>

KOHL, PAUL (1850-1913). Painter and sculptor. *Gedenktafel am Alzenbrunner Schloss: Bronzerelief von Paul Kohl* (1908). *Deutsches-Bildern*, page 77 right. Uncertain if FS image produced. JF; AKL B-B, V, 629; Salc, print after photograph by Kohl of the Gedenktafel, 1908, #C85, page 58; Fuchs 19., II, K124; Fuchs 19., I, K193]

KOPALIK, FRANZ (1860-1931). Muralist, watercolorist, veduta and architecture painter. An example of his work is an aquarelle of Schubert's birthplace, in *Ausstellung*, page 5. Uncertain if FS image produced. JF; GRI; Bénézit, VIII, 942; Fuchs 19., II, K128; Fuchs 19., I, K194; AKL B-B, V, 652]

LEFFLER, H[ENRICH] (1863-1919). Painter and illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376; uncertain if FS image produced] [Sottriffer; Vergo; Varnedoc; Bénézit, VIII, 434; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B, VI, 155; Fuchs 19., III, K17; Grove entry; ÖBL, V, 90]

† Franz Karl Ginzkey, *Es war einmal*, illus. by Weiland Heinrich Leffler (Wien: Buchschmuck Bernd Steiner, Munk, o.J., [1922])

LENZ, MAX (MILIAN)/MAXIMILIANO (1860-1948). Painter, sculptor, lithographer, and illustrator. Member of the Vienna Secession. Produced World War I war loan posters. [Schubert 200 Jahre: song illustration, 1897, page 271, #376; uncertain if FS image produced]

[Vergo, Varnedoe; Bénézit, VIII, 520. GR; some sources give death date as 1918; online search consistently produced 1860–1948; AKL B-B, VI, 192; Fuchs 19., III, K20; OBL, V, 139–140. Grove mention in 'Secession, Vienna']

† Hella Buchner-Kopper, Maximilian Lenz, ein Maler im Licht / Schatten Gustav Klimts: Betrachtungen zu Leben und Werken eines Angepassten (Ph.D. diss., Universität Klagenfurt; Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften; Institut für Philosophie und Gruppendynamik, 2001).

LOBMEYER, LUDWIG (1829–1917). Industrialist, glass manufacturer, curator, and designer. While the designer is unknown, around 1950 the Lobmeyr firm produced a fine crystal glass, 10 cm, with a silhouette medallion of Schubert. (Ö-Lexikon; ABML 376; online auction catalogue; Grove entry for 'J. & L. Lobmeyr']

For photos of the interior of Lobmeyr's house in Vienna containing the crystal he collected, see Charlotte Kreuzmayr, 'Ludwig Lobmeyr, Persönliche Einblicke,' *Parnassus*, Sonderheft: Historismus 12 (1996) 80–86.

LORENZ, CARL (1871–1945). Landscape artist and theatrical décor. [JF; Salc, song illustration on a postcard, n.d., #B3/5, page 34; Bénézit, VIII, 795; AKL B-B, VI, 344; Fuchs 19., III, K29; also Carl Lorenz (1880–1968; German). Taught drawing and modeling; online search] MASTROIANNI, DOMENICO (1876–1962; Italian) Sculptor. Worked for a time in Vienna. Developed a technique in Paris of rapid modeling in clay, which models were then sometimes photographed for commercial production, such as postcards. This may be the case with a Schubert postcard thought to have a photographic image of a sculpture created by Mastroianni. This technique is quite similar to what has been termed "sculptography." This technique and the creation of a Schubert image by Mastroianni is only provisionally acknowledged. It has yet to be identified and authenticated although unsubstantiated information says that a Schubert "sculptography" resembles the left and right profiles on Schubert medals in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. The Mastroianni family of sculptors and artists, which has a web site (see brackets below) is well regarded in Italy. Umberto Mastroianni, who was trained as a sculptor by his uncle Domenico, has an international reputation. [JF; Grove mention in 'Mastroianni, Umberto'; <www.fondazionem bertomastroianni.it/page/ museo. html>; mention in article on 'Umberto Mastroianni' in *Dizionario enciclopedia dei pittori e degli incisori italiani: dall' XI al XX secolo* (Milano: Mondadori, 1981–1990), VII, 274]

† Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, Hurlbut's *Stories of the Bible for young and old: A continuous narrative of the scriptures told in one hundred sixty-eight stories, full-color illus.* by Robert Leinweber and three-dimensional reproductions by Domenico Mastroianni; text drawings in two colors by Steele Savage (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, c1952).

MOSER, KOLONIAN (1868–1918). Illustrator, designer, and painter. (Schubert 200) Jahre: song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376; uncertain if FS image produced.] [Sotirifer; Vergo; Varnedoe; Bénézit, IX, 888; GR; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B, VII, 166; Fuchs 19., III, K57; Grove entry]

† Maria Rennholzer, *Kolonian Moser: Master of Viennese Modernism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002).

MÖLLNER, JOSEF (1879–1968). Sculptor and medalist. "Trout Fountain," 1910. Uncertain if FS image produced. (Schubert 200) Jahre: mention page 182; mention in entry for Theodor Stundl, *Schubert-Brunnen*, 1928, page 187, #248 [JF; Salc; AKL B-B, VII, 202; S-Lexikon, see 'Denkmal'; Bénézit, X, 8; Grove mention in 'Austria Sculpture. After c. 1900']

NAUER, LUDWIG (1888–1965; German). Genre painter and muralist. Online citations to his portraits of Johann Strauss, Anton Bruckner, Jacques Offenbach, and Arturo Toscanini. [JF; Bénézit, X, 113; AKL B-B, VII, 265; FRESCO; online search; S-Lexikon, see 'Postkarten']

NEATBY, WILLIAM JAMES (1860–1910; English). Watercolorist, painter, architect, and designer. Four color plates of his paintings in the Schubert section illustrate selected Schubert Lieder in May Byron, *Days with the Great Composers, First Series*. Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schubert (London: New York: Hodder & Slaughter, 1917), unpaginated. Neatby's paintings are titled with the songs' names, along with a few lines from the poets, in: "Good-Night" (Müller); "The Miller's Flowers" (Müller); "The Erl King" (Goethe); "The Fishermans" (Heine). No portrait of Schubert by this artist has yet been found. [GR; <www.icollector.com>; author's copy; Bénézit, X, 127; Grove mention as wallpaper designer in 'John Line & Sons, Ltd.'; AKL B-B, VII, 272; ABML, 447]

† Scott Anderson, *William James Neatby, Artist and Designer 1860–1910* (Ph.D. dissertation, De Montfort University, 2000).

NOVAK, SERR [Salc, song illustration in a series of photographic collages, #B18/1-B18/6, page 47]

*NOWAK, WILLI (WILHELM, VILEM) (1886–1977; Austro-Czech). Figure and portrait painter. [JF; Bénézit, X, 292; AKL B-B, VII, 381; FRESCO; Grove mention]

*NOWAK, WILLI or WILLY (1868–1945). [JF; Fuchs 19. E, II, K46 and AKL B-B, VII, 381 have a Willi (Wilhelm) Nowak (1868–1945)]

No differentiation between Willi Nowaks has yet been made to determine the postcard artist with this name.

† Wilhelm Nowak, *Johannes Brahms Wohnung in Wien: Bibliothekszimmer etwa 1904*, aquarelle.

OLITZKI, JOE [Salc, print of drawing on a postcard, n.d., #C39, page 52; early 20th century graphic artist; JF; online search] Olitzki's postcard portrait of Beethoven is online at <www.lvbeethoven.com/Portraits/Gallery/Postcards. html>

PAETZOLD, ARTHUR (1870–1920; German). Painter and designer. [JF; Bénézit, X, 488; AKL B-B, VII, 519]

PAIR. No verification for this name has been found; the name itself may be a typographical error, or it could be 'Pair'. Extensive searching has not found this name or a variant. [† Pair: *Great Composers Etchings, eight from the series, including Liszt, Mozart, Hayden*, [sic] Beethoven, Bach, Schubert, Brahms and Schumann, on wove, each signed and entitled in pencil, 205 × 160 mm., Phillips at <www.icollector.com>, search date 16 June 2001]

PANTORBA, BERNARDINO DE [pseud. of LÓPEZ JIMÉNEZ, JOSÉ] (1896–1990; Spanish). Landscape painter. [JF; GR; (1896–1987); Bénézit, X, 546; AKL B-B, VI, 340; FRESCO]

† Una familia de pintores sevillanos: *Legado de Bernardo de Pantorba: Sala Villasis* (Sevilla: Fundación El Monte, 1998).

† Bernardino de Pantorba, *Mozart: Semblanza* (Madrid: Antonio Carmona, 1947).

PATZELT, ANDREAS (1896–19807). Portrait and still life artist, illustrator. Worked in collaboration with Ernst Kutzer (see above). [Salc, song illustration on a postcard, #B4/7, page 36; AKL B-B, VII, 604; Fuchs 19. C, II, K35; JF has death year; *Opernsängerin Esther Relhy*, portrait by Patzelt, n.d., in the possession of the Österreichische Galerie – its ownership after 12 March 1938 is in dispute; online search]

PERLBERG, GEORG (1807–1884; German). Genre and landscape painter. [JF; GR; Bénézit, X, 754, has Johann Georg Perlberg (1806–1884) as brother of Christian]

PFLIEDERER. (Schubert 200) Jahre: *Schubert-Relief*, 1993, cast pewter, 17.5 × 13.5 cm, 1993, page 239, #489, plate on page 238 [Bénézit,

X, 840; AKL B-B, VII, 737 has closest entry with Friedrich Pfeiderer (1869-1920) listed as painter and restorer. Not possible to say if Schubert-Relief is an older design or a new one; it was used for the 150th anniversary of the Wiener Männergesang-Verein in 1993]

ROLLAND, AUGUSTE (1797-1859; French). Animalier and landscape painter. [JF; Bénézit, XI, 85; AKL B-B, VIII, 490; online search also refers to him as an architect]

† Mairie de Metz, *Paysages et Paysagistes de Moselle 1830/1910 - Le Printemps des Musées* (April 2001). Rolland at <www.mairie-metz.fr:8080/METZ/MUSEES/EXPOS/0001/PAYSAGES02.html>

ROSSLER, RUDOLF (1864-1934). Genre painter. [JF; Bénézit, XI, 938; AKL B-B, VIII, 473; S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"; Sale has "Rudolf Roessler," #C1/5, C1/6, page 63; Fuchs 19, III, K125; Fuchs 19.E, II, K84]

† Rudolf Rössler (Gablitz 1864-1934 Vienna), *A portrait of a girl*, watercolour and pencil on paper, [no dimensions] (1 October 2002). Old Master Drawings, Prints before 1900, Watercolours & Miniatures, Palais Dorotheum at <http://photos.icollector.com/listing/dorotheum1889.html>

SCHNEIDER, EMIL (Emil Phil. Aug.) (1873-1947 or 1948; French? German?). Portraitist, genre and landscape painter, and lithographer. [JF; Bénézit, XII, 483-484 (1873-1947) German; AKL B-B, IX, 39 (d.1948); GRI entry for Emile Philippe Auguste Schneider (French; 1873-1947)]

SCHNORR von CAROLSFELD, LUDWIG FERDINAND (1788-1853). Historical painter and illustrator. First curator of Vienna's Belvedere Gallery. [Deutsch-Reader, 957; *Canaves-Abende*; Thieme-Becker, XXX, 708-709; GRI; Ö-Lexikon; Bénézit, XII, 491; AKL B-B, IX, 45 has four possible birth dates: two in 1788 and two in 1789; Fuchs 19, IV, K27; Grove entry; S-Lexikon; JF; Fuchs 19.E, II, K103 (b.1789)]

Clive, page 187, says that a portrait of FS by Schnorr von Carolsfeld may have existed, according to an earlier secondary source, but is lost.

SCIUBERT, HERMANN. [S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"; possibly Hermann Schubert (1831-1917; German). Sculptor, AKL B-B, IX, 78; Bénézit, XII, 540]

SCHUSTER, KARL MARIA (1871-1953). Painter and illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376; uncertain if FS image produced] [Biedermeier; Bénézit, XII, 562; GRI; online search; AKL B-B, IX, 96; Fuchs 19, IV, K41]

SCHUSTER, RUDOLF (1848-1902; German). Landscape artist, illustrator, and engraver. [RM/SIUK; online search; Rudolf Heinrich Schuster in AKL B-B, IX, 96]

† *Die schöne Müllerin. Prachtausgabe*, engravings by Rudolf Schuster (Stuttgart & Leipzig: Eduard Hallberger [ca. 1875]). Book contains Schuster's engraved song illustrations but uncertain if FS image produced.

SCHUTZ, ERICH. Illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Liedillustrationen*, 1921, song illustrations, 1921, page 218, #379; uncertain if FS image produced]. [Online search produced Erich Schütz with works ca. 1920 and 1927; Sale, produced alone and in collaboration with Adolf Karpellus (?), from 1912 to 1916, #B5/2, B5/4, B5/5, B6/1-B6/4, B6/6, pages 37-38, #B9/1, B9/5, page 41, #9/8, B9/9, page 42; AKL B-B, IX, 82, has genre painter (first mention 1920-last mention 1930); JF notes postcards and book illustrations in "Songs of Schubert", 12 colored plates, 1921; S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten" and "Illustration en"; Fuchs 19.C, II, K92]

† Heinrich Heine, *Buch der Lieder*, with illustrations by Erich Schütz (Leipzig: A. Wolf, 1919).

† Eduard Mörike, *Historie von der schönen Lau*, illustrations and

book decorations by Erich Schütz (4th ed., Wien: Artur Wolf, 1922).

SORRIEU, FRÉDÉRIC (1807-1865; French). Lithographer and illustrator. No known FS image produced; the artist illustrated many of Schubert's works published in France. Lithographs, *Hilmar*, page 109, plate 178, and page 110, plate 180. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Oeuvres Complètes de François Schubert*, song illustrations, page 216, #374; listed elsewhere as "P. Sorrieu"] [Bénézit, XIII, 45; GRI; AKL B-B, IX, 350; JF]

TRAUB, GUSTAV (1885-1955; German). Landscape painter, book illustrator, postcard and graphic artist, and caricaturist. [JF; AKL B-B, X, 20; online search]

TRENTIN, ANGELO (1850-1912). Genre painter, portraitist, and illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: song illustrations, 1897, page 217, #376; uncertain if FS image produced] [Bénézit, XIII, 787; AKL B-B, X, 28; Fuchs 19, IV, K99]

† Carl Rabis and Carl Seidl, *Radierer*. 42 Kunststafeln. Ed. by Wiener Radfahr-Club "Künstlerhaus" (Wien: Gerlack & Schenk, 1897). Includes illustrations by "A. Trentin".

VELIM, ANTON (1892-1954). Landscape, genre, still life, and portrait painter. 1954 Vienna Prize for Fine Arts. [JF believes he may be postcard artist 'Anton Vilim' as shown in Sale, #A16/1, page 29, and either Velim or Vilim, #B7, page 38; song illustration on a postcard, #B7/1-B7/3, B7/7, B7/10, pages 39-40; AKL B-B, X, 204; online search; Fuchs 19.G, II, K130 has reproduction of artist's signature, clearly shown as 'Velim']

VOLKSHOFER, A.D.J. [Sale, song illustration on a postcard, #B14/8, page 45; JF has Volkhofen; online search has A. Volkhofen jun.] No further information available.

WANKE, JOHANNES (b.1923). Painter, woodcut and graphic artist. Did a series of twenty woodcuts for a Schubert cycle, 1976. His Schubert is in print edition *Hommage*, see Key; uncertain if FS image produced. [Schubert 200 Jahre: *Lichtentaler Kirche*, woodcut, 60 x 50 cm, 1978, page 219, #394] [AKL B-B, X, 402; Fuchs 20, IV, K226, artist's web site at <www.johanneswanke.at>]

† Johannes Wanke, *Johannes Wanke: Holzschnitte*, 1948-1992, exhibition catalogue, 25 November 1992-31 January 1993 (Wien: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1992).

† Otto Breicha, *Johannes Wanke: Landschaften in Musik: Kompositionen 1975 bis 1988* (Salzburg: Salzburger Landesmusiksammlung Rupertinum, c1988).

WEBER, ANDREAS (ANDREAS) PAUL (1893-1980; German). Master draughtsman, woodcutter, painter, illustrator, and lithographer. Uncertain if FS image produced. [JF; online search; GRI; AKL B-B, X, 430; web site dedicated to "A. Paul Weber" at <www.weber-museum.de/leben/>; FRESCO, DBE, X, 349-350]

† Otto Morsheimer, *A. Paul Weber* (Hamburg: A. Boysen, 1949).

† Andreas Paul Weber, *100 Ausschnitte aus Handzeichnungen und Lithographien* (München: Bruckmann, 1975).

† Andreas Paul Weber, *A. Paul Weber: Handzeichnungen, Lithographien, 1930-1978: Retrospektive zum 85. Geburtstag*. Exhibition catalogue, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, 26 October 1978-10 December 1978; Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster, 17 December 1978-28 January 1979 (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1978).

† Andreas Paul Weber, *A. Paul Weber, das graphische Werk 1930-1978: Handzeichnungen und Lithographien* (München: Schirmer-Mosel, 1980).

† Andreas Paul Weber, *Handzeichnungen 1933-1976* (Bonn: Bonner Kunsthhaus, c1983).

† Helmut Schumacher, *A. Paul Weber: Das illustrierte Werk*,

- 1911–1980 (Lübeck: Lucifer-Verlag im Kunsthaus Lübeck, c1984).
- † A. Paul Weber: *Werkverzeichnis der Gebrauchsgraphik* (Lübeck: Kunsthaus Lübeck, 1990).
- † Klaus J. Dorsch, A. Paul Weber: *Werkverzeichnis der Lithographien* (Lübeck: Kunsthaus Lübeck, 1991).
- † Paul Weber, 1893–1980: *Handzeichnungen und Lithographien* (Stuttgart: G. Hatje, 1993).

