MUSICAL ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES OF THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

SUBMITTED BY
JEANNE JOUBERT
FOR THE
POSTGRADUATE DIPLOMA IN MUSEOLOGY
DEPARTMENT AFRIKAANS AND DUTCH
CULTURAL HISTORY
OF THE
FACULTY OF ARTS
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

NOVEMBER 1982

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I should like to thank Doctor J C Pretorius of the Department Afrikaans and Dutch Cultural History for her help, advice and guidance during the course of this assignment.

My gratitude is also extended to the staff members of the various libraries I consulted, and in particular the Music Library of the University of Pretoria, the Merensky Library of the University of Pretoria, the Dutch Cultural History Institute, and the reference section of the City Library of Pretoria.

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I A Aim and scope of study

The aim of this study is to examine musical life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as depicted by pictorial art. I shall attempt to pick up the thread in the Netherlands and France, and then to trace its influence on the contemporary society at the Cape. I shall concentrate on the Netherlands and France because they were two countries which greatly influenced the new community at the Cape.

The purpose of examining products of the past is to reconstruct and interpret the past reality through surviving records. As Panofsky points out, man is unique in leaving records behind that have "the quality of emerging from the stream of time"[1] for interpretation. History and analysis are concerned not with the material existence of the records as such, but rather with the fact that they have an intrinsic meaning.[2]

The meanings and intentions of the arts are manifold. We can see the arts as the results of speculations on the eternal problems of man's place in the universe and his need to adjust to his roles. These abstractions are turned into concrete comments in the art of man.[3] According to Panofsky, works of art are usually not created just to be experienced and appreciated aesthetically, but also to serve as a form of communication.[4] It is the idea behind a picture that determines its message, which will be formulated according to the intentions of the artist.[5] On the other hand, Gombrich maintains that the finished product of the artist is not necessarily a duplication of the original intention he had, just as his works are not duplications of the visible world.[6]

The intentions of an artist are influenced by the period and ethos in which he lives. He is a product of his times, and the forms that his expressions take will depend on the temporal, spatial and cultural contexts.[7] The content of a work of art can reflect "the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion - all this unconsciously qualified by one personality, and condensed into one work".[8]

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It is by examining creative works as formed in time and space that we witness the changing attitudes of man to himself and his world. In his search for the significance of life and the understanding of self in relation to society, he creates images[9] that convey his "thoughts, fantasies, social commentary, satirical observations, (and) self-revelations".[10] It is by understanding the reality of the past that we can see works of art in the context that gave them form;[11] it is only possible to understand the present when the past is known and transcended.[12]

Through a study of the sum and integration of the arts in a given period we are able to identify the ethos and artistic spirit of that age.[13] Reliance on sources other than the written word is justifiable because written documents may be incorrect, incomplete or misleading.

An exhaustive iconographical investigation cannot be attempted, but I should wish to indicate the potentials of the field for the cultural historian.

The period under discussion will be treated in two sections, but it must be realised that this is merely an arbitrary division.

I B Appraisal of musical iconography

1 Definition of musical iconography

Iconography is, according to Panofsky, the branch of art history that "concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form".[14] Musical iconography is by extension therefore a branch of history of music which "concerns itself with the analysis and interpretation of musical subject matter in works of art".[15] In other words, it focuses on visual depictions that give factual information of the history of music. The media may include paintings, coins, sculptures, mosaics, tapestries and manuscripts.[16]

2 History of term and present usage

Cesare Ripa published a book in dictionary form about visual

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allegories entitled Iconologia in 1593, but the present usage of the terms iconology and iconography stems from art history.[17] Art history makes a distinction between the two words: iconography is concerned with the description and classification of visual images, while iconology seeks and interprets their symbolical value. Correct iconological interpretation therefore rests upon correct iconographical identification.[18] Musical iconography does not concern itself with the changes of meaning that objects undergo, nor does it concentrate on the whole work of art. It focuses on those aspects within the work that will shed light on the history of music. At present the semantic distinction between the two terms is not closely observed, and they seem to be synonymous.[19]