WELZL VON WELLENHEIM, APOLLONIA née DE BARBIER (1801–1882). Image of FS? [JF; Sale has "A. Welzl", song illustration on a postcard after design of "A. Welzl", (unsigned), #B16/1-B16/3, page 46 (may not be the same person); GRI has Pauline von Wellenheim, ca. 1840; Benéit, XIV, 534; AKL B-B, X, 475; Fuchs 19, IV, K124, Flower and still-life painter, born Freiin [Frei frau] von Barbier (no dates); Fuchs 19, II, K152]

WISINGER-FLORIAN, OLGA (1844–1926). Landscape and flower painter. [Ö-Lexikon; GRI; AKL B-B, X, 593; online auction search; Fuchs 19, IV, K136; FRESCO; HNSW Restitution Art]

She was from 1868 to 1873 a pianist with a promising musical career. A chronic hand condition led her to give up the piano, consequently she turned to art, and studied with E.J. Schindler who was also the teacher of Carl Moll and Marie Egner. Painted scenes on gilt glass was a popular medium for middle class buyers of decorative pieces in post-1900 Vienna. See: Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: A Dictator's Apprenticeship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), page 186: "A musical scene with Franz Schubert, also made of gilt glass, bore the signature of "Wiesinger-F. [sic] This referred to the painter Olga Wisinger-Florian, whose style [Reinhold

Hanisch, Hitler's artist friend from his Vienna days] also imitated in flower paintings he sold as Hitler originals." There is no evidence that Wisinger-Florian worked on gilt glass, but her name would have encouraged buyers.

- † Bärbel Holaus, "Olga Wisinger-Florian (1844–1926). Arrangement mit dem 'Männlichen' in der Kunst", *Jahrhundert der Frauen: Vom Impressionismus zur Gegenwart; Österreich 1870 bis heute*, ed. by Ingrid Brugger (Wien: Kunstforum, 1999), 84–103.

WITTRISCH or WITTRICH, ILONA GABRIELE (1879–1946). Painter, commercial and bookplate artist, lithographer, and etcher. [Schubert 200 Jahre: Ilona Wittirsch, *Schuberts Geburtshaus*, silhouette and lined notepaper, hand-colored etching, 15 × 9 cm, n.d., page 194, #294; uncertain if FS image produced] [JF; AKL B-B, X, 602; Fuchs 19, G, II, K157; Fuchs 19, E, II, K159]

WOLLER, ATTILA. Illustrator. [Schubert 200 Jahre: 19th century, song illustration, 1897, page 217, #376; uncertain if FS image produced]

ZATZKA, HANS (1859–1945). Genre and figure painter – religious scenes and mythical allegories. [JF; GRI; Benéit, XIV, 852–853; AKL B-B, X, 709 (1854–1945); Fuchs 19, IV, K147; online search; S-Lexikon, see "Postkarten"; Fuchs 19, E, II, K164]

- † Judith Orschler, *Der Wiener Maler Hans Zatzka und die Kunst für alle in der ersten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Würzburg, 2001).

ZECKENDORF, A. [Sale, postcard, two versions, 1916 and 1928, #C2/13, page 65] [Could this be Oskar Zeckendorf [Austro-Czech] painter, AKL B-B, X, 713 (1877–1942); JF; Fuchs 19, IV, K147; Fuchs 19, E, II, K164]

ADDITIONAL LITERATURE DISCUSSING SCHUBERT ICONOGRAPHY

Aus Heliopolis-Nachtviolen-Wasserfluth. Schubert 97. Die besondere Ausstellung 200. Geburtstag Frau: Schuberts im Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1997). See page 87, reproduction of cover of 1826 commercially produced piano music, *Moderne Liebes-Wälzer für das Piano-forte*, on which the man of the dancing couple resembles FS, with curly hair, sideburns, and Brille. Unlike Schubert, this man is tall and slender. An 1827 color reproduction appears in Hilmar, page 80, plate 127; also in Ausstellung, page 228.

BAKER, Richard, *Schubert: A Life in Words and Pictures* (London: Little, Brown, 1999).

BALDASSARRE, Antonio, "The Iconographic Schubert: The Reception of Schubert in the Mirror of his Time", *RIDIM/RCMI Newsletter* XXII/2 (fall 1997), p. 39–52.

Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Portraits, Illustrative of Music and the Drama, Including Composers, Musicians, Singers, & Actors, 31 March 1879 (London: Sotheby; Wilkinson & Hodge, 1879), page 71, #679 "Schubert (Franz), great Composer, half-length, seated, lith. By W. Bäsler."

The Etude Magazine, Schubert Number (May 1900).

The journal was published in Philadelphia by Theodor Presser. In 2002, the Theodor Presser Company gave a large part of its early archives to the Music Division of the U.S. Library of Congress. These items are awaiting cataloguing and are unavailable to the public.

GAMMOND, Peter, *Classical Composers* (New York: Crescent, 1994).

Biographies of composers with reproductions of drawings, paintings, and photographs of the composers and reproductions of paintings contemporary with the events in the composer's lifetime. Schmid's *Schubertabend* is in the center of the book's cover, surrounded by likenesses of the other 'great composers'. Both Schmid's *Schubertabend* and Klimt's *Schubert am Klavier* are reproduced in full within the section devoted to Schubert. Also reproduced are Rieder's *Schubert* portrait in oil, and Teltcher's *Schubert with his Friends*.

GIBBS, Christopher H., ed., *The Final Schubertade at the 92nd Street & Tisch Center for the Arts: Schubert's Final Years, March 26–April 10, 1997* (New York: 92nd Street & Tisch Center for the Arts, 1997), 86 p.

A program book with introductory essay and program notes by the editor and additional notes by other Schubert scholars. While not containing any original Schubert images, the program book contains a small but selective array of images including Rieder, the discredited Mahler attribution of young Schubert without his famous spectacles, Böhrer's 100th Schubert birthday silhouette, the Dialer bust, and the design for the gravestone in the Währing Cemetery.

GOMBICH, E.H., "Franz Schubert and the Vienna of his Time. Address celebrating the 150th anniversary of the composer's death", *The Essential Gombich: Selected Writings on Art and*

Culture, ed. by Richard Woodfield (London: Phaidon, 1996), 547-564.

Gombich briefly mentions the traditions that informed the early artists who painted Schubert. In this regard, he seems to be alone among art historians who engage in this kind of cross-disciplinary iconography.

HILMAR, Ernst, "Neues zur Schubert-Ikonographie: Eine Schubert Miniatur", *Schubert durch die Brille* 7 (June 1991), page 3 (plate: "signiert mit 'J.K.'"), pages 42-43.

HISTORISCHES MUSEUM DER STADT WIEN, *Restitution Art from Dorotheumsankäufe 1938-1945: Franz Schubert und seine Zeit*, Bildersammlung von Porträts, Ansichten, Szenen, etc. (Reproduktionen aus Büchern, Katalogen, Zeitungen etc. auf Karton geklebt und teilweise beschrieben), in 6 blauen Leinenmappen mit Einschlägen, 35 x 25 cm.

HOLLIN, Hans, and Catherine COOKE, eds., *Vienna Dream and Reality*. Architectural Design Profile 61, *Architectural Design* LV/11-12 (1986), "A Celebration of the Hollein Installations for the Exhibition *Traum und Wirklichkeit 1870-1930* in the Künstlerhaus Vienna".

KLATTE, Wilhelm (1870-1930) *Franz Schubert mit fünfzehn Vollbildern und zwanzig Faksimiles* (Berlin: Marquadt & Co., 1907). Wiener Männergesang-Verein.

KOSCIATZKY, Walter, *Viennese Watercolors of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988).

LITSCHAUER, Walburga, "Neues zur Schubert-Ikonographie: Marginalie zur Schubert-Ikonographie", *Schubert durch die Brille* 7 (June 1991), pages 43-44.

LITSCHAUER, Walburga, ed., *Neue Dokumente zum Franz Schubert: Aus Briefen und Tagebüchern seiner Freunde* vol.1 (Wien: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1986). On page 71, the caption to the Schubert mask is "Franz Schubert: Totenmaske (?)".

MORECK, Curt [pseud. Konrad Haemmerling], *Die Musik in der Malerei*, introd. by Curt Moreck (München: G. Hirth's Verlag,

[1924]).

PAUNGARTNER, Bernhard, *Die Schubertianer: Ein Beitrag zur Jahrhundertfeier, mit zahlreichen Bild- und Notenbeispielen* (Wien: Wiener Harmonischer Verlag, 1928).

PETZOLD, Richard, *Franz Schubert 1797-1828: Sein Leben in Bildern* (Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1953).

PHILLIPS, Tom, *Music in Art Through the Ages* (München: New York: Prestel, 1997). See "Schubert With Variations," pages 34-35, in which are reproduced on opposite pages Schmid's *Schubert-Abend* and Klimt's *Schubert am Klavier*.

Schubert. Bilder aus seinem Leben (Stuttgart, 1969). Published in collaboration of the Kultusministerium Baden-Württemberg with the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, and the Wiener Stadtbibliothek.

TOMAN, Rolf, ed., *Vienna: Art and Architecture* (Köln: Könemann, 1999).

The book contains an extensive bibliography and several photographs of images of Schubert:

Page 267: "Karl Kundmann, Monument to Franz Schubert, Marble, municipal park"

Page 366: "Gustav Klimt, Schubert at the Piano, 1899". The text quotes Hermann Bahr, from the Fourth Secession exhibition: "the most beautiful picture ever painted by an Austrian."

TROST, Alois, *Franz Schubert's Bildnisse* (Wien: Druck von Köhler & Hamburger, 1898). An eleven-page compilation, with very few images, in a brief iconographic and historical summary of Schubert images up to Trost's era.

WASSERMAN, Janet L., "Franz Schubert as Painted by Gustav Klimt and Julius Schmid," *The Schubertian* (July 2001), pages 14-20.

WEINGARTNER, Felix, *Franz Schubert und sein Kreis* (Zürich; Leipzig: Orell Füßli Verlag, 1929).

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ARTISTS WHO HAVE PRODUCED WORK INSPIRED BY SCHUBERT'S WINTERREISE

The list below includes the names of artists found in the main entries (indicated with the abbreviation *m/e*). All the artists on the list below have created *Winterreise* art inspired by Schubert. Abbreviations in square brackets are found above in the Key to Source Citations and Abbreviations.

BEIJK, ARNOLD ADRIAAN (b.1955; Dutch). Artist. *Winterreise*, mixed media on panel, 40 x 81 cm, 2001. Part of a series by the artist called "horizontal investigations", 2001-2002. His *Winterreise* is associated with Schubert, and one he terms a "reimagination". [online search; personal communication to the author]

BOHLER, FRITZ (German) Artist. *Die Winterreise von Franz Schubert*. Aquarelle von Fritz Böhler zu dem Gedichtzyklus in vierundzwanzig Liedern von Wilhelm Müller, 24 watercolors (Freiburg in Br.: Eulen-Verlag, 1996) [online search; SIUK]. No further information available.

Die Winterreise von Franz Schubert von Fritz Böhler: "Peter Härtling schrieb an den Maler Fritz Böhler: 'Die Bilder dieser Winterreise beeindruckten mich sehr - sie schleppen die frostige Fremde mit.'"

BONELL, GOTTHARD [m/e] (b.1933; Italian). Singer and artist. *trichter, Variationen zu Wilhelm Müllers und Franz Schuberts Winterreise*, [Radierring], twenty-five images of varying dimensions, 1997 (Innsbruck: Haymon-Verlag, ca. 1997). [online search; AKL, XII, 508; personal communication to the author]

BROOKS GERLOFF, JANET (b.1947; American, living in Germany). Artist. Janet Brooks Gerloff, Ulrich Schütte and Michael Gees, *Winterreise*, exhibition catalogue + CD of the Schubert song cycle by Ulrich Schütte, bass baritone, and Michael Gees, piano (Jülich: Forschungszentrum Jülich, 2001). The CD reflects the concert in conjunction with the exhibit at the Forschungszentrum Jülich, 2001, to form an integral presentation. The twenty-nine individually titled paintings are oil on canvas, acrylic on board, and acrylic and pencil on board with dimensions that vary from 50 x

60 cm to 140 × 200 cm, and were created from 1995 to 2000. The dominant colors in the paintings are white, light grey, and a frosty blue, bordered by ochre. Many of the works are in private collections or in the artist's own collection. The exhibit's English text is titled *Winter's Journey*. [online search; AKL XIV, 391; personal communication to the author]

BRUS, GÜNTER (1938; Austrian). Painter, graphic artist, photographer, illustrator, and performance artist. Formerly identified with the Vienna Actionism movement of which he was a co-founder and leading exponent. *Fantasien und Variationen über die Winterreise von Schubert*, colored chalk, 30 × 21 cm, 1978; Dorotheum Wien, 6 December 1990. Uncertain if FS image produced. [online search; Grove entry; Fuchs 20., I, K116-K117; AKL XIV, 586-587]

† **Günter Brus, Die gute alte Zeit** (Salzburg: Jung und Jung, ca. 2002). [autobiography]

† **Leuchstoffpoesie und Zeichenschirurgie**, exhibition catalogue (16 October-12 December 1999), Kunsthalle Tübingen; (16 January-21 March 2000), Kunsthalle Kiel; (13 April-4 June 2000), Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz (Köln: Dumont, ca. 1999).

† **Johanna Schwanberg, "Dichtbildungen. Günter Brus: Vom Aktionisten zum Bildmacher."** *Parnass* XVII/2 (May-August 1997), 60-65.

† **Johanna Schwanberg, "Im Vollbesitz der Schwärze: Zum 60. Geburtstag von Günter Brus: Werke aus der Sammlung Essl 1960-1997,"** exhibition catalogue, Klosterneuburg: Schömer-Haus, 30 September-31 December 1998.

† **Johanna Schwanberg, Parallelimaginationen. Die Bild-Dichtungen von Günter Brus** (Ph.D. Diss., Universität Wien, Institut für Germanistik, 2001).

† **"Fantasien und Variationen über die Winterreise von Schubert"**. Mischtechnik auf Papier, aus einer Serie mit 9 Blatt, gesammelt in einer Pappmappe. Diese monogr. u. dat. (1978) [ONB-BA].

† **Monika Faber, Günter Brus: Werkumkreisung.** Katalog exh. Albertina, 7 November 2003-8 February 2004. Ed. by Klaus Albrecht Schröder (Wien; Graz; Zug; Bologna: Albertina Wien, 2003-05).

CHAN, CLEMENTINE (b.1967; Chinese, living in Hong Kong). Artist. *Winterreise*, oil on canvas, 51 × 66 cm, 2000. The work is in the artist's collection. [online search; personal communication to the author]

COHEN, BRIAN D. (b.1959; American). Artist, printmaker, and etcher. *Winterreise*, twenty-one etchings printed with a silver surface roll on Magnani Pescia, varying dimensions from 4 × 5 in. to 8 × 9 in. [10 × 12 cm to 20 × 22 cm] (Westminster Station, Vermont: Bridge Press, 2001, limited edition of fifteen). Couplets from Müller's poems are included with an English translation by Holiday Eames. Accompanying the book is the 1963 *Winterreise* CD by Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, baritone, and Jörg Demus, piano. [online search; personal communication to the author]

DELEHANTY, LEE (b.1948; American, living in The Netherlands). Artist. *Winter Traveler*, oil on linen, 50 × 100 cm, ca. 1995, subdued blue and grey. While this painting was inspired by the music of Schubert's *Winterreise* as the artist was listening, it is an imaginary portrait of a young man. [online search; personal communication to the author]

FLORA, PAUL [m/c] (b.1922; Austrian). Painter, printmaker, illustrator, caricaturist, and graphic artist. His artwork has appeared on Austrian stamps. *Winterreise*, etching, 60 × 50 cm, 1978 in *F.S. Hommage à Franz Schubert 1797-1828* (Wien: Tusch, 1978). [Schubert 200 Jahre, page 218, #388; Sottrifler probably refers to the illustrator, born 1922; Bénézit V, 326; GR; Ö-Lexikon; AKL B-B,

III, 703; Fuchs 20., I, K209 (1922-1983 [sic]); online search; ABML, 204; Grove mention; personal communication to the author].

GLEESON, JAMES (b.1915; Australian). Artist and writer. *Winterreise* abstract, 1993, oil on canvas 133 × 178.5 cm, gift of the artist to the University of Sydney, 1999. The curator of the University of Sydney Art Collection describes the work as: "Surrealist landscape background with organic, surreal forms through center middle of image; central motif of white with yellow and pink tentacle- or intestine-like forms; predominant colors of deep cold grey, Prussian blues and yellow/white". [online search; AKL B-B, IV, 225; Bénézit, VI, 210; GR; Grove entry; personal communication to the author from University of Sydney art curator]

† **Bernard Smith, Australian Painting 1788-1960** (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1962).

† **Robert Hughes, The Art of Australia** (Melbourne: Pelican, 1966).

† **Lou Klepac, James Gleeson: Landscapes out of Nature** (Sydney: The Begle Press, 1987).

† **Renee Free, James Gleeson: Images from the Shadows** (East Roseville, NSW; New York: Craftsman House, 1993).

† **Alan McCulloch, The Encyclopedia of Australian Art** (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994).

† **Nevill Drury & Anna Voigt, Fire and Shadow: Spirituality in Contemporary Australian Art** (Sydney: Craftsman House, 1996).

GRAF-BRAUN, KARIN a/k/a Kamahe (German-born, living and working in Austria). Artist, photographer, writer, literary critic, and poet. Photoseries *Winterreise* Venedig [online search; personal communication to the author]

GRUBER, ESTHER (English). Illustrator. Twenty-four pencil (?) drawings, black, grey, and white; image size 16.5 × 22.5 cm on page size 22 × 33 cm, 1997. Wilhelm Müller, *The Song Cycles: Müller Songs & Poems and Winter Journey*. Die Schöne Müllerin and Die Winterreise, English versions by Miriam Scott and John Rath, introd. by Susan Youens, illus. by Esther Gruber, lettering by John Henchen (Wootton Almeley, U.K.: Logaston Press, 1997), 136 pages. [online search] No further information available.

HAMMERSTIEL, ROBERT [m/c] (b.1933; Austrian). Painter and woodcut artist [online search]

† **Robert Hammerstiel, Franz Schubert. Winterreise** (Wien: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 1997). In the book, 29 × 20.2 cm, illustrated are Wilhelm Müller's poems in twenty-five drawings of the song cycle.

HAJEUR, ISABELLE (b.1969; Canadian). Digital photographer and video artist. *Voyage d'hiver*; 3:15 color video with betacam special effects, 1997. [online search] No further information available.

"*Voyage d'hiver* s'inspire de *Winterreise*, le cycle de *Lieders romantiques* et exaltés de Franz Schubert. Cette bande vidéo vise à faire sentir combien le lien traditionnellement établi entre l'homme et le monde est désormais transformé. Elle témoigne de la déréalisation de notre regard fasciné par la nature qu'entraînent les technologies post industrielles. Par la récupération de prises de vue touristiques amateurs, par ses effets spéciaux, *Voyage d'hiver* souligne le caractère distancé de notre relation à ce qui nous entoure." Isabelle Hajeur.

HEPPNER, FRIEDRICH (FRITZ) (1917-2002; Austrian). Neurosurgeon, professor of medicine, and vice-president of the Musikverein, Graz). *Eine Strasse muss ich gehen: Graphiken zu Schuberts "Winterreise", mit einem Essay von Hans Weigel* (Graz: Styria, ca. 1990). Black/white graphics in book format, 25 × 33 cm, 1989. The

RM, who also notes that Nowak was a member of the Wiener Schubertbund; Busse, 913 (1874-1945); online search]

Nowak, a student of Julius Schmid (1854-1935), single-handedly became a Schubert image factory with numerous artworks on canvas and cardboard, on postcards, and even on cigar boxes. His medium was primarily oil but his works include watercolor, print, and pencil. It is not definitively known if this *Schubert in einer Winterlandschaft* derives from the *Winterreise* song cycle, but the mood and style of this painting is significantly different from that of the typical happy Schubert surrounded by pretty girls of Nowak's other and earlier Schubert works. *Schubert in einer Winterlandschaft* is a descriptive title assigned to the portrait by the Dorotheum auction house. Reproductions of this portrait on postcards sometimes bore the title *Winterreise*. In this work, Schubert is alone, looking back quizzically over his left shoulder toward the viewer while walking alone in a barren and drab winter landscape. The original date of the portrait's work is unknown; it was reproduced ca. 1910s on postcards by an unidentified publisher under the title "Winterreise".

PORAT, JACOB (b.1935 in Poland; Israeli). Artist and printmaker, oil, mixed media, pencil drawings, woodcuts, linocuts. Two works reflecting the winter journey theme are *Winterreise*, printmaking linoleum 19 x 28 cm, 1989; and *Winter*, no dimensions, 1991. [online search; postal communication to the author]

The works may be seen online at:

www.artporat.co.il/Wood/Winterreise.htm

www.artporat.co.il/Winter.htm

www.geocities.com/jporat9

PREJMEREK-ASTON, JULIA (b.1952; German). Artist; *Winterreise*, mixed technique (oil tempera and chalk) on canvas, 150 x 105 cm, 1996. [online search; personal communication to the author]

PRESICH-PETUELLI, LIANE (b.1925; Austrian). Silhouette and graphic artist, concert pianist, teacher, and writer. Twenty-four abstract silhouettes in black, white and a different color for each illustration, image size 8.5 x 12 cm on page size 22.5 x 15.5 cm, 1997. The song illustrations have been reproduced on glossy color postcards measuring 10.5 x 14.75 cm. The original work is in the artist's collection. The black/white/gray print reproductions of the abstract series appear in Petra Sela/Wilhelm Müller, *Winterreise damals - heute*, music Franz Schubert, Haiku/text reduction Petra Sela (Wien: Edition Doppelpunkt, 1997, [108] pages). The artist frequently accompanies singers on the piano in Schubert Lieder, including the song cycles. [online search; personal communication to the author]

RISCHAR, SIEGFRIED [n/c] (b.1924; German). Artist, watercolorist, illustrator. Works in pen and ink, pencil, pastel, and oil. Siegfried Rischar, *Die Winterreise* (Berlin: Galerie Ars Viva, 1984). Siegfried Rischar and Günther Mahal, *Die Winterreise. Bilder zu Wilhelm Müllers von Franz Schubert vertontem Gedichtzyklus "Die Winterreise" mit einem Essay von Günther Mahal "Die Winterreise" - Drei Zugänge zu einem Thema* (München: TAL38 Galerie Edition, 1995). [online search; personal communication to the author]

ROLLINS, TIM + K.O.S. (b.1955; American). Artist. *Winterreise-Wasserfluth*, on acrylic and mica and offset print, on music sheets, on linen, on wood panels, each 12 x 9 in. (30.5 x 22.9 cm), overall 12 in x 58 ft 2 in (30.5 cm x 17.5 m), 1988-1989. [online search; Bénézit, XI, 855, see under "Tim Rollins + K.O.S."; WWA, 1007; GRI (b.1953); personal communication to the author]

Collaborations: Tim Rollins + K.O.S., (New York: Parkett Publishers, Parkett Edition #20, 1989) pages 59, 61-62, 72, 73.

Note: K.O.S. stands for Kids of Survival, the name given to the group by the students themselves. This group of students, with educational and emotional disabilities, created art from their new understanding of music and literature, often their first introduction to reading this literature and listening to the music. Rollins worked with them as a high school art and special education teacher in The Bronx, New York. Rollins's students "immersed themselves in Schubert's *Winterreise*" with the result - a "page as pale as the snow - a sign of conciliation and a gathering of new strength." The page mentioned is the first page of the vocal score of *Wasserfluth* faded a stark white to near illegibility with the musical notation a barely visible gray. The students had listened to the entire *Winterreise* song cycle; *Wasserfluth* was the song chosen to typify their feelings about Schubert in its relation to his art and his life. By engaging Rollins' students in a dialogue about Schubert and about his song cycle, about art and the situation of the outsider - the alienation of the artist - these K.O.S. students identified with Schubert and saw themselves as outsiders as well. Their self-description was in agreement with their perception that the artist (visual and musical) is by his very nature and commitment an outsider in society. Rollins's K.O.S. concept has spread internationally and has generated art by young students based on literary and musical texts.

ROSS, BJÖRN (b.1957; Swedish, living in Denmark). Artist. *Winterreise*, ca. 1992/1993 [online search]

RUPPERT-TRIBAN, HELGA (b.1919; German). Artist, collagist, and illustrator. *Winterreise. 24 Collagen nach dem Lieder-Zyklus op. 89 von Franz Schubert. Texte von Wilhelm Müller*, overall book format is 21.5 x 21.5 cm, the reproductions of the collages on colored paper are of varying dimensions (Wien: München; New York: Verlag Fritz Molden, 1980). [online search; AKL B-B, VIII, 597; personal communication to the author]

The artist's collage *Der Wegweiser*, from her *Winterreise* series, appears on the cover of Yonick Spiegel and Peter Kutter, *Kreuzwege. Theologische und psychoanalytische Zugänge zur Passion Jesu* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1997).

Der Wegweiser was also used for the program of Hans Zender's production of *Winterreise* by the Ensemble Moderne at the 1993 Frankfurt Feste.

STALDER, RUDOLF (b.1946; Swiss and American, living in USA). Artist. *Winterwalk*, eleven pen and ink drawings on paper, 21 x 28 cm, 1997. *Winter countryside* inspired by Schubert's *Winterreise*. [online search; personal communication to the author]

STRAEDE, MORTEN (b.1956; Danish). Sculptor. Created three sculptures with the name (1) *Winterreise/Bitterfeld*, wood and polyester, 1989, in the collection of the Esbjerg Museum of Art, Denmark; (2) *Winterreise/Torun*, wood and polyester, 1989, in the artist's collection; (3) *Winterreise/Schlussschar*, polyester, wood, acrylic, 160 cm high, 1992, in the collection of the Dansk Biblioteks Center. The titles and concepts of these sculptures draw on several sources: Schubert's *Winterreise*, Heinrich Heine's *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, and on European sources which emerged during the collection of the Iron Curtain, hence the sculptor's two 1989 works. [online search; AKL B-B, IX, 506; personal communication to the author]

TALBOT, KATRIN J. (b.1959; Australian born, American). Violist and photographer. Black and white photographs in Schubert's *Winterreise: A Winter Journey in Poetry, Image, and Song - Franz Schubert and Wilhelm Müller* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003). [online search; personal communication to the author]

VAN MECHELEN, JAN (b.1954; Belgian). Painter and draftsman. *Winterreise* in the "Faces" series, mixed media on paper, 30 x 30 cm, 2002-2003, with text by the artist; *Winterreise* in the "Witnesses" series, mixed media on paper, 150 x 95 cm, 2002-2003. [online search; personal communication to the author]

WALOSCHKE, JUTTA a/k/a "iutta maria de las manos" (b.1931 in Germany; Austrian). Artist and illustrator; watercolor and oil painting, drawing, book illustration, textile designing, and textile collage. Maintains ateliers in Buenos Aires, where she spent her early years, and in Vienna. Twenty-four pen and black ink drawings on A4 paper in Petra Sela, *A branda Weg wanns schneibt: Winterreise weanarisch - mit CD* (Wien Edition Doppelpunkt, 1990), 80 pages + CD. The original drawings are in the artist's collection in Vienna. The book is an adaptation, rather than a translation, of Wilhelm Müller's *Winterreise* poem into *weanarisch* (Viennese dialect). The book tells of the sufferings of a Viennese in the milieu of the old and true Vienna; with a CD of the text as recited and sung by Gerhard Hufnagel to the accompaniment of an instrument described as a "kneeharp". A sample of the text in dialect is found at the publisher's site www.doppelpunkt.at [online search; personal communication to the author] See: www.iuttawaloschke.com

WIESINGER, ODIN (b.1961; Austrian). Artist and sculptor. *Winterreise*, oil on canvas, 70 x 50 cm, 1996. Produced for 1997 Schubert

centenary. [online search; personal communication to the author]
WIRTZ, ROLAND (b.1959; German). Photographer. Two *Winterreise*-inspired exhibits: (1) *The Vienna of Franz Schubert, 1997/98*, a series centered where Schubert composed his music; (2) *Fuhst du meine Tränen glühn*, 1998, images of FS based on the *Winterreise* song cycle. The artist used the old calotype process and a camera obscura to make the images selected. [online search; personal communication to the author; Maria-Anna Alp, Alp Gallery, New York]

WOOLF, PIP [n/a] (b.1954; British). Artist. See: Pip Woolf, Robert Lloyd and Julius Drake, *Winterreise: Interpretations Across Two Centuries of A Winter's Journey* (Bridgend, Wales: Seren/Poetry Wales Press Ltd., 1999). Woolf's twenty-three book illustrations are her representations of *Winterreise*; the original *Winterreise* oil paintings are owned by the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center in Dallas. [online search; personal communication to the author]

ZENS, HERWIG (b.1943; Austrian). Painter and graphic artist. Series of twenty-four prints, *Die Winterreise. Graphikzyklus nach Franz Schubert*, 25 x 18 cm, paper size in 48 x 34 cm, 1996. Herwig Zens, *Die Winterreise. Graphikzyklus nach Franz Schubert* (Wien: Kunstverlag Wolfrum, 1996) 21 x 14.5 cm format. [online search; AKL B-B, X, 726; Fuchs 20., IV, K290-K291]

ARTISTS EXHIBITED UNDER THE TITLE WINTERREISE

Hartwig Hammer and Jo Jastram were exhibiting together at the German gallery Neues Kunsthaus Ahrenshoop, 30 November 2002 - 25 February 2003, under the title of *Winterreise*. The title may have been created by the gallery and not by the artists. See: www.neues-kunsthaus-ahrenshoop.de/winterreise.html

HAMER, HARTWIG (b.1943; German). Painter, graphic artist, and illustrator [online search; personal communication to the author]
 "Lehre zum Schrift- und Plakatmaler, 1962-1966 Studium der Germanistik und Kunsterziehung in Erfurt, seitdem Lehrer in Ländorf und Schwerin, Begegnungen mit Hans Theo Richter und Gerhard Marcks, Einzelausstellungen und Beteiligungen seit 1973, lebt und arbeitet in Schwerin (Source: Neues Kunsthaus-Ahrenshoop). - The artist said that his paintings and drawings in this exhibition did not refer primarily to Schubert's song cycle but that critics frequently found that his work showed a relationship to music and sound, including his landscapes.

† Hartwig Hamer et al., *Himmel Erde Horizonte* (Janus Press, 1999).

JASTRAM, JO (ACHIN) (b.1928; German). Sculptor and artist [online search, AKL B-B, V, 275, GRI] No further information available. - "Faschschule für Holzkunst Empfershausen und Studium in Dresden und Berlin bei Walter Arnold und Heinrich Drake, seit 1956 freischaffend in Rostock, 1980-1986 Lehrauftrag an der Kunsthochschule Berlin-Weissensee, zahlreiche Arbeiten im öffentlichen Raum und in privaten und öffentlichen Sammlungen und Museen, lebt und arbeitet in Kneese bei Rostock." - (Source: Neues Kunsthaus Ahrenshoop).

WINTERREISE ARTIST WITHOUT AUTHENTICATION

Artists found listed online but the author has been unable to contact them for this project in order to verify that their *Winterreise* artwork derives from Schubert's song cycle.

STEINLE, D. (German). Artist. *Skizzen zur Winterreise*, ca. 2001/2002, graphic work exh. Anna-Blum-Haus (Heidelberg, 2002). [online search] No further information available.

REVIEWS

Joaquim IBORRA, Eva SOLANS, *Antoni Bofill, Fotògrafs del Liceu 3* (Barcelona: Gran Teatre del Liceu; Edicions UPC, 2002), 135 pages. 133 b/w illustrations. ISBN 84-8301-695-8. 19,23 €.

Following monographs dedicated to Antoni Pelegrí and Antoni Ras Rigau, the third book in the series presenting works of photographers at the Gran Teatre del Liceu of Barcelona, offers photographs by Antoni Bofill, the current photographer of the theater. This pictorial memorial of a great artistic value, on one hand offers intrinsic photographs of opera performances, singers, and conductor, and on the other documents Liceu's history during the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Antoni Bofill works for the Gran Teatre del Liceu since 1977 and in his professional career, spanning the longest time among photographers working for the theater, has witnessed some of the most important changes in theater's history. In 1977 the theatre was still privately managed. Then, following the crisis of 1980 it became mixed private and public institution (with public management). On 31 January 1994 a disastrous fire destroyed almost entire theater. During the reconstruction of the Liceu, artistic activities continued uninterrupted although reduced in their number and held in different theatres and concert halls around Barcelona. Finally, in October 1999 the new Liceu was inaugurated with the motto "El Liceu de tots" (Everyone's Liceu) which suggested theater's new public guidance.

Throughout this period Bofill remained loyal to his main interest, capturing the greatness of opera singers on the stage. Being aware that the photography is unable to capture the excellence of their singing, he focused his attention to capture the gesture, expression, and feelings inherited in operatic drama. This makes his photographs a manifestation of the

acting abilities of singers, where one can find emblematic moments which occurred on the Liceu stage since 1977. Among the singers included in the volume are Montserrat Caballé, Josep Carreras, Plácido Domingo, Jaume Aragall, Edita Gruberova, Mirella Freni, Eva Marton, José van Dam, Renata Scottò, Cecilia Bartoli, Ileana Cotrubas, and more recently Maria Bayo, Dolora Zajick, Deborah Polaski. In these portraits dominate singers' expressions, feelings, and reactions, while set designs remained somewhat secondary and, for example, Calisto Bieito's polemic sets for *Un ballo in maschera* and *Don Giovanni*; Peter Konwitschny's sets for *Lohengrin*; or the modernist production of *La Fura dels Baus*'s multimedia opera *D.Q. Don Quijote en Barcelona* are presented in a very similar manner as Gilbert Deffo's classical sets for *Pikovnja dama*. Originally in color, the photographs are presented here in their black and white version in order to achieve "coherence with the other books of this same collection" (introduction to the volume). Although this might help to penetrate the artistic expression of singers, it creates a certain uniformity among the presented operas, making the book a catalogue of beautifully presented *décor* performing at the Liceu in our days. Bofill's photographs do not show here changes which occurred in the aesthetics of operatic productions during the hardest period of the Liceu history, but they project a certain desire for normalcy during the period of Liceu's difficult times.

AURÈLIA PESARRODONA

Rajka DOBRONIĆ-MAZZONI, *The Eternal Harp: A Musical and Cultural Historical Study* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2002), 181 pages. 160 illustrations, bibliography, index of names. ISBN 953-212-106-4.

After three earlier volumes on the harp (*Harfa*, 1963; *Knjiga o harfi*, 1983; and *The Harp*, 1989), the Croatian harpist Rajka Dobronić-Mazzoni brought out a new volume, presenting the long and interesting development of the instrument that has "the most complex history of all the musical instruments" (p. 9). In eight chapters are depicted individual periods in the development of the harp, and presented characteristic details from life and work of selected players and composers, accompanied by quotes of opinions about the harp in order that "the reader can draw his own conclusions".

The volume chronologically presents a historical development of the harp from the musical bow as the forerunner of the harp to the electro-acoustic blue harp of the present time. Following each chapter is included a selected bibliography and notes. The text is concise, and accompanied by many colored and black-and-white illustrations which give a good impression about many different types of harp, a particular attention in making the book very attractive. A particular attention in the book is paid to the south-European Renaissance and Baroque harps (chapter 3) and the rococo harps with a single

pedalaction (chapter 6). To most readers may be interesting also the "brief section of the development of the harp around the world" (pp. 147-155), which considers harps in North America, Africa, and Asia.