It seems that the men of the Renaissance were the first to examine the monuments of art from antiquity and to build up a systematic collection of information about music for later use. Other men who have indicated an interest in or reliance on iconography include Vincenzo Galilei, Michael Praetorius, Padre Martini, Dr. Charles Burney, Viollet-le-Duc, George Kinsky and Curt Sachs.[20]

3 Purposes for which musical iconography is used

The main areas in which musical iconography can provide ancillary information are the following: (a) the history of instruments, (b) habits and methods of performance, (c) sites and settings of performances, (d) lives of composers, (e) cultural history and (f) symbolism and allegory.[21]

Visual evidence strengthens our understanding and appreciation of facts, especially concerning music which is an auditive art. As Kinsky states, seeing a portrait of a composer may not tell us more about his music, but we will be able to "place" him in a certain context and to relate to him.[22] Other sources of information are available, such as documents and contemporary verbal descriptions, but both may be misleading. The written word may be ambiguous, faulty, the result of a copy or a forgery, and the data as such may be erroneous. Documents and verbal descriptions may have been produced by musical amateurs who could not do justice to the subject. Musical treatises usually concentrated on aspects of theory and pedagogy, but do not tell us how the music sounded or of its role in society.

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It has been found that the documents that should be able to increase our knowledge of music in the past are extremely enigmatic.[23] We can only gain certainty if we find a picture in which an instrument bears a label, or if an accompanying contemporary text identifies it.[24]

Musical instruments are primary evidence of past musical traditions, but the reliable extant examples are limited. The same applies to musical notation. Instruments are usually fragile and require constant attention and repair. Collectors and connoisseurs tended to preserve instruments in their Kunst- und Wunder-kammern that were exceptionally beautiful, well-made or unusual in some way; the ordinary and commonplace have disappeared as a result of war, climate, iconoclasm and even too-frequent usage.[25]

It is because of these evidential problems that representations of musical life in pictorial art are helpful to the music historian. Questions that may be answered include the extent to which feed-back influenced the roles of form and function in instruments through the ages, how instruments were governed by rules of tradition, what the differences were between sacred and secular music, why and how instruments acquired mythological and allegorical attributes, and how "they symbolize by their sound, as well as by their shape and decoration, the ultimate things, such as love, fertility, birth, death, and afterlife".[26]

In a broader sense, apart from the factual information about music to be gained from the study of pictorial art, it can also illustrate the ineffable "invisible world of ideas"[27] that governed music (and a society as a whole). Ideas are embodied in the choice of symbolism and allegory, which reflect the world view of the artist, who in turn represents his society. The symbolical representation of ideas and social attitudes concerning morals and religion, for example, will be brought to bear on the visual arts. Leppert thus maintains that we can grasp the world of ideas through pictorial art rather than through photographs, because the latter isolates the "real" world, whereas the former captures the world as constructed

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symbolically by the artist.[28] Eric Blom is lyrical about the advantages of pictures over the written word, but is perhaps too optimistic when stating: "they tell the truth, neither more nor less - truth unwarped by sentimentality and...too exuberant an imagination or enthusiasm".[29] (Problems associated with interpretation will be mentioned in point 4 below.)

a. <u>The history of instruments</u>

Pictorial art can offer concrete information about the shape, appearance, construction, and methods of holding and playing instruments (fig. 1). Corrobarative documentary sources are usually scarce and ambiguous, and few instruments have remained intact or unaltered by restoration. Even rudimentary art works can indicate which instruments were in common usage at a specific time and place, as well as showing their more obvious physical attributes and in what manner they were played. The evidence from art may suggest that a certain instrument was used as a certain time and place, though this might not be verifiable by documentary sources. There are certain details of construction that a picture may be unable to reveal, such as the raw material, the size and shape of the bore, the thickness of the soundboard, and the relative tension of the strings. Care must be taken in the process of interpretation, but in general the evidence is illuminating.[30]