Unfortunately, the information about ancient and medieval harps is less precise and complete. For example, the rock drawing of the well-known Megiddo harpist in ancient Israel (figure 10) is incorrectly dated in the book to "around 5300-5000 B.C.", instead of 3300-3000 B.C.¹ Another point of discussion is author's use of the terminology for the instruments. The triangular harp of the Cyclades is referred to with the Latin term *trigomum* which is, according to the caption of figure 12, obviously a translation of the Greek term *trigonon*. However, the name *trigonon* first appears about 2000 years later, in fragments from plays of Sophocles and his contemporaries in the second half of the fifth century B.C. and it is still not clear whether the term referred to a particular kind of the harp, or was merely a generic name used to describe any Greek harp of the time.

Medieval depictions are also not always dealt with in the appropriate manner. The caption for figure 4 (p. 12), showing the ninth-century Folchart Psalter of the Abbey of St. Gall, reads "King David holds a harp". However, the instrument shown is not a harp, but rather a triangular harp-psaltery where the sound-box is placed under the strings, obstructing a view through them. The meaning of images showing biblical King David - the most often depicted harp player of the Middle Ages - playing and tuning the harp is not considered at all. Not a single word is found about his symbolic role concerning the order of the micro- and

the macrocosm. Errors and omissions like this indicate author's lack of experience in working with iconographic sources.

The general bibliography at the end of the book are missing some important iconographical references, not only concerning the medieval harp,² but also regarding the Cycladic harp figurines.³ It is not easy to draw correct conclusions about author's aims here, and the reader should consider the information in these chapters with the caution. In spite of this, the book is of interest to readers interested to have a general iconographic survey of harp's history.

MARTIN VAN SCHAİK

¹ See Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources* (Grand Rapids, Michigan; Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans Publishing 2002), 59.

² For example, Tilmann Seebass, *Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter: Studien ausgehend von einer Ikonologie der Handschrift Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 1118* (Bern: Francke Verlag 1973); and Martin van Schaik, *The Harp in the Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument* (Amsterdam; Atlanta: Rodopi 1992).

³ E.g. Martha Maas and Jane McIntosh Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1989); and Martin van Schaik, *The Marble Harp Players from the Cyclades* (Utrecht: Dutch Study Group on Music Archaeology, 1998).

EXHIBITIONS

PARIS

Figures de la passion. Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique, Paris (23 Octobre 2001 - 20 Janvier 2002). Commissariat: Frédéric DASSAS, Emmanuel COQUERY, Christine LALOE, Anne PIÉJUS et Michel VERSCHAEVE; éditoriale du catalogue: Emmanuel COQUERY et Anne PIÉJUS; préface by Frédéric DASSAS (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2001), 288 p. ISBN 2-7118-4282-7. 45 €

L'invention du sentiment. Aux sources du romantisme. Musée de la Musique, Cité de la Musique, Paris (2 Avril - 30 Juin 2002). Commissariat: Frédéric DASSAS, Dominique de FONT-REAU, et Barthélémy JOBERT; éditoriale du catalogue: Marion CHALLIER et Bernadette CAILLE; préfaces par Laurent BAYLE et Frédéric DASSAS (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2002), 288 p. ISBN 2-7118-4452-8. 50 €

Depuis son ouverture en 1997 le Musée de la Musique de Paris développe une politique d'expositions thématiques qui a porté tout d'abord sur l'instrument de musique (Les harpes Zandé, 1998; Les instruments de la Chine, 1999; La recherche scientifique autour de la collection instrumentale,

2000). Le diptyque dont nous rendons compte ici constitue sans doute la première expérience véritablement pluridisciplinaire à l'occasion de laquelle la musique (et non les instruments) est interrogée dans ses rapports aux beaux-arts, à la philosophie et à la littérature. Les lecteurs de *Music in*

Art ne doivent pas pour autant s'attendre à trouver dans ces deux volumes une réflexion et des sources portant à proprement parler sur l'iconographie musicale. Sans doute du fait d'un parti pris, une seule œuvre d'art à sujet musical a figuré dans la première exposition et à peine une vingtaine sur quatre vingt dix dans la seconde.

Ces deux expositions étaient conçues comme pendants et leur contenu intellectuel, leur muséographie, leur catalogue et les activités culturelles (concerts, forum, colloque) qui les ont accompagnées, l'ont largement montré. Elles n'étaient cependant pas voulues avec un exact enchaînement historique. En effet, la première, consacrée à la représentation des passions en France à l'âge baroque, s'ouvrait autour des années 1630 avec Simon Vouet, s'attachait essentiellement au règne de Louis XIV, et donnait quelques jalons pour le XVIII^e siècle (les plus avancées étant le tableau de Jean Raoux, *Mlle Prévost en bacchant*, 1723 et les *Observations sur notre instinct pour la musique* de Jean-Philippe Rameau, 1754). La seconde, centrée sur l'expression du sentiment, ouvrit la démonstration également à l'Angleterre et à l'Allemagne, réunit des œuvres picturales réalisées entre 1760 à 1830 et s'attacha plus largement aux œuvres littéraires.

Au premier regard, le visiteur put se demander s'il n'y avait pas erreur sur la destination: les œuvres «exposées» auraient pu l'être dans n'importe quel musée d'art, celles concernant la musique (8 manuscrits et impressions musicales seulement et pas d'iconographie musicale pour la première exposition; 3 manuscrits autographes, dix projets de décors d'opéra et dix portraits de musiciens pour la seconde) étant minoritaires. Mais l'originalité du projet consistait en la présence d'un programme musical de grande qualité proposé tout le long du parcours grâce à un système d'écoute individuelle. Le visiteur était invité à sélectionner l'un des vingt extraits sonores à un moment déterminé du parcours, et à les écouter soit face aux œuvres visuelles en rapport, soit dans différents petits salons d'écoute semi ouverts, placés en quatre points du parcours, légèrement à l'écart du flux de la visite. En réalité le promeneur auditeur avait par force (en raison de la longueur pourtant toute relative des extraits) un rythme si différent du promeneur spectateur qu'il était difficile de conserver une réelle adéquation entre le parcours visuel et le parcours sonore. Comment en effet adapter le temps d'écoute avec tel groupe d'œuvres visuelles? Bien souvent le visiteur était déjà dans une autre section de l'exposition sans s'en être tout à fait rendu compte; plus encore, une concentration équivalente sur le sonore et le visuel sembla quasi impossible (pour des raisons cognitives croyons-nous), surtout en position debout, à moins de considérer les extraits musicaux comme un «fonds sonore» et non comme œuvres en soi. Peut-on d'ailleurs analyser de manière vraiment concomitante une œuvre visuelle et une œuvre musicale? Peut-on en même temps et avec la même densité «contempler et écouter»? Le visiteur vraiment «conscientieux» finit souvent par découvrir chaque thème au plan des œuvres visuelles, puis par s'asseoir pour s'im-

prégner avec la même concentration des extraits sonores, au demeurant remarquablement choisis. Nos habitudes quotidiennes de «consommation culturelle» peuvent-elles être transposées dans une exposition multithématique et multisensorielle ayant un contenu aussi riche et complexe?

Autre surprise, autre questionnement: la faible matière musicale à analyser par le regard et la lecture. L'écriture musicale a été en effet véritablement sous-représentée dans ces deux expositions. S'agissait-il alors d'expositions d'art, avec «accompagnement musical»? On eut pu avoir cette sensation et la fréquentation par le public habituée des expositions d'art parisiennes pouvait renforcer cette impression. Mais heureusement les deux passionnants ouvrages restituèrent avec un bien plus grande cohérence les enjeux multiformes du double projet. Ils démontrèrent en effet brillamment l'objectif intellectuel commun aux différents commissaires, chacun porteur, dans ce dialogue des arts, de disciplines complémentaires: l'histoire de l'art, la musicologie, la philosophie et la littérature. Regrettons, d'ailleurs, que le premier volume ne précise pas titres et fonction des auteurs.

Chacun des deux ouvrages est composé d'une partie «études» et d'une partie véritablement catalogue reflétant le contenu de l'exposition selon cinq sections dont le propos est chaque fois introduit. Huit études apportent donc une réflexion sur les questions posées par Frédéric Dussas dans son «Introduction»: au premier volume: les passions traduisent-elles une dépendance de l'âme à l'égard des faiblesses du corps? Comment sont-elles suscitées, et comment se traduisent-elles? Comment ensuite les arts les «représentent-elles» et suscitent-ils les mouvements de l'âme en provoquant leur réception? Remarquable que «la coïncidence entre l'élaboration d'une doctrine esthétique et la constitution d'un système politique» est manifeste sous le règne du roi Soleil. F. Dussas montre que l'adéquation entre théorie et pratique artistique amènent plus fréquemment à une impasse. Il conclut aussi que dès la fin du Grand siècle émerge «l'hypothèse d'une unité des passions sous la bannière de l'amour».

Philippe Malgouyres, conservateur aux départements des Sculptures et Objets d'Art du musée du Louvre, montre tout d'abord combien, depuis l'Antiquité, la connaissance de l'homme et de ses passions s'appuie sur la physiognomonie, mais prend en compte aussi «la conséquence de la Chute, du péché d'Adam», les passions étant alors considérées comme des maladies de l'âme, comme «un mouvement de l'Âme contre la Raison». Soulignant que le contrôle de soi est une vertu primordiale pour les puissants (les prologues des tragédies lyriques de Lully ne disent habilement pas autre chose à l'adresse du Roi), il montre combien les passions maîtrisées peuvent ouvrir sur une théorie de la perception. La réalité de l'émotion du spectateur devient alors le signe incontestable de la qualité de l'œuvre.

Anne Piéjus, chercheur à l'Institut de recherche sur le patrimoine musical en France, spécialiste du théâtre musical au XVIII^e siècle, met en rapport théorie des passions et dis-

cours sur la musique. Elle considère que «la réflexion dominante se concentre autour du pouvoir expressif de la musique et de sa capacité à intégrer et à transposer les figures du discours». La musique est alors «inféodée» à la langue et l'autonomie de la forme musicale ne viendra que plus tard. Elle rappelle combien la dimension interprétative de la musique l'isole d'ailleurs difficilement des effets de la vue, le chanteur, comme l'orateur, étant perçu dans la globalité de sa présence: phonique, mais aussi gestuelle et visuelle (en tant qu'interprète, Michel Verschaef en souligne d'ailleurs d'expérience toute l'importance dans ce même volume). L'ouïe n'est donc pas seule en jeu, même dans la musique liturgique. Mais alors que le rapport à la rhétorique paraît très organisé, elle constate que plusieurs définitions des passions coexistent. Comment, alors, dresser une typologie des modes, des danses ou des pièces liturgiques, voire des timbres instrumentaux, si la nature des passions n'est pas connue?

L'Académie de peinture, en revanche, propose un discours beaucoup plus univoque: la vraie peinture est celle qui raconte l'histoire selon un modèle littéraire. L'expression est donc du côté de l'imitation et il y a équivalence entre expression et passion. Emmanuel Coquery, historien d'art et conservateur au Louvre, montre combien Le Brun et les fondateurs de l'Académie considèrent la peinture comme une science (la connaissance des règles de l'anatomie, de la physiologie des mouvements passionnels) qui rétablit un lien «entre les apparences et la profondeur des êtres». Isabelle Olivo-Poinard en détaille d'ailleurs la codification (formes corporelles et leurs mouvements). Tout le corps doit contribuer à une même fin expressive. La notion centrale de «convenances» (la qualité du personnage passionné doit être prise en compte, mais aussi l'intensité de ses passions et la variété de ses expressions) voit progressivement l'expressivité s'attacher non seulement à la figure humaine, mais aussi au paysage ou à l'atmosphère lumineuse. Peu à peu, la perte du «sujet héroïque», l'émotion, les scènes de genre et le portrait, le naturel et le culte de la sensualité dans l'art, amènent au tournant du siècle à une rhétorique galante et romanesque bien différente.

La représentation des passions déréglées est ensuite étudiée par Georges Forestier dans la tragédie de Corneille et Racine, le tragique provenant du conflit surgit de la puissante opposition entre devoir et passion, entre «caractère» (moral, il est lié au sexe, au rang, à l'âge) et passion. La tragédie est alors plus destinée à instruire qu'à émouvoir. Elle est l'art de représenter, de façon réglée, le déréglement. Elle doit suggérer le trouble de l'esprit sans troubler la compréhension du discours. Plus que tout autre art, elle utilise de façon appropriée et variée les figures de la rhétorique. Celle du chant sacré est ensuite considérée par Monique Brulin. Les critères de convenance sont cette fois «la vérité» et la «justesse». La simplicité doit permettre un plaisir raisonnable tout en touchant le cœur. Entre les sublimes motets de Charpentier et ceux plus simples de Nivers, cette «vocalité» de la prière chrétienne devient un

lieu «d'enchantement» du texte, un «transport» s'effectuant du chantre aux créatures célestes.

Une dernière étude est consacrée par Christine Laloue, conservateur au musée de la Musique, au «chant des instruments». Son survol de l'évolution des instruments de musique pendant la période considérée souligne la référence constante à la voix puis considère les instruments d'harmonie et ceux de mélodie. Ne fallait-il pas plutôt envisager une véritable approche sonore, allant d'une anthroponomie du timbre à la recherche d'une nouvelle expressivité des instruments, appuyée sur la recherche vraiment individualisée des facteurs d'instruments, sur le discours des méthodes, sur les innovations présentées devant l'Académie des Sciences et sur les œuvres instrumentales? Les partitions autographes de Rameau, génie du «coloris instrumental», annotées de ses prescriptions pour tel ou tel pupitre de l'orchestre de l'Opéra, n'auraient-elles pas révélé beaucoup plus sur l'expression instrumentale des passions? On comprend mal la finalité de ce texte d'autant plus que l'instrument de musique est totalement absent des œuvres données à voir dans l'exposition (mais heureusement pas du si pertinent choix d'œuvres musicales à écouter). Les quelques allusions à l'iconographie musicale masquent mal combien ces deux aspects du sujet (les moyens expressifs de l'instrument et les «représentations» de la musique dans les arts visuels avec notamment la symbolique des instruments de musique) ont été «contournés», pour ne pas dire ignorés de la démonstration. On se demande en quoi, dialoguant avec les aspects précédemment développés, ils l'auraient affaiblie. Le paradoxe n'en paraît que plus fortement alors que cette exposition temporaire fut organisée auprès de la prestigieuse collection instrumentale du Musée de la Musique.

L'invention du sentiment proposa quelques mois plus tard une construction également très dense et démonstrative. Comme l'indique F. Dassas en tête de ce deuxième ouvrage, il dessine «la carte d'un nouveau concert des nations beaucoup moins attentif à la partie française». L'Angleterre, comme contre modèle, et la réception exceptionnelle de l'univers germanique en feront toute la nouveauté. Cette fois, le sentiment, s'éloignant du monde des sensations pour rejoindre celui des intuitions, sera le fondement d'une nouvelle philosophie de la connaissance. Pour Diderot, une œuvre morale ne peut pas ne pas être une œuvre sincère. Et à la sincérité de l'artiste répond l'attendrissement du spectateur. La tendresse fait place au plaisir et à la terreur. Une nouvelle figure de l'artiste émerge, le génie comme le virtuose, alors que les codes de représentation sont remis en question. Science et création artistiques s'opposent, la hiérarchie des genres est bouleversée, le drame bourgeois l'emporte sur l'histoire antique. Le fantastique touche parfois au morbide, le mal au pervers, et comme le paysage se fait d'autre part histoire, le mysticisme s'incarne dans la contemplation de la nature et le sentiment dans un nouvel infini. En raison de ces nouvelles esthétiques, souvent fort éloignées

de notre sensibilité, certains groupes d'œuvres exposées ont pu paraître difficiles d'accès au public d'aujourd'hui.

Dans l'ouvrage, François Calori détaille longuement les éléments du complexe débat philosophique. Jean Mongrédien, musicologue ayant consacré tant de travaux au goût musical entre Révolution et Premier Empire, rappelle que la période considérée présente une «évolution sans révolution», démontre combien la musique instrumentale devenant alors dégagée de toutes références au réel, comment mélancolie du temps et nostalgie d'un absolu inspirent le théâtre musical, une nouvelle poétique de la mort se projetant dans des œuvres antérieures en les marquant parfois d'une «sensibilité parfois exacerbée jusqu'au délire». Charles Rosen et Henri Zerner montrent ensuite comment on assiste à la création d'un nouveau langage dégagé de la parole, langage des sons musicaux, des couleurs et des lignes libérées de la représentation, mais pourquoi de ce fait l'alliance des arts devint un leurre. L'historien d'art Barthélémy Jobert insiste sur le rôle précurseur de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Allemagne dans l'établissement d'un pré-romantisme européen où l'artiste peintre «affronte désormais directement, et avec la liberté formelle la plus grande, l'histoire contemporaine». Dominique de Font-Réaulx s'attarde sur les objectifs des critiques d'art, qu'ils soient hommes de lettres ou de théâtre: il s'agit d'émouvoir et d'élever, les arts ayant une mission esthétique, morale, voire politique alors que pointe une remise en cause de la monarchie. La critique de Diderot sur le théâtre vaut pour la peinture et le philosophe devient quasi metteur en scène du tableau grâce à l'émotion que l'œuvre a suscité en lui. De la même façon, chez Winckelmann, l'émotion la plus grande est provoquée par la maîtrise du sentiment et non par sa violence. Il introduit aussi la notion d'individualité et celle de «grâce qui plaît en raison». Lessing plaide, quant à lui, pour une séparation complète des arts et considère que la peinture ne peut rendre qu'un instant, figeant une attitude dans une beauté éternelle. Enfin si l'«emphathie» est interdite à l'artiste, elle est au cœur de la critique de celui qui regarde, l'émotion est celle du spectateur. L'art des David, Guérin et Delacroix est tour à tour analysé à la lumière de cette grille devenue inapplicable à la violence des héros désespérés de Géricault.

Julie Ramos, explique ensuite comment le paysage, dans l'art allemand et anglais, devient sanctuaire d'un possible contact avec le divin. La méditation religieuse est ainsi transférée au paysage et l'homme participe alors à sa connaissance au travers d'une véritable «consonance». Adrien Goetz propose finalement la lecture de textes littéraires et distingue trois moments: «on passe de la série des sentiments désordonnés à la sensation unique, celle qui est réservée à l'artiste. Les écrivains peignent le péril de l'âme authentiquement sentimentale. L'incommunicabilité dans laquelle s'enferme le héros le mure alors dans son génie. On peut s'interroger finalement sur l'absence d'une étude sur la recherche d'expressivité dans la facture instrumentale durant cette période si riche en innovations: l'entrée dans l'orchestre

de la clarinette, du cor, de la harpe n'aurait-elle pas mérité une réflexion? Les innombrables tentatives pour donner dynamique et variété de timbre au clavecin et aux premiers claviers à mécanismes frappés n'auraient-elles pas contribué à ce tableau d'une nouvelle sensibilité?

Les œuvres sélectionnées pour l'exposition avaient été ordonnées selon cinq thématiques, explicitées dans des textes restés malheureusement anonymes (contrairement à ce qui avait été fait pour *Figures de la passion*). La section intitulée «La rhétorique des larmes et la vertu des héros» proposait ainsi une galerie de scènes familiales, de tableaux moralisants de Greuze ou héroïques de Peyron, Angelika Kauffmann, Hartmann, David, Danloux et Vafflard, à l'esthétique fort éloignée de notre sensibilité actuelle. Les esquisses sculptées contrebalançaient avantageusement la sensation d'ennui qui risquait de se dégager de cet ensemble. Pour la section consacrée à «La scène», Nicole Wild analysa des projets de décors proposés par paires. Organisés autour de la figure dominante de Ciceri, ils permettaient d'entrevoir le changement d'inspiration qui s'instaura de Gluck à Auber: chez Bélanger qui forma ce peintre de paysage, les décors pour *Alecse* de Gluck (1776) concentrent le drame de cet amour conjugal dans une architecture néo-antique où colonnes et temples dominent encore; en 1799, pour *Elisai ou l'amour maternel* de Grétry, les jeunes architectes Percier, Thibault et Fontaine se documentent auprès des savants de la Bibliothèque nationale pour donner un air de vérité à leurs paysages exotiques si recherchés au même moment par Joséphine à Malmaison; par sa maîtrise des paysages où l'utilisation fantastique de la lumière, Ciceri est le premier à proposer sur scène un drame aussi intériorisé. Son projet de décor pour *Gustave III* est un sommet du genre que ses élèves, tel Cambon, ne réussissent pas à égaler.

Parcours riche en découvertes (notamment les œuvres sculptées de la première exposition, les dessins allemands de la seconde), moment de délectation en raison de la qualité des œuvres visuelles et musicales, ces deux expositions restaient pourtant déroutantes à bien des égards. L'impression de flottement et de déséquilibre dans la démonstration venait peut-être d'une structuration d'abord intellectuelle, autour de laquelle des œuvres ont été assemblées dans un second temps. Peut-être qu'une réflexion partant véritablement des œuvres (qu'elles soient visuelles, musicales, de facture instrumentale) aurait mis en relief avec plus d'évidence les éléments de la démonstration. L'exiguïté et la complexité des espaces du musée dévolus à ces deux expositions n'ont pas facilité la tâche des concepteurs (les grands formats étaient par principe exclus) ni celle du scénographe (Vincen Cornu) qui a œuvré sur les deux expositions. Une mise en espace au parti très sobre et raffiné, s'effaçant devant les œuvres, veillant au confort et à l'agrément du visiteur a cependant permis de surmonter avec élégance ces contraintes.

FLORENCE GÉTREAU

MADRID

Paisajes sonoros en el Madrid del s. XVIII: La tonadilla escénica. Museo de San Isidro (May to July 2003). Catalogue by Begoña LOLO, Andrés AMOROS, Germán LABRADOR LÓPEZ DE AZCONA, et al. (Madrid: Museo de San Isidro; Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2003), 247 pages. 175 color illustrations. ISBN 84-7812-562-0. 24 €.

Exhibition accompanied by CD recording *El maestro de baile y otras tonadillas: Música en los teatros de Madrid durante el siglo XVIII*, which includes works by Luis Misón, Antonio Rosales, Pablo Esteve, Blas de Laserna, Pablo del Moral. Performed by Cecilia LAVILLA BERGANZA, soprano; Olga PITARCH, soprano; Salvador PARRÓN, tenor and the Ensemble Elyma. Conducted by Gabriel GARRIDO.

The *tonadilla escénica*¹ – a brief theater play, lasting less than twenty minutes, based on musical numbers developing a funny, light, and entertaining humoristic plot – belongs to a variety of genres in Spanish theater between approximately 1750 and 1815. The *tonadillas escénicas* were performed in the intermissions of comedies by the performers participating in main play.²

The exhibition was initiated by Begoña Lolo, the professor at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and the head of the research group Música Madrid which has been during the recent years involved with the research and revival of *tonadillas* found mainly at the Biblioteca Histórica Municipal de Madrid, containing archives of the *Teatro del Príncipe* and *Teatro de la Cruz* of Madrid. In an easy, attractive, and understanding manner, the exhibition reveals the results of this research, presenting sources for the history of the *tonadilla* in Madrid and its social environment featured in plots of *tonadillas*.

The first part of the exhibition, "Los cómicos y compositores" (Actors and composers) presents original scores of *tonadillas* composed by Luis Misón, José Palomino, and Félix Máximo López for important actors, such as María Antonia Fernández "La Caramba" and José Espejo. This section also includes drawings and engravings of portraits of *tonadilla* performers, in particular Lorenza Correa (accompanied with a text describing her career and fame), Miguel Garrido, and Luisa Todi (along with a sonnet dedicated to her). There are also here drawings showing actors in costumes during performances: Miguel Garrido "en traje de gitano" (in Gipsy clothes), María Ladvenant, and Gabriel López "Chinita" in the role of "cómico ridículo en el sainete de Manolo" (ridiculous actor in the *sainete* of Manolo)³ by Manuel de la Cruz Cano Olmedilla.

The section "Vida, modos y costumbres en el Madrid del siglo XVIII" (Life, manners and customs in Madrid during the eighteenth century) demonstrated the context of the *tonadillas* presented in pictures and drawings. The *tonadillas* were frequently a kind of caricatures of the contemporaneous society and people, and therefore any document depicting the society of this period may be useful in approaching their theatrical world. This section included some remarkable pictures of places and situations in Madrid (*La feria de Madrid* in the Plaza de la Cebada by Manuel de la Cruz Cano de

Olmedilla, *Abanicos y rosas* by Ramon Bayeu, *Ciego de romances y unas mujeres* by Eugenio Jiménez de Cisneros), showing also *ciego de romances* (blind singers of ballads) and other typical characters of the most popular *tonadillas*. Interesting were also Marcos Téllez Villar's drawings of performances of typical dances, such as *seguidillas boleras*, which appeared toward the *tonadillas* and were performed either independently in intermissions of comedies or sometimes appeared toward the end of *tonadillas*. This section of the exhibition presented many typical characters of *tonadillas* (*lecluginos*, *curdulacos*, *petimetres*,⁴ *majos*) along with Miguel Gamborino's series of typical craftsmen and salesmen appearing in *tonadillas*, such as *La maja limonera* by Pedro Aranaz. The most attractive section in the exhibition is dedicated to objects and costumes, which includes authentic props of porcelain (bottles and little statues of *majos* and *mujas* in Madrilenian style of clothes, produced with a curious mixture of rococo refinement). The exhibited clothes (shoes of *petimetre*, clothes of *majo*), provided courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Antropología, gave a genuine impression about productions. However, one misses in the exhibition Goya's pictures of tapestries, reflecting this same world. Eduardo Salas Vázquez, the head of the Museo de San Isidro, in the booklet accompanying the exhibition justifies this absence arguing that these pictures would eclipse the attention on other objects related to *tonadillas* and therefore they were intentionally avoided.

The third section, "La música de la tonadilla en el teatro" (The music of the *tonadilla* in the theater) presents original documents related to theater activities in Madrid (the plans of the two theaters in the city, lists of theater companies). The final section, "De la exaltación a la decadencia de la tonadilla escénica" (From the exaltation to the decadence of the *tonadilla escénica*) displays documents revealing crucial moments in the development of the *tonadilla escénica*; images and works of two among the greatest Spanish intellectuals of this period, Tomás de Iriarte, who exalted the *tonadilla* in his poem *La música*, and the neoclassicist Leandro Fernández de Moratín, who slandered the *tonadilla* in his *La comedia nueva* (both works are exhibited in early editions). Also exhibited was in this section the score of the only known *tonadilla* based on text written by a woman: *La Anita* by Blas de Laserna, perhaps the greatest composer of *tonadillas*, based

on the text by Joaquina Comella. Another interesting exhibit was the score of the *tonadilla La venida de Muñoz* (Coming of Muñoz), whose text illustrates the decline of the genre at the time when *tonadillas* became influenced by the Italian opera and the aesthetics of neoclassicism. The examples of articles published in contemporaneous newspapers demonstrated the influence of *tonadilla* outside of the theater.⁶ This section also included objects related to the Cofradía de la Novena (Brotherhood of the Ninth), the patron of the guild of actors.

The section closes with exhibits related to "la *tonadilla* en el siglo XX" (the *tonadilla* during the 20th century), among which were displayed the designs of costumes created by Helena Kriskova for the performance of Laserna's *tonadillas* in the Theater Valle Inclán in Madrid in the year 2000. One of the most remarkable features of these designs is the rococo and Madrilenian aesthetic mixed with the style borrowed from cabaret. It might have been also interesting to include in this section references to the rediscovery of the musical spirit of *tonadillas* in works by composers like Enrique Granados⁷ or Francisco Asenjo Barbieri,⁸ or references to the research about *tonadillas* in late 19th and 20th century, as Felip Pedrell⁹ and particularly José Subirá, the great investigator of the genre from the 1930s to 1960s and the early 1970s.¹⁰

Without any doubt, the most attractive part of the exhibition is a scale model of the *Teatro de la Cruz*, in which the public can see a hologram with a representation of *El maestro de baile* (The teacher of dancing) by Luis Misón. Viewers can imagine here a typical set of a *tonadilla*, along with its music, theater and comic elements.

The exhibition has been accompanied by a conference, a compact disc with recording of previously unperformed *tonadillas*, and a series of concerts "Música en la Biblioteca Histórica Municipal: Tonadillas y músicas escénicas del Madrid castizo", organized by the Centro Cultural Conde Duque in April 2002.

The exhibition, which brought closer to us the genre of *tonadilla*, and its historical and social context, was interesting and comprehensive. The "profane" visitor could have in the exhibition imagined the ambient of eighteenth-century Madrid and, above all, its theater world. One might miss here a more thorough consideration of *tonadilla* music, but there are presently very few recordings of *tonadillas* and many musical issues are still left to be explored.

AURÉLIA PESARRODONA

Notes

¹ José Subirá, the main researcher of this genre, distinguishes between *tonadilla* and *tonadilla escénica*: the first being a brief song

included in larger works (such as *entrées* or *villancicos*), and the second the particular form of musical theater. Nevertheless, the common name in the contemporary literature remains *tonadilla*.

² The *tonadilla* and the *saúces* (one-act comedy) have several common elements regarding the characters, plots, and function. The *tonadillas* could be also compared with Italian *intermezzi*, in spite of differences emanated from the characteristic Spanish flavor in plots and music. According to Subirá, the disappearance of the *tonadilla escénica* is directly related to the influence of Italian music, although more recent studies consider also relation between the *tonadilla* and neoclassical ideas in theater plays.

³ A famous *saúce* by Ramon de la Cruz.

⁴ All these terms (*lechuquino*, *currutaco* and *petimetre*) had a similar meaning in the 18th century, describing persons who adopted very elegant manners (often French) fashion. The term "petimetre" is a derivation of the French expression "*petit maitre*."

⁵ Common people whose clothes and manners reflect liberty and bravery. In some *tonadillas* and *saúces*, through their "Spanish pride" they represented the opposite side of the *petimètres*.

⁶ "Origen y progresos de las tonadillas que se cantan en los Coliseos de esta Corte" (Beginning and progress of the *tonadillas* that are sung in the Coliseums of this Court), *Memorial literario, instructivo y curioso de la Corte de Madrid* XLVI/2 (September 1787), p. 169-180. The document is located at the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid, AH 7/1-2 (1321).

⁷ Enrique Granados composed a series of *tonadillas* reflecting the spirit of the 18th-century form but without its theatrical context.

⁸ The composer Francisco Asenjo Barbieri greatly admired the *tonadillas*, and made several copies of manuscripts kept at the Biblioteca Histórica Municipal de Madrid, located in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Barbieri thought that the *tonadilla* had to be the starting point of a Spanish national music theater. The musical and theatrical influence of *tonadillas* in Barbieri is evident in *circulitos* like *El timbreillo de Lavapiés*.

⁹ Following Barbieri, the musicologist and composer Felip Pedrell defended at any cost the *tonadilla* like a national product, as we can see in his *Teatro lírico español anterior al siglo XIX* (La Coruña: Canuto Barea y compañía, 1897) and *Cancionero musical popular español* (4th ed., Barcelona: Boileau, 1958).

¹⁰ The main Subirá's study, and starting point of all future studies about this subject, is *La tonadilla escénica* (Madrid: Tipografía de archivos Olózaga, 1928-1930), 3 vols., and its one-volume digest of the same title (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1933). Another interesting Subirá's study is *Tonadillas teatrales inéditas* (Madrid: Tipografía de archivos Olózaga, 1928).

The catalogue of *Paisajes sonoros en el Madrid del s. XVIII. La tonadilla escénica* includes the following contributions: Begoña LOLO, *Itinerarios musicales en la tonadilla escénica* (p. 14-31); Andrés AMOROS, *El mundo de la tonadilla* (p. 32-37); Germán Labrador LÓPEZ DE AZCONA, *Una mirada sobre la tonadilla: música, texto e intérpretes al servicio de un nuevo ideal escénico* (p. 38-47); Emilio MORENO, *Reflexiones de un intérprete actual ante el repertorio tonadillero* (p. 48-59); María José RUIZ MAYORDOMO, *El papel de la danza en la tonadilla escénica* (p. 60-71); Amalia DESCALZO, *Costumbres y vestimentas en el Madrid de la tonadilla* (p. 72-91); Ascensión AGUERRI MARTÍNEZ, *La colección de música y teatro en la Biblioteca Histórica Municipal de Madrid: Apuntes para su estudio* (p. 92-107); Petra Vega HERRANZ and Salvador QUERO CASTRO, *Vida y sociedad en el Madrid del Antiguo Régimen* (p. 108-130).

NEW YORK

Schoenberg, Kandinsky, and the Blue Rider. The Jewish Museum, New York (24 October 2003 to 12 February 2004).

Esther de Costa MEYER and Fred WASSERMAN, eds., *Schoenberg, Kandinsky, and the Blue Rider*. Foreword by Joan ROSENBAUM (New York: The Jewish Museum; London: Scala, 2003), 208 p. illus., compact disk. ISBN 1-85759-312-X.

Compared to other exhibitions about the *Blue Rider* or Expressionism, the exhibition *Schoenberg, Kandinsky, and the Blue Rider* at the Jewish Museum in New York focused less on an overall description of its topic and more on the relationship between Schoenberg and Kandinsky – thus, the time from 1911 to 1922 marked by an expressionistic attitude. Of course, due to the historic circumstances of the time, this friendship has been amply documented up to World War I. Besides photographs, letters, musical pieces, and other archival sources, the exhibition contained drawings and pictures by Schoenberg and Kandinsky as well as of other artists closely associated with the *Blue Rider*: to mention just a few here, there was Gabriele Münter's *Jawlensky and Wexler* (1909)¹ and *Kandinsky at Tea* (1910),² Alexei von Jawlensky's *Yellow Sound* (1908)³ and *Egyptian Girl* (1913),⁴ as well as Franz Marc's *Yellow Cow* (1911),⁵ August Macke's *Colored Forms I* (1913),⁶ and Albert Bloch's *Head* (1911).⁷ Of course, the wealth of objects is one thing, the structuring of the exhibit is another. As usual with exhibitions at the Jewish Museum, the setting was dignified rather than stylish, the *Parcours*, however, was well thought out and is as educational as it is clearly structured.