b. <u>Habits and methods of performance</u>

Pictorial sources can provide information about methods of performance of music in former times, especially ensemble and choral works. Up until the seventeenth century composers rarely indicated for which groups of instruments or voices their works were intended, either because ensembles were standardised, or because this was left to individual taste. Even after they started to specify for which combinations their works were intended, there are still details of performance that are unclear: how many instruments were allotted to each part, the composition of the continuo group, the size and seating of choirs, and the size and specifications of organs, harpsichords and pianos. We can glean the numerical proportions between vocal and instrumental groups, between "loud" and "soft" instruments, as well as the grouping of instruments in vocal works.

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1
Theodore Rombouts: detail from The five senses, showing the supporting band for the heavy chitarrone.
R Spencer, How to hold a lute: historical evidence from paintings, Early Music 3(4), Oct. 1975, p 354

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Spatial relationships between performing groups can be clarified, for instance in the polychoral (cori spezzati) works of the Venetian late-Renaissance music school.[31]

The art of conducting as we know it dates from the last century, so art works can show, if at all, earlier music was conducted. It is usually only through pictorial sources that we are able to gather information about the use of written or printed music (choir books, part books and scores), and which accessories such as music stands, cheek bands and instrument cases were used.

Much can be learnt about the social context of musical performances by examining art works, such as the types of occasion at which music was used and the composition of ensembles and choirs that were considered suitable for weddings, balls, water pageants, coronations, funerals, receptions, festivals, civic and religious processions, fêtes champêtres, serenate, notturni and cassezioni, whether indoors or outdoors. Works of art can reveal the role of the town band and what musical forces could be called upon by nobles and princes. The social status of performers may be indicated, as well as the social connotations attached to high- or low-class instruments. The role of the musician in his society will be revealed, whether as a court musician, professional musician, well-born amateur, jongleur, minnesinger, troubadour, beggar, poet-musician, humanist-reciter, virtuoso, dilettante, music master, town musician, or shepherd.[32] Lastly, we can see the spatial relationships between the performers and audiences, what the accepted methods of acclamation were, and whether the audiences participated in the performances.

c. Sites and settings of performances

Written sources about the acoustical conditions under which performances took place are virtually non-existent, so pictorial sources have to be consulted. Descriptions of places in which performances took place, such as rooms, palaces, halls, churches, theatres, concert-halls, gardens, parks, streets, opera-houses, and monasteries are also rare. Descriptions of stage settings and scenery for church plays, intermedi, operas and ballets were also rarely committed to paper.[33]

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d. Lives of composers

The milieu in which a composer conceived his works can often be reconstructed from contemporary pictorial sources. The aim of pictorial biography is to create an impression of a composer's life-style rather than to solve specific matters of style, history or convention. In order to understand the composer as a person, pictorial biographies attempt to elucidate his life and temperament, as well as those unique parts in his personality that gave him a different vision than that of his contemporaries. To illustrate the life and times of a composer various works are collected and examined: portraits, sketches, caricatures (especially widespread in the nineteenth century), and photographs of himself and his family, friends, teachers and acquaintances, and pictures of places where he lived and that he visited. Pictures of concert programs, title pages of his music, samples of his music manuscripts and his handwriting are all included: "pictures are useful auxiliary aids in attempting to grasp intuitively (his) social and intellectual atmosphere".[34]

e. Cultural history

This aspect infringes on point (b) above in that both examine the role and place of music in society. In order to establish the actual place of music in a society, the scenes and occasions with which music is associated will be examined. In this way the music historian will be using the methodology of the art historian to arrive at the insight of cultural history.[35]

Leppert maintains that apart from factual information about instruments and performances, there is also a pictorial content that reflects musical thought.[36] Musical thought comprises the fuction of music within a certain society as it manifests itself indirectly in the use of visual metaphors and analogy (symbols and allegory, to be discussed under point (f) below). Musical thought "is the observation of music as a human and social activity, (and) the examination of attitudes towards it".[37] This field of study aims to show how musical subjects were used to illustrate the philosophical, ethical, mythical, religious and educational beliefs of a specific culture.[38]

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The art historian can also draw on the pictorial evidence of musical instruments to help in his work. He may be able to date a picture by examining the instruments, performers and their grouping, and organological knowledge may help to reveal art forgeries.[39] Instruments can help to date a painting because they form part of the temporal context: at various times the methods of blowing, bowing, stopping strings and holding the instruments have changed. If the art historian is aware of these changes and their chronological order, he will have some indication as to dating. An instrument may also help to interpret the identity of a figure if he is holding or playing an instrument that is normally associated with a specific (historical, allegorical or mythical) figure, such as the lyre of both King David and Apollo. Winternitz also states that the sexual symbolism of musical instruments has too long brrn neglected in the process of identification and interpretation of pictures by art historians.[40]

f. <u>Symbolism and allegory</u>

Through the use of mystical, religious, erotic and political symbolism depicted by musical motifs, artists reveal the prevailing creeds of their age. Certain subjects or scenes have traditionally been associated with musical motifs, such as the cosmological beliefs revealed by portraying music as an attribute of the planets, zodiacal signs or months of the year.[41] The "harmony of the spheres" concept is shown in an engraving by Abraham Bosse from c.1635 representing <u>Hearing</u> (fig. 2); the following text accompanies it: "Considering the infinite sweetness of musical sounds and their various harmonies, it is not without reason that it is said that the Harmony of the spheres sustains the Universe".[42]

In his definition of the symbolism of music, Cooper states: "sacred music is symbolic of nature in her transitory and ever-changing aspect; it is the relative, but contains an underlying reality, the Absolute. The music of the spheres signifies the harmony of the spheres and of life".[43] Music and her instruments assume moral values - truth, vanity - which give us information about the place allotted to them in society. Rasmussen says that in art "music making is more an attribute

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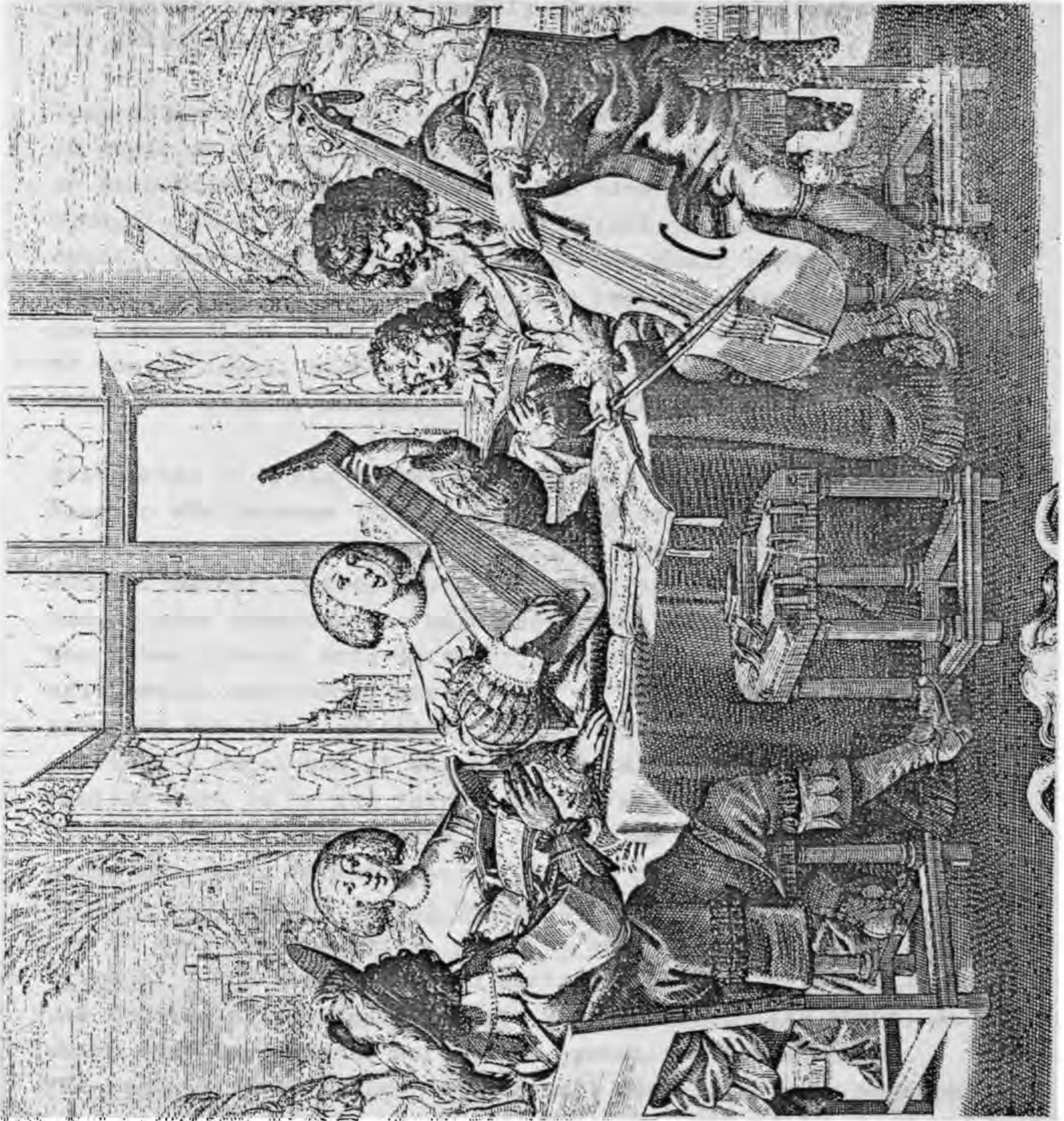