As is known, Schoenberg and Kandinsky were engaged in active communication between 1911 and 1914, mostly in the form of letters.⁸ It was Kandinsky who, following a concert at the Munich Jahreszeitsaal on 2 January 1911, contacted Schoenberg. (Time and again it was Kandinsky who made an effort to keep the relationship going – a circumstance which the exhibition hardly takes into account). This concert in which participated the acclaimed singer Marie Gutheil-Schoder, pianist Etta Wernsdorff, and the legendary *Rose-Quartet* comprised exclusively Schoenberg's pieces.⁹ Kandinsky was deeply moved by these pieces as expressed in his oil painting *Improvisation III (Concert)*, preceded by two charcoal drawings, as well as in his 8 January 1911 letter to Schoenberg. In this letter, Kandinsky expressed that he and Schoenberg have "a lot in common" as regards their "ambitions" as well as their "entire thinking and feeling".¹⁰ Schoenberg, for his part, confirmed this inner connection in his reply on 24 January 1911 with the following words: "Surely, among the best striving today, there are secret relationships, communalities, which are probably not coincidental."¹¹

Both artists sensed that their encounter, however fateful it may have been, was a necessity. It was obvious

that they would embrace each other – metaphorically speaking. Aside from a few important dates, the exhibition provided only minimal information about these early events. After all, both artists had finished their groundbreaking art theoretical essays prior to their meeting (Schoenberg's *Theory of Harmony*, Kandinsky's essay *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*).¹² Thus, with huge artistic and partially systematic effort, both artists – coming from different directions – had been going towards Modernism several years prior to their meeting. It is unfortunate that neither the events prior to the meeting between Kandinsky and Schoenberg nor the break in their relationship in 1923 are emphasized by the exhibition. This criticism, however, not only affects the attitude of this exhibition, but also a large part of the scholarly debate about this "historic encounter" as subtitled by a 1997 collection of essays about Schoenberg and Kandinsky.¹³ In fact, there is still, among today's broad spectrum of research literature, astoundingly minimal systematic research about the reasons for the encounter as well as subsequent break between them.¹⁴

However, the Jewish Museum's effort to take a closer look at the relationship between the two most remarkable and influential artists of the first half of the twentieth century reflects the recent trend in museum exhibition offerings which emphasize the cultural landscape of Germany, especially the expressionistic period, mirroring corresponding movements in the international arts and music market.¹⁵ Furthermore, the exhibition supports the recent increase in interest in Schoenberg, as demonstrated by an extensive amount of publications.¹⁶ On the other hand, the fact that the New York exhibition down to its very substance is a revival of the exhibition *Schoenberg, Kandinsky, Blauer Reiter und die Russische Avantgarde*, exhibited at the Vienna Arnold Schönberg Center from 9 March through 28 May 2000,¹⁷ strongly suggests that the subject matter is no longer controversial, at least for as long as no additional documents are uncovered. Such discoveries require time and patience, rarely abiding by the rules of an arts and music market functioning largely according to economic principles. However, the beautifully created exhibition catalogue, edited by Esther de Costa Meyer and Fred Wasserman, including insightful contributions by the editors as well as by Magdalena Dabrowski, Christopher Hailey, and Reinhold Heller, is an excellent addition to the literature regarding these artists.

Overall, the numerous exhibits offer the general audience a differentiated picture of the relationship between Kandinsky and Schoenberg as well as their extraordinary significance for the development of the European art in the twentieth century. The visitor who gets involved in this relationship and the artistic achievements of these important personalities will be enchanted by the size of the historic moment this exhibit captures. One becomes witness to a period – which is retrospectively known as “Modernism” – making its first steps. What seems obvious today, namely art which is free of conventions,¹⁸ began just prior to Schoenberg and Kandinsky’s meeting. Painting frees itself from the constraints of the central perspective and the mimetic descriptive mode while in music, the regulating force of triadic harmony is increasingly opened. In this development, the ideologically embellished idea of the total piece of art, as defined from the more egocentric Wagnerian perspective, is overcome.

The close union of the arts which was forced by Schoenberg and Kandinsky during the first two decades of the twentieth century follows the principle of extending the means of expression while the artistic means are reduced. Both Schoenberg and Kandinsky had the tendency to extend the possibilities of their artistic means of expression during this time. Between 1907 and 1912, Schoenberg created a large part of his sculptural works while between 1908 and 1912, Kandinsky experimented with so-called stage compositions in which the synaesthetic melting together of color, sound, word, and movement played a central role. Yet, their works show a reduction of means. In his own words, Kandinsky was on his way to the “purely artistic composition”¹⁹ around 1910, because he started to freely utilize the painting-specific means color and shape attending to the requirements of perspective. Likewise Schoenberg introduced with his *Chamber Symphony* op. 9 of 1906 a kind of “tendency to compression”²⁰ which eventually led to his atonal experiments, for example *Three Piano Pieces* op. 11 of 1909. This development was motivated by an inwardly directed movement or the discovery of the inner subject as the source of the artistic doing which followed a kind of “logic of expression” (*Expressionslogik*). Ernst Bloch first used this terminology regarding Schoenberg’s free atonality.²¹ This also caused the idea of a close union of the arts to turn towards the primarily human, towards the place where the artists as human beings tell their real stories out of an inner necessity, the central concept of the time, instead of attempting to convince with an excess of artistic means and an obtrusiveness of the *Semper Idem*. Not only Schoenberg’s music – which the visitor may listen to while walking through the exhibition using an audio-guide free of charge – but also his portraits, self portraits, and so called “*Augenbilder*”, including the famous *Red Gaze* of 1910,²² the equally famous portrait of Alban Berg,²³ and the *Blue Self-Portrait* of 1910,²⁴ his stage drawings for the monodrama in one act,

Erwartung op. 17 (1909), and the drama with music *Die glückliche Hand* op. 18 (1910–1913), all create a lasting impression of this movement.

The Kandinsky exhibits follow the principle of inner necessity which was the overall leitmotif of his work. This principle stands for no less than the conviction that a work of art must be detached from outside guidelines such as the model nature, because for Kandinsky any form of mimetic strictness in art resulted in the oversimplification of feelings and thus an art without a soul.²⁵ According to Kandinsky in his epoch-making essay *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, the inner voice of the artist is the deciding factor during the creation process of a picture. Among other things he states: “In writing these books [i.e. profound books about art] they [i.e. the academics] remove the barriers over which art has most recently stepped and set up new ones which are to remain for ever in the places they have chosen. They do not notice that they are busy erecting barriers, not in front of art but behind it. And if they do notice this, on the morrow they merely write fresh books and hastily set their barriers a little further on. This performance will go on unaltered until it is realized that the most extreme principle of aesthetic can never be of value to the future but only to the past. No such theory of principle can be laid down for those things which lie beyond, in the realm of the immaterial. That which has no material existence cannot be subjected to a material classification. That which belongs to the spirit of the future can only be realized in feeling and to this feeling the talent of the artist is the only road.”²⁶ After having enthusiastically read about two thirds of Kandinsky’s work, Schoenberg states in a letter to Kandinsky on 14 December 1911, “I do not quite agree with a few little points. Particularly not with the point, if I understand you correctly, that you would rather have provided a precise theory. I do not think this is necessary now. We are searching and still searching (just like you said) with our emotions. Let us try not to lose these emotions to a theory!”²⁷

As promising the title of the New York exhibition may be, it only partially fulfills the expectations that were awakened. Not much new information beyond the facts that are already known about Kandinsky and the other representatives of the *Blue Rider* is provided. At the center of the exhibition stands Arnold Schoenberg and his pictorial and musical work of the first two decades of the twentieth century, his so called “Expressionist Years”. This becomes apparent through the wealth of his displayed pictures and drawings compared to which the exhibits of Kandinsky and other aforementioned artists associated with the *Blue Rider* simply seem like an artful decoration. Besides his name being mentioned in the exhibition title, astonishingly few of Kandinsky’s pictures are displayed in the exhibition. Among them are the “symbolic” oil painting *Impression III (Concert)* which he painted – as mentioned above – after listening to Schoenberg’s music

for the first time,²⁸ and his *Little Painting with Yellow* (Impressionism) of 1914.²⁹ Similar to Kandinsky's extrusion from the perspective, *The Blue Rider* project initiated by Franz Marc and Kandinsky also slips into the background. This is somewhat justified, perhaps, by measuring the significance of the *Blue Rider*, as the title of both an exhibition and an art almanac,³⁰ had for Schoenberg. Schoenberg's involvement with the *Blue Rider* was fairly insignificant. For example, it required lengthy deliberations before he decided to provide his composition *Herzgewächse* op. 20 and his essay *Das Verhältnis zum Text* to the almanac.

Paradoxically, the strengths of the New York exhibition lie within its shortcoming: According to its title and PR announcements, it claims to thematize the network between Schoenberg, Kandinsky, and the *Blue Rider*. However, this claim is only partially fulfilled. In contrast, the exhibition provides explicit proof of the fact that during the time from 1907 to 1912, Schoenberg's pictorial and musical works – which fascinated Kandinsky – were related so closely that they do not simply complement each other but affect one another in an interdisciplinary manner. Drawing and painting had a significant place in Schoenberg's artistic works. In this context, a separation between his sculptural and musical works seems forced and unconvincing. For Schoenberg, the substance of painting and music always had a comparable status as is evident in a statement given in an interview in 1949,³¹ even though his sculptural work had ended for the most part prior to World War I. After the Vienna exhibition in 2000, the New York exhibition has emphatically renewed the request to both art history and musicology to take seriously Schoenberg's sculptural work as a significant part of his artistic output. However, this debate should avoid the old question of status or quality such as was the case during the recently conducted symposium *Der Maler Arnold Schönberg* (Schönberg Center Vienna, 11–13 September 2003). Jean Dubuffet's concept of "Art brut", has rendered invalid such distinctions between artist, dilettante, and amateur is rendered invalid. Perhaps the Schoenberg retrospective planned for 2005 at the Vienna Schönberg Center will set new standards in this regard. After all, the much awaited publication of the catalogue raisonné of Schoenberg's pictures is planned for that time.

ANTONIO BALDASSARRE

¹ Oil on cardboard, 32.7 x 44.5 cm (12 5/8 x 17 1/2 in.), Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.

² Oil on canvas, 68 x 47 cm (26 3/4 x 18 1/2 in.), The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

³ Oil on cardboard, 33 x 44.5 cm (13 x 17 1/2 in.), Private collection.

⁴ Oil on cardboard, mounted on wood, 53.3 x 49.5 cm (21 x

19 1/2 in.), The Saint Louis Art Museum, Bequest of Morton D. May.

⁵ Oil on canvas, 140.5 x 189.2 cm (55 1/4 x 74 1/2 in.), Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.

⁶ Oil on pasteboard, mounted on wood, 53.1 x 38.5 cm (20 7/8 x 15 1/8 in.), Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster, permanent loan from private collection.

⁷ Oil on canvas, 48.4 x 45.2 cm (19 1/16 x 17 11/16 in.), The Albert Bloch Foundation, Lawrence, Kansas.

⁸ Cf. Arnold Schönberg – Wassily Kandinsky: Briefe, Bilder und Dokumente einer außergewöhnlichen Begegnung. Ed. by Jelena Hahl-Koch (Salzburg: Wien: Residenz Verlag, 1980). English translation Arnold Schönberg – Wassily Kandinsky: Letters, Pictures, Documents (London: Faber & Faber, 1994); Wassily Kandinsky und Arnold Schönberg: Der Briefwechsel. Ed. by Jelena Hahl-Koch (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1993); http://www.schoenberg.at/4_exhibits/asc/Kandinsky/letters.htm [11/30/2003].

⁹ Namely, the string quartets op. 7 and op. 10, the *Drei Klavierstücke* op. 11, as well as the songs *Erwartung* op. 2 no. 1 and *Verlassen*, *Am Wegrand*, *Mädchenlied*, and *Der Wanderer* op. 6 no. 4, 6, 3, and 8.

¹⁰ Letter from Kandinsky to Schoenberg from 18 January 1911, in: Wassily Kandinsky und Arnold Schönberg: Der Briefwechsel [as in note 1]. If not otherwise specified, the English translations of excerpts from letters of Schoenberg and Kandinsky were rendered by the author.

¹¹ Letter from Kandinsky to Schoenberg from 24 January 1911, in: Wassily Kandinsky und Arnold Schönberg: Der Briefwechsel [as in note 1].

¹² Cf. Arnold Schönberg, *Harmonielehre* (1911). Jubiläums-Sonderausgabe (Wien: Universal Edition, 2001) English translation as *Theory of Harmony* (1911/1922). Translated by Roy E. Carter (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983). In 1909, Kandinsky had finished the manuscript of his essay *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, the printed essay however, was not published by the Munich publishing house Piper until 1912, which was probably due to the arrangements and tactical negotiations of Franz Marc. Cf. Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1912). (10th ed., Bern: Bentli Verlag, 1952). English translation as *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*. Translated and with an introduction by Michael T. H. Sadler (New York: Dover Publications, 1977).

¹³ Schönberg and Kandinsky: An Historic Encounter. Ed. by Konrad Boehmer (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997).

¹⁴ It was this desideratum, among other things, which caused me to look at the relationship between Kandinsky and Schoenberg from the direction of these angles; cf. Antonio Baldassarre, "The Kandinsky-Schoenberg connection reconsidered." In: *Music in Art* (2004-2005), forthcoming.

¹⁵ This fact is not only illustrated by this latest New York exhibition but also by several other exhibitions of recent years, among them: *Expressiv!*, Fondation Beyeler, Riehen near Basel (20 March – 10 August 2003) following the German Expressionism of the 19th century and its effects on artistic developments in the twentieth century (Catalogue: *Expressiv!* Fondation Beyeler, Riehen/Basel. Ostfildern: Hatje-Cantz-Verlag, 2003) <> *Der Blaue Reiter. Avantgarde und Volkskunst*. Kunsthalle Bielefeld (5 October 2003 – 11 January 2004), which focused on the relationships of the *Blue Rider* to some of its founders (Catalogue: *Der Blaue Reiter. Avantgarde und Volkskunst*. Kunsthalle Bielefeld. Bielefeld: Kerber-Verlag, 2003) <> *Der Blaue Reiter. Die Befreiung der Farbe*, Wilhelm-

Hack-Museum Ludwigshafen (11 November 2003 – 29 February 2004), which introduces the entire Munich group of painters *Der Blaue Reiter* in its breadth (Catalogue: *Der Blaue Reiter*, Wilhelm-Hack-Museum Ludwigshafen, Ostfildern: Hatje-Cantz-Verlag, 2003) <> *Kandinsky e l'avventura astratta*, a co-production of the Peggy Guggenheim Collection and the Regione Autonoma Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Villa Manin Passariano, 29 March – 27 July 2003), which focused on Kandinsky's influence on other centrally important artists of the 20th century (Catalogue: *Kandinsky e l'avventura astratta*, Villa Manin Passariano (Udine), Passariano: Provincia di Udine, 2003) <> *Die Sacharoffs. Zwei Tänzer aus dem Umkreis des Blauen Reiters*, which took place from September 2002 through June 2003 in Bremen (Paula Modersohn-Becker Museum, 29 September – 1 December 2002), Cologne (Deutsches Tanzarchiv, 10 December 2002 – 23 February 2003) and in Munich (Museum Villa Stuck, 27 March – 22 June 2003) and re-introduced two important icons of modern, expressionistic dance – Alexander Sacharoff and his wife Clothilde von Derp – to the broad public (Catalogue: *Die Sacharoffs. Zwei Tänzer aus dem Umkreis des Blauen Reiters*, Paula Modersohn-Becker Museum, Bremen, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Cologne, Museum Villa Stuck, Munich, Cologne: Wienand Verlag, 2002).

¹² Concerning these publications I would like to mention at least the following recently published book: Alexander L. Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg. Das Leben im Werk*. Stuttgart and Kassel: Metzler and Bärenreiter, 2002; *Arnold Schönberg. Interpretationen seiner Werke*, 2 vols. Ed. by Gerold W. Gruber (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2002); Allen Shawn, *Arnold Schönberg's Journey* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002).

¹³ Cf. Schönberg, *Kandinsky, Blaue Reiter und die Russische Avantgarde. Die Kunst gehört dem Unbewussten*. Sonderausstellung. Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien. *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 1 (2000).

¹⁴ It was no less a person than Theodor W. Adorno who in his thoughts about Schönberg's *Die glückliche Hand* determined the "liberation from the conventional" to be one of the most important characteristics of expressionistic art around 1910; cf. Theodor W. Adorno, "Die Musik zur 'Glücklichen Hand'". *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 18. Ed. by Rolf Tiedemann et al. (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), 408–410 (p. 409).

¹⁵ With these words, Kandinsky describes his own development around 1910; cf. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* [as in note 12], 28.

¹⁶ With the phrase "tendency to compression" (German as "Tendenz zur Verdichtung"), Schoenberg described his own composition-technical development since the *Chamber Symphony*

op. 9; cf. Arnold Schönberg, "Analyse der Kammer-symphonie" (1949). In: *Stil und Gedanke. Aufsätze zur Musik*. Hrsg. v. Ivan Vojtech. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1976, 440–445 (p. 440).

¹⁷ Ernst Bloch, *Geist der Utopie* (1918; 1923). (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch, 1985), 162. English translation as *The Spirit of Utopia*. Translated by Anthony A. Nassar (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

¹⁸ Oil on cardboard, 28 × 22 cm (11 × 8 1/2 in.), Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.

¹⁹ Oil on canvas, 175.5 × 85 cm (69 1/2 × 33 1/2 in.), Museum der Stadt Wien. Not dated, created between 1909 and 1910.

²⁰ Oil on wood, 31 × 22 cm (12 1/4 × 8 3/4 in.), Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.

²¹ See Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* [as in note 12], 8.

²² Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* [as in note 12], 12.

²³ Letter of Schoenberg to Kandinsky from 14 December 1911; in: *Wassily Kandinsky und Arnold Schönberg. Der Briefwechsel* [as in note 1].

²⁴ Oil on canvas, 77.5 × 100 cm (30 1/2 × 39 1/2 in.), Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.

²⁵ Oil on canvas, 78.7 × 100.6 cm (31 × 39 1/2 in.), Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection.

²⁶ As is commonly known, the name *The Blue Rider* is the title for the almanac as well as for the 1911 exhibition organized by Franz Marc and Kandinsky, cf. Klaus Lankheit, "Die Geschichte des Almanachs". In: *Der Blaue Reiter*. Ed. by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, 1912. Documentary new edition by Klaus Lankheit (Taschenbuchausgabe. Munich; Zurich: Piper Verlag, 1984), 253–306.

²⁷ See Schoenberg as a painter: *Interview with Halsey Stevens* (Recording: Summer 1949). Arnold Schoenberg Exposition. 4 CDs. Sony Classical, SM 62364, 1996.

The catalogue includes the following essays: Fred WASSERMAN, *Schoenberg and Kandinsky in concert* <> Esther da Costa MEYER, *Schoenberg's echo: the composer as painter* <> Reinhold HELLER, *The Blue Rider* <> Magdalena DĄBROWSKI, *Kandinsky and Schoenberg: Abstraction as a visual metaphor of emancipated dissonance* <> Christopher HAILEY, *First loyalties: Schoenberg and Vienna's classical tradition*. — Chronologies of Arnold Schoenberg and Wassily Kandinsky (p. 163–175) and bibliographic references (p. 183–197).

BELGRADE

Heliophonija – kosmičke vizije (Heliophonia – Cosmic visions), multimedia exhibition curated by Svetlana JOVANOVIĆ. LegatSlavenskog & Muzički informativni centar, Belgrade (9 December 2003 to 31 January 2004).

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Legat Josipa Slavenskog, the memorial museum/archives of the composer Josip Stojer Slavenski (Čakovec, Croatia 1896–Belgrade, 1955), the Music Information Center from Belgrade organized a multimedia exhibition dedicated to

the composer's life and works. The large part of composer's archives, documents, and other composer's items has been preserved after Slavenski's death at the Savez organizacija kompozitora Jugoslavije, which in 1983 established this memorial museum, housed since 1997 at the

Music Information Center. The Legat has a task to promote Slavenski's music through organizing concerts, musicological conferences, and releasing recordings on his music on CDs.

The exhibition *Heliophonia* - named after one of Slavenski's orchestral compositions - documented the composer's career and personality. The journey through Slavenski's life started in the exhibition with about one hundred photographs, illustrating his moments with the family and friends (in addition to photographs from the opening ceremony of the Legat), programs and announcement for his concerts; his large collection of instruments (gusle, violin, tambourin, African instruments), books (Franjo Ksaver Kuhar's collection of South-Slavic folk songs, Arab-French dictionary, Lachmann's book on the Orient), and objects that were once significant to him, such as his telescope, or the state award for his contribution to the culture and arts.

The next section of the exhibition included Slavenski's compositions, both manuscripts and scores issued by Yugoslav publishers and by B. Schott's Söhne from Mainz. They were presented chronologically, starting with his orchestral overture op. 1 and *Fuga quasi Poème symphonique* op. 5 (1917-18), both written in black ink. The latter manuscript is interesting since in addition to the original title, originally written in Roman script, about twenty years later (1939) he added in red ink and Cyrillic script that "this fugue is an experiment in the spirit of European music and, for that reason, I do not allow its public performance". Among these early works were also shown composer's transcriptions of folk tunes from his native Međimurje and their arrangements.

The most numerous and significant in the exhibition were compositions from the period between the two world wars, when Slavenski gained his creative maturity. These works are interesting from both author's ideological and poetical stands: while his ideological context was determined by the idea of union of Slavs, or in other words Yugoslavia as a country of South Slavic people, poetical one was dominated by the investigation of cosmic phenomena, related to archaic sound rooted in folk music intonations, and the problem of partial overtones (apparent from his composition *Chios*, represented in the exhibition with the manuscript from 1919-1930, and score published in 1937).

In 1937 Slavenski wrote: "Bach was persistently struggling in search of the tempered system. Haba in search of the quarter-tone one, and I am struggling for the natural tone-system, which I am experiencing since my youth and particularly now being more mature". For the festival of the International Society of Contemporary Music in London in 1938 Slavenski composed *Music for natural-tone-system for electronic instruments* for Bosanquet (acoustic harmonium with approximately 53 tones in an octave - which was, as Slavenski indicated on the score - invented in 1875 and since then been shown at a London museum),

four trautoniums, and three kettle-drums. The score of this work includes a preface in English and French, where Slavenski anticipated that "natural tone-system and electric instruments have great future".

Another group of Slavenski's works is signified for echoing folk music, such as *Balkanophonia* op. 10 (1926-1927) and *Simfonija Orijenta* (1933-1934). Both works were represented with manuscripts, interesting also for their visual appearance: the first page of *Balkanophonia* is written in black and purple ink, both in Roman and Cyrillic alphabets, with the table of contents written in different languages corresponding with titles of the movements (Albanian, Yiddish, Romanian, Bulgarian, in addition to French). Thus people of the Balkans are represented through music intonations as well as their languages. Great international success of these compositions was documented by a postcard that Slavenski received from his close friend, the Slovenian composer Slavko Osterc (Ljubljana, 23 March 1934), regarding performance of the *Simfonija Orijenta* and its review published in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (21 March 1934). On display were also less famous compositions, such as the stage music for the drama *Kraljević Marko* (1937).

A separate section in the exhibit showed also Slavenski's other interests: manuscripts and drawings related to astronomy and physics, including a beautiful celestial map made in different colors, with a graphic representation of stars passing in cosmos through different temperature cycles. Slavenski's correspondence, consisting of 1099 letters in eleven languages, documents his communication with a variety of institutions, such as the Olimpiade Internationale de Musique in Salzburg, the International Society for Contemporary Music, BBC, or the Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester. The Berlin Philharmonics mentioned in one letter the possibility to perform his *Balkanofonija* (13 May 1936) on their concert. The Udruženje kompozitora Jugoslavije asked Slavenski to allow them distribution of his compositions to performers in Italy, France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Poland. Letters from Slavko Osterc, the ethnomusicologist Vinko Žganec, and the violinist Zlatko Baloković displayed in the exhibition are only a sample of his exquisitely rich correspondence.

Multimedial aspect of this exhibition was provided by the sounds of *Heliophonia*, produced with computer animation by the Belgrade composer Predrag Milojković (b.1969) who visualized the cosmos on the computer monitor. The visualization involved a metamorphosis of differently colored geometric figures which Milojković produced following the outline of Slavenski's creative world. In the exhibition was also shown the feature film *Život tek dalje* (*Life is going on*; after the screen play by the architect V.J. Dryak) for which Slavenski composed the sound track.

As a person highly knowledgeable about several disciplines, with wide scientific curiosity, original creativity, and deep dedication to his music, Josip Slavenski was one

of the most significant composers active in Serbia around the middle of the century. "From my earliest childhood – he once wrote – I had an overwhelming curiosity for everything happening around me, for eternal questions why something is like this and not like that. This accidentally aroused my persistent experimental spirit eager to learn

the truth and understand laws of Nature, and an enormous love for the art and science".

TATJANA MARKOVIĆ

PARIS

Paris chante Montand. Salon d'Accueil, Hôtel de Ville, Paris (30 May to 30 October 2002), sponsored by the Institut National de l'Audiovisuel and Universal Pictures; curated by François LÉVY.

Paris chante Montand: Catalogue publié à l'occasion de l'exposition, edited by François LÉVY, preface by Bertrand DELANOE, tribute by Jorge SEMPRUN (Paris: Paris Musées, 2002), 111 pages. ISBN 2-879006-09-0. 20€.

With Yves Montand, France came closest to having a media star on the scale of Frank Sinatra. Like his American near-contemporary, Montand was first and foremost a popular singer, but he was a successful movie star, an all-around entertainer, a dabbler in politics, and last but not least a sex-symbol to legions of fans as well. The two stars' sex-appeal proved to overlap more than symbolically for at least one woman – herself a sex-symbol – Marilyn Monroe.

Montand was born in 1921 in Tuscany and had it not been for Italian fascism, which prompted his family's flight to Marseilles in 1924, he might have become celebrated under his real name, Ivo Livi. Instead, he made his debut at the Marseilles Alcazar at the age of eighteen, and by 1944 he was singing with Édith Piaf at the Moulin Rouge in Paris. A series of successful cabaret engagements were to follow, and in 1946 he landed his first major movie role in *Les Portes de la nuit*.

Montand's courtship and marriage with the actress Simone Signoret proved to be tabloid-worthy from the moment they met in Saint-Paul-de-Vence in 1949. Indeed, the couple's frequent return to their favorite haunt there, the Colombe d'Or, put that hotel, as well as the town itself, permanently on the map of international art tourism.

Between 1945 and 1963, Montand became one of the most celebrated stars of Parisian music-halls. Following Piaf's example, he took the band out of the pit and placed it behind himself on stage, emphasizing intense personal contact with the musicians and the audience. He worked hard on his scenography – eventually separating himself from the musicians with a translucent scrim – and ultimately each song became inseparable from its particular mise-en-scène.

From the early 1950s, Montand's leftist political engagement was as much a part of his life and career as it was a factor in the French intellectual political milieu.

Although not formally a member of the Parti Communiste Française, Montand was an ardent supporter. His inclusion of the pacifist *Quand un soldat* (by Francis Lemarque) in his repertoire displeased the French government, which – deeply embroiled in the Indochinese War – banned it from the radio. Montand further irritated the establishment by comparing the song in interviews to the World War II anti-Nazi anthem *C'est à l'aube*.

In spite of his left-wing sympathies – confirmed by a controversial tour of Eastern Europe in the wake of the crushing of the 1956 Hungarian uprising by the Soviet Union – Montand's international breakthrough was to take place in New York, during a seven-week run on Broadway in 1959 with *An Evening with Yves Montand*, a one-man show. A Fox promptly followed, with George Cukor's *Let's make love* as his Hollywood debut, co-starring Marilyn Monroe.

By the mid-1960s, Montand practically abandoned his singing career in favor of making movies. Nonetheless, his political activity did not diminish. Through a series of six European films made with the politically committed Greek director Costa Gavras, Montand was able to fuse his personal politics and public career. In 1974, he staged a benefit concert for Chilean refugees, in 1979 he campaigned with Jean-Paul Sartre and Raymond Aron, aiming to alert public opinion to the plight of Southeast-Asian boat people, and in the 1980s he steadfastly supported Lech Walesa's Solidarity movement. In the meanwhile, Montand at last came to the realization that his denunciation of the dictatorial policies of the Soviet Union were long overdue, and he expressed his condemnation in several celebrated long interviews on French television.

Montand's inevitable comeback as a singer took place at the most notable of Parisian music-halls, the Olympia, in 1981. The unqualified triumph was followed by an unprecedented – no other pop singer had appeared there

before – performance at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. By this time, he had become so respected a public figure in France that he was being seriously encouraged to run for president. Apparently, however – though he remained active for any number of causes to the end – Montand did not share Ronald Reagan's grand ambitions: he never became the acting president of France. He died while shooting a movie in 1991.

The exhibition and its handsome accompanying catalogue bring together images virtually each of which is emblematic of the "French scene" during the middle decades of the 20th century. The venue, the City Hall of Paris, could not be more appropriate for an artist who – in spite of his Italian origins – embodied *Parisianness* throughout his career.

As for the comparison with Frank Sinatra, the record is mute on whether Montand indeed saw the American singer as his rival. One suspects that he was satisfied with the moniker that was affixed to him upon his smash Broadway debut and which accompanied him throughout his tours in the United States: "The Idol of Paris." And if he did give the Montand-Sinatra rivalry a thought, he need only to have recalled the words of *The New York Post*, published the day after his opening night at the Henry Miller Theatre on 22 September 1959: "All our singers, including Mr. Sinatra, could sit at his feet."

ANDRÉ BALOG

NEW YORK: DALÍ'S MUSICAL ROUNDABOUTS

The essay accompanying the exhibition *Salvador Dalí: Dream of Venus*. Queens Museum of Art, New York (22 June to 28 September 2003).

Dalí needs a stage with greater urgency
than he needs an art gallery.
The New York Times (1944)

Those familiar with Salvador Dalí's contradictory nature as well as his propensity to mask his own thoughts will not be surprised to learn that, publicly, he despised music, though obviously that was not the case at all. In fact, many witnesses say – Amanda Lear, for one – he was actually quite musical and, time and again, he could be caught off guard singing or humming Catalan folk songs, sardanas, zarzuelas, and cuplés – all folksy, kitschy, and, by most accounts, tacky popular songs. Dalí, however, went to a great length to conceal this spontaneous love for the simple, uncomplicated folk and popular music of his rural Catalan upbringing. Indeed, his many (mis)adventures in the field of music could be seen as attempts to obscure the persistence of his musical memory.

As the son of a relatively wealthy notary, Dalí grew up in an atmosphere in which the arts were ever-present. Dalí's uncle Anselm Domènech, for example, owned a bookstore across from the Liceu opera theater in Barcelona. The store was a hub for Wagnerian intellectuals, artists, and musicians and their *tertulias* (gatherings) included the composers Amadeus Vives and Lluís Millet, as well as other members of the choral association Orfeó Català. Furthermore, early on, Dalí, Miró, the architect Josep Lluís Sert and the serialist Catalan composer Robert Gerhard founded an artistic group called *Associació d'Amics de l'Art Nou* to advocate new art and music. Later on in his career, Dalí kept up his connections in the music world, including

his friendship with the Italian composer Giacinto Scelzi and Sol Hurok, the famous New York concert manager. To the artist's delight, Hurok once arranged a sort of cultural exchange with the Soviet Union, including performances by Victoria de los Angeles and Andrés Segovia, as well as one of Dalí's canvasses from the impresario's private collection. Dalí spoke of the painting as "reuniting" with its origins.

Without a doubt, one of the earliest musical influences on Dalí was the Pitxot (or Pichot) family. They summered in Cadaqués and they frequently held musical soirées. On nights of full moon, for example, they would set a grand piano on a boat from which music was performed. The fishermen and seasonal residents of the area would sit on the rocks along the shoreline to listen and see the musical boat smoothly drifting by. The brothers Ricard (Pau Casals's student and friend) and Lluís Pitxot played the cello and the violin and, with Lluís Bonaterra, formed the Trio Hispania, an ensemble that toured Spain and Europe during many years. It was also during his early years that Dalí became familiar with the weekly concerts by the Figueres regiment's marching band on the town's Rambla, playing, among other things, excerpts from popular zarzuelas. Many years later, Dalí would sing on television a song from one of the most popular zarzuelas, the campy *La corte del Faraón*.

When the artist moved to Madrid, he became a member of the Residencia de Estudiantes, an elitist artistic center and university dorm that gathered the crème de la crème of the Spanish intelligentsia. There, he met García Lorca, Buñuel and the composer and critic Adolfo Salazar.

During those years, many European composers and performers came to present their music to the "Resi," as it was called including: Falla, Milhaud, Stravinsky, Poulenc, Segovia, Viñes, and Landowska. But Dali, instead, became a jazz fan and, by many accounts, spent a large part of his allowance buying recordings of jazz. In Madrid, he attended performances of the Jackson Brothers and, taken by the Charleston craze it was, in the end, the roaring 1920s began dance lessons (earlier, in Catalonia, he also had mastered the tango). Around the same time, a Catalan art critic compared Dali's art to the music of the Southern Syncopated Orchestra, a band that had just performed in Barcelona. Dali loved the comparison and wrote: "One of my greatest loves [is] jazz, that fantastic, anti-artistic music... and industrial object."

As soon as Dali moved to Paris, many composers, writers, and stage directors requested his collaboration in the design of sets and costumes for theater, ballet, and opera productions. Whereas a 1949 collaboration with Peter Brook for Wilde's *Salome* in England was considered scandalous and had to be withdrawn, his relationship with the ballet was more successful. In 1939, he designed a backdrop for the ballet *Bacchanale* for the Metropolitan Opera of New York (it had originally been designed for the Ballet Russes de Monte Carlo). The premiere coincided with his *Dream of Venus* pavilion for the 1939 World's Fair in Queens. Other ballets followed: *Babalou* (unperformed), *Tristan fou* (1944), *El café de Chinitas* (1944), *Ballet de Gala* (1941), based on the Scarlatti opera *The Spanish Lady and the Roman Cavalier*, and *Sentimental Colloquy* (1944).

Based on a Verlaine poem from his *Fêtes Galantes*, the music for *Sentimental Colloquy* was written by Paul Bowles and Andre Eglevesky created the choreography. Dali's work was apparently disappointing. The *New York Times* took a dim view (see the quotation that heads this essay) and Paul Bowles pronounced himself "royally duped," while Dali's wealthy patrons, the Spanish Marqués de Cuevas and his Rothschild wife, seemed indifferent. Dali's backdrop represented some familiar surrealistic imagery echoing the iconography of Buñuel's *Un chien andalou*. The stage set depicted a group of cyclists covered in wedding veils and shrouds sliding backwards and forwards past a piano whose interior box is a pool with a gushing pipe.

Dali made plans for many other ballets. In his infamous diary, for example, he describes his intentions of writing a ballet called *Millet's Angelus*. The music, he says, will be from Bizet's *L'Arlesienne* and Nietzsche's compositions. Also in the diary we learn about more plans for a musical film to be titled *The Flesh Wügel-Burrel*. The story, which the artist describes in gruesome detail, includes a scene in which a group of gypsies kill and cut up an elephant and "in spite of their savage frenzy, do not for one moment stop singing flamenco...." Another scene was to include Nietzsche, Freud, Ludwig II of Bavaria, and Marx "singing their doctrines with incomparable virtuosity, answering each other antiphonally, to some music of Bizet."

In 1972, Dali finally realized one of his megalomaniac projects, the "opera-poem" *To be God (Être Dieu)*. The respected writer Manuel Vázquez Montalbán wrote the libretto and Igor Wakhévitch set it to music (CD, Distribuciones d'Art Surrealista, Barcelona DCD-50001-3). Written primarily in French, it features bursts of English, Spanish and what seemed to be coming back to him as an unavoidable memory - snatches of Catalan bawdy folk songs and childhood twisters. In fact, folk songs kept cropping up in his public appearances. In a 1966 BBC documentary about Lorca, for example, Dali was interviewed and on a whim started singing the Granada popular song *El zorongo gitano* that he had learned from the poet. It is also a melody Albéniz and Falla used in their compositions (most ostensibly in the latter's *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*). On another documentary he sings on camera "La filla del marxant," again, a Catalan folk song.

Any rate, it seems that, in his old age, Dali went back to the musical origins that he had worked so hard to deny. It did not come as a surprise, for instance, when, on his deathbed he requested no Nietzsche, Wagner, Stravinsky, Gerhard or Scarlatti, not even Bizet, but Toselli's *Serenata*, also known as *Rimpianto* (a nostalgic, sugary melody very much in tune with French fin-de-siècle aesthetics) as well as a few light-hearted tangos and cuplés - indeed, the same music he grew up with and that had persisted in his memory. The circle had been completed.

ANTONI PIZA

ICONOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS INTRODUCE THEMSELVES. V

THE CYPRIOT COLLECTION OF THE MUSEO DI ANTICHITÀ, TURIN

by Cristina SANTARELLI

Because of its geographical position, the island of Cyprus has acted as an intermediary in commercial and cultural exchanges between Asia and Europe since antiquity. In the late Bronze Age (1600-1050 B.C.), it was under the influence of the Mycenaean culture, with its main cities Kition and Kourion on the south coast and Enkomi on the east coast. At the end of the thirteenth century B.C., the first Achaeans fleeing from Asia Minor settled in Cyprus, giving rise to new cities, such as Sinda and Palaipaphos. Other Achaean populations driven from the continent by the Dorians arrived between the twelve and eleventh century B.C., reinforcing the predominance of Greek elements in the local art. After Enkomi was abandoned (around 1000 B.C.), the city of Salamina gradually gained importance; according to tradition, it was founded by Teukros and was the site of the cult of Zeus. It was in close contact with Greece in both the "Cypro-Geometric" period (1050-700 B.C.) and the "Cypro-Archaic" period (700-475 B.C.). Palaipaphos, founded by Agapenor and site of the cult of Aphrodite, had a similar development. A sanctuary dedicated to Apollo Hylates (protector of forests) was built at Kourion in the eighth century. Around 800 B.C., a large temple dedicated to Hercules was erected at Kition, and it was assimilated by the local Phoenicians to the God Melkart; the first stone sculptures come from there. Clay votive statuettes (like those from the rural sanctuary of Agia Irini) and monumental statues in painted limestone (influenced by archaic Ionic sculpture) appeared toward the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century.

The ruins of the temples of Kourion, Kition and Idalion, as well as many tombs from different epochs, were discovered around 1845-1850. Assembling of several private collections was begun as a result of these discoveries, some of them later becoming part of public collections. The first among them was established in the Museo di Antichità of the Royal University of Turin in March 1847, thanks to the donation by Marcello Cerruti, consul of the King of Sardinia in Cyprus. It consisted of about one hundred objects (vases, sculptures, terra-cottas) discovered at Kition and Idalion. Other specimens from various sanctuaries and necropolises were added between 1870 and 1877, donated by the Piedmontese Luigi Palma di Cesnola. After emigrating to the United States in 1865, he became American consul in Cyprus, where he carried out excavations for more than a decade, aimed exclusively at acquiring material to sell on the antiquities market. His personal collection of more than thirty-five thousand



1. Female statuette, Cypro-Geometric Period (1050-700 B.C.).

pieces was almost entirely acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1873, while another large group of objects had previously gone to the Louvre. The items that arrived in Turin thanks to his brother Alessandro, range in time from the Geometric to the late Hellenistic period; detailed comparisons can be made with similar pieces of the American collection, part of which is now in the Stanford University Museum.

The production of terra-cotta figurines was flourishing in the late Bronze Age (1400-1050 B.C.), characterized by evident Mycenaean influences.¹ It continued at the beginning of the Iron Age, corresponding to the Cypro-Geometric period. The earliest sanctuaries on the island date from this period. They were the "temenos" type, consisting of an open enclosure in the center of which stood the altar, where the rites were performed and the votive offerings were collected. This was the form of the sanctuary of Agios Iakovos and, in their earliest phase, the sanctuaries of Agia Irini and Idalion, the origin of some Turin statuettes. They are mostly roughly made anthropomorphic images, which were set in the temple as votive offerings. They portray people praying or dancing, playing the lyre,

aulos, or timbrel. The human forms of both sexes are hand modeled and have a certain plastic vigor, characteristic by a very elementary, almost childish, manner. In fact, the technique used to make them is classified as "snowman". The bodies usually have a full or empty cylindrical form, either tubular or bell-shaped, on which the arms and legs were later applied by hand: polychromy was commonly used to emphasize details of the face and clothing. One of the most interesting pieces in this collection is a curious three-faced figure (cat. 312)² with three sets of rudimentary arms bent at the chest in the act of holding and playing three flat timbrels; the object's tree-like form resembles the terra-cotta sacred trees used in the cult of Astarte-Aphrodite and Tanit-Artemis in Syria and Phoenicia. Similar figures are often found at the centre of pottery Ring-Dance groups, collected in large numbers during the first archaeological excavations. An aulos player (in several specimens from the temenos of Aphrodite at Soloi and the Lapithos necropolis) or a tympanon player (from the rural sanctuary of Khytoi) is almost always present inside the choral group (usually three people). In the present case, the triple structure seems to express, in an



2. Female statuette, Cypro-Archaic Period (700-475 B.C.).

almost abstract language, the synthesis of sacred tree and ritual music, acting at the same time as a pendant with the three female dancers probably lost. Two figures of double-flute players (cat. 320 and 321) are typologically similar to the various Ring-Dance groups: in the first one, the instrument appears to be fixed to the face of the performer by the well-known system of leather straps (a horizontal one crossing a vertical one passing around the head); in the second one, the musician's arms are raised in the act of playing and he seems to be without straps. Two timpanists (cat. 317 and 318) can also be referred to the Cypro-Geometric period: the first has his arms together on his chest holding flat a timbrel; the second one has a similar position but the timbrel is completely worn away. Another two female musicians (cat. 322 and 323) hold the instrument in profile with their arms stretched forward.

During the Cypro-Archaic period, the island was influenced by the political events in the Near East, including the rise and fall of Assyrian domination (in 612 B.C.) and the Egyptian conquest in the second half of the sixth century. This marked the beginning of growing commercial activity not only with Egypt but also with Syria and Anatolia, as well as increasing relations with Rhodes, the Greek mainland and the Greek colony of Naukratis in the Nile delta. In addition to the development of ceramics, coroplasty and sculpture, there were many innovations in religious architecture during this period: with respect to the previous period, the shape of the sanctuary became more complex with the erection of square constructions on one side of the temenos for the cult's priests, as at Agia Irini, Tamassos, and Achna. Another type of sacred building had a free sacellum, not communicating with the courtyard or the enclosure, as at Agios Jakovos, while a more evolved model, deriving from the combination of temenos and sacellum with the addition of further rooms, appears at Vouni, Kition, Idalion and Kourion.

A peculiar characteristic of the sanctuaries of the Archaic period is the constant presence of small terracottas beside the large ones. They are mostly moulded or

wheel-made statuettes of females portrayed in different attitudes, dressed in heavy chitons and adorned with rich Oriental-style jewels. Some of them have musical features. For example, there are various models of a lyre or zither: rectangular (cat. 343), square (cat. 345 and 346), hybrid shape (cat. 325; in this case a man plays the instrument with a plectrum in his right hand, and a strap for the plectrum seems to hang from the instrument). Timbrels are portrayed frontally, held allusively with the arms bent forward (cat. 324), or in profile, held with the left hand and played with the right (cat. 341). A very well preserved limestone statue (cat. 407) shows the timpanist using a technique still employed by Maghreb populations in the Mediterranean basin: the open right hand beats the skin, while the left hand holds the instrument from below with the thumb held against it. The usual Ring-Dance Figures (cat. 352 and 353) are still present, with their arms (often broken) outstretched at the sides of their bodies; they are characterized by clear Ionic influences.

Notes

¹ Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *Antiquités chypriotes provenant des fouilles faites en 1868 par M. di Cesnola* (Paris, 1870); Idem, *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (London, 1877; new edition by Stuart Swiny, Limassol, J. Bendon, 1991); Alessandro Palma di Cesnola, *The Lawrence-Cesnola Collection: Cyprus Antiquities Excavated by Alessandro Palma di Cesnola 1876-1879* (London, 1881); Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, I-III* (Boston; New York, 1885-1903); J.L. Myres, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914); J. Roger Davis & T.B.L. Webster, "Cesnola Terracottas in the Stanford University Museum", *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XVI (1964), 2-28.

² The numbers refer to the catalogue by Felice Gino Lo Porto, *La collezione cipriota del Museo di Antichità di Torino*. *Archaeologica* 64 (Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1986).

SUMMARIES OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Joachim BRAUN, *The Iconography of the Organ: Change in Jewish Thought and Musical Life.*

The organ, a musical instrument with negative attributes in Jewish history of music mainly due to the Christian affiliation, exemplifies the processes of change in Jewish musical thought and practice. While clear archaeological evidence of the organ in ancient Palestine appears in a Samaritan-Jewish context (3rd-4th century), the biblical and post-biblical terminology (*ugav*, *ardabilis*, *hardelis*, *magrephah*) shows great uncertainty, even mix-up. The central source of this in the Renaissance seems to be the drawing of a *magrephah* as Temple instrument in Joshua ibn Ga'on's manuscript (13th-14th century). Later manuscripts of the rabbinic literature show the organ as part of the Jewish synagogue service, which has paved the way for the instrument into Jewish musical life in later centuries. Accompanied by the Christian tradition of liturgical organ performance, the instrument was accepted in certain Jewish communities. This is a unique phenomenon of change in musical life resulting from change in iconography.

Rosina BUCKLAND, *Sounds of the Psalter: Orality and Musical Symbolism in the Luttrell Psalter.*

The Luttrell Psalter (British Library, MS add. 42130) is a richly decorated manuscript produced for a knight of Lincolnshire some time between 1325 and the early 1340s. On many of the folios, in the marginalia and the historiated initials, there are representations of people and hybrid creatures engaged in music-making. Originating as poems and hymns, the psalms were recited aloud or sung as an expression of individual devotion or within the Mass. Their oral quality is reflected in this Psalter in both the formal appearance of text and illumination, and in the use of specific musical iconography. The Psalter thereby serves as a physical embodiment, a memory, and a sign of the actual performance. In the fourteenth century, theological attitudes toward music made distinctions according to instrument, use, and context. As a result, the musical imagery within the Psalter cannot be read simply as a transparent representation of practice but rather possesses symbolic possibilities. The combinations and juxtapositions of images of music-making of the Luttrell Psalter constitute a deliberate message concerning the radically opposed forms in which music can appear, the rational and liturgical vs. the devilish and corrupting. In perhaps an acknowledgment of the impossibility of controlling the latter type, the Psalter demonstrates instead an attempt to co-opt it into the service of the sacred.

Gabriele BUSCH-SALMEN, *Adolph Menzels »Flötenkonzert Friedrichs des Großen in Sanssouci«: Ein vertrautes Gemälde, 150 Jahre nach seiner Fertigstellung neu gesehen* [Adolph Menzel's "Flötenkonzert Friedrichs des Großen in Sanssouci": A trusted painting, newly seen 150 years after its creation].

Since 1852, when Adolph Menzel finished painting his "Flötenkonzert in Sanssouci", the work remained one of the main docu-

ments demonstrating musical interests of Frederic the Great. The composition with sixteen figures, shows the king playing the flute, placed in the central position, but without any visible contact to the audience and his court musicians. Menzel was well aware of the divertissement practice in courtly life, and he purposely isolated the king to emphasize his significance as a sovereign monarch: the fortepiano is closed, his accompanist Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach sits in the wrong position, and the string players are waiting. The study of the painting examines the historic and portrait genres, numerous Menzel's preparatory sketches, and his early ideas and illustration concepts found in Franz Kuglers *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen* (1840-42).

Alan DAVISON, *The Musician in Iconography from the 1830s and 1840s: The Formation of New Visual Types.*

Several new and significant themes in the iconography of the musician were established in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Broadly speaking, these themes reflect attempts to represent the musician within the context of Romantic beliefs on the musician and their place in society. One of the main consequences for the iconography was a change in pictorial style that resulted in a new emphasis upon the physiognomic rather than the pathognomic aspects of the subject.

This physiognomic emphasis could be achieved via a variety of means and be of various degrees of sophistication, ranging from the manipulation of the sitter's physiognomy or expression to the manipulation of lighting and background. Whatever the case, the resulting emphasis reflected an attempt to highlight the "inherent" qualities of the musician rather than their emotional - and therefore merely reactive - state at any given moment in time. This physiognomic emphasis unites an otherwise disparate iconography, ranging from neo-classical and Romantic "high-art" oil portraits to mass-market popular lithographic prints.

Monika FINK, *Farb-Klänge und Klang-Farben im Werk von Olivier Messiaen* [Color-sounds and sound-colors in the work of Olivier Messiaen].

Olivier Messiaen belongs to those composers who have the potential to combine different sensory impressions and in whose work the color-tone analogy is important. This essay explores the importance of color in Messiaen's creative process, his thinking in analogies, and the association of colors and sounds or modes, drawing on examples from his works, especially the early work *Preludes*.

Mark HOWELL, *Concerning the Origin and Dissemination of the Mesoamerican Slit-Drum.*

The slit-drum indigenous to ancient Mesoamerica (which includes much of modern Mexico and Central America) is distinguished by stylistic characteristics, such as H-shaped slits and a

bottom cutout. It is known from the archaeological record and versions have been used through Colonial-to-modern times. Possible sources for the instrument are examined, including the origin of the rubber-tipped mallets used to strike it (the beater and the idiophone possibly considered equal components of the sound maker). The slit-drum appears to be one among several Mesoamerican objects that have associations with Lowland and Highland cultural areas. It developed in the Lowlands but that its dissemination followed Highland expansion. If so, an understanding of this association may not only reveal the origin for the instrument but also provide information concerning Mesoamerican epistemology.

Colin HUEHNS, *Lovely Ladies Stroking Strings: Depictions of Huqin in Chinese Export Watercolors.*

The essay attempts to plug some of the gaping holes in our patchy knowledge of the history of the principal family of Chinese bowed instruments known collectively as *huqin*. Because, prior to the reforms of Liu Tianhua in the 1920s and 1930s, these instruments were most normally played by the lower ranks of society – beggars, theatrical entertainers, prostitutes, the rural poor and the like – depictions of them in the visual arts patronised by the Chinese political establishment are extremely rare, thus denying the modern scholar perhaps potentially the most important source documenting their early evolution. However, Chinese export watercolors produced in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, because they were painted for a Western audience largely ignorant of such social connotations, contain a relatively large amount of such pictures, the *huqin* played mainly by ladies, presumably of the “entertainment” industry. Most are detailed portraits, and as such reveal much concerning instrument construction and playing technique, as well as dress, social status and sometimes ensemble context – in fact, they may well be the richest and most accurate contemporary source to have survived. A sequence of 25 such album leaves are discussed in detail, and the information they show is related to an account of modern playing practices.

Irmgard JUNGSMANN, *Tanzen im 15. Jahrhundert – Der Reigen in Deutschland: Realität oder Imagination?* [Dancing in the 15th century – The round dance in Germany: Reality or imagination?]

Dance researchers worked until recently on the premise that throughout the Middle Ages and well into the 15th century, people in German-speaking countries, just as in the rest of Europe, danced the round dance forming a line holding each other by hand and progressing either like a snake or in a circle. It was assumed that the *basse danse* spread from Italy and France to neighboring countries during the 15th century. However, a closer inspection of the dance situation in Germany produced evidence that the historical development here was different. There is no indication that the round dance was performed during the 15th century among dancers of any social class. The iconographical re-

ferences in particular show that in Germany only the processional formation was performed where pairs moved in a circle one behind the other. It must be assumed, therefore, that for both the rural and urban folk as well as for the courtly society, the processional formation represented a specific dance form, which must have existed in German-speaking countries long before the spread of the *basse danse*. Iconographic sources, which have not yet been interpreted in musical context, provide evidence that the processional formation was customary in Germany from at least 1400.

Marin MARIAN-BALASA, *Music on Money: State Legitimation and Cultural Representation.*

Following the filigree inscribed on 20th-century paper money (the most popular posters and advertising means, that banknotes are), one can notice how states, as the owners of money, ceased promoting themselves exclusively through power symbols, and were gradually introducing illustrations of civil values and cultural symbols. With images emphasizing national culture, states promote their liberal aspects and generosity. In this context, music can charm and soften the idea of submission – which is what the supreme secular power expects from people. The example of *euro* is used to investigate the political struggle between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, between local symbol and federative policy, where both music and its lack tell a critical, ambiguous discourse.

Cristina SANTARELLI, *Il fregio con angeli musicanti di Trinidad e la musica nelle missioni gesuitiche del Paraguay* [The freeze with angel musicians at Trinidad and music of Jesuit missions in Paraguay].

Upon arriving to Paraguay in 1588, Jesuit missionaries founded many utopian communities (the so-called “*reducciones*”), that became eloquent testimonies of the highly organized and spiritually motivated lives of their Indian residents. From dawn to dark, the church bell rang marking the daily division of work and study, prayer and recreation. Not surprisingly, the church formed the physical and spiritual heart of the community, inspiring an outpouring of artistic and architectural productivity previously unknown among the natives. Expelling the Jesuits from America in 1767, king Charles III of Spain abruptly brought to an end one of the most daring and successful social experiments in the New World. Today, after 200 years of neglecting, the ruins of the missions are being rescued from the ravages of time, and remains of 30 buildings are preserved in Paraguay, Bolivia, Brasil, and Argentina. The frieze decorating the apse of the Church of Trinidad (Itapúa) is taken here as a starting point in an examination of musical life in Jesuit missions in the territory of the Guaranyes during the Baroque era. The anonymous 18th-century bass-relief shows a series of angel musicians playing different instruments, such as harpsichord, organ, lute, violin, oboe, bassoon, and trumpet, traditional in liturgical music of the period.

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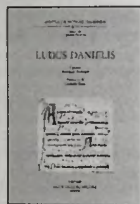
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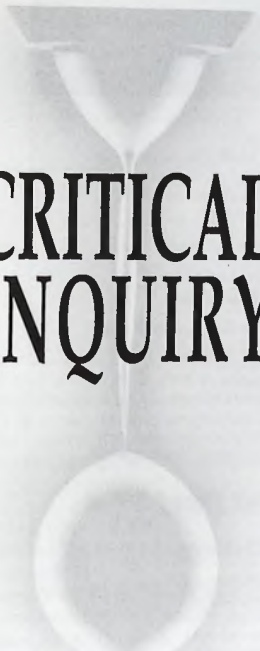
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