2
Abraham Bosse: Allegory of hearing.
R Clemencic, Old musical instruments, p 56.

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of the more intimate human foibles of folly, dissipation, and indulgence in transient, worldly pleasures, and rarely, alas, the attribute of any sort of secular virtue".[44]

Iconographical information is provided by the personifications of music or of church modes in pictures. Many figures, such as King David, Apollo, Marsyas, the nine Muses, Orpheus, Pan, Dionysus, and the Sirens are identifiable because they are usually represented in association with their symbolical instruments. Other social roles are also recognizable because of the association with instruments symbolical of a specific class or social level, such as reed pipes or recorders for shepherds, harps for angels, and bagpipes for fools.[45]

Allegories of music in art were popular from the late Middle Ages to the Baroque (fig. 3). In this type of work a deeper meaning is to be perceived apart from the apparent, abvious subject matter. Allegories of hearing as one of the five senses were numerous, as were depictions of music as one of the Seven Liberal Arts (grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music). In an allegorical work by Jan Brueghel the Elder entitled _Hearing_ (fig. 4) he virtually provided a catalogue of existing musical instruments. A very similar work is by van Kessel and van Balen, called _Music_ (fig. 5).[46] Other subjects of allegories in which instruments could have been included were _The Ages of Man_, _Folly (Wise and Foolish Virgins)_, _Life and Death_, _Love and Sex_, _Melancholy_ (as one of _Four Temperaments_), _Paradise and Hell_, _Temperance_ and _Triumph_.[47] The transience and mortality of all worldly things was treated allegorically in the _Vanitas_ still-life theme, in which everyday objects were given symbolical connotations. The _Vanitas_ (from Latin, "emptiness") functioned as a _memento mori_, it stressed the emptiness or vanity of earthly goods (fig, 6).[48]

Musical instruments have a long tradition of symbolism associated with them. Specific instruments became symbolic of either passion or reason in Greek mythology and philosophy (the _aulos_ of Dionysus as opposed to the lyre of Apollo). Instruments also have meanings as symbols of love; in pictures of lovers the man will often play an instrument; they are

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3 Larmessin: A musician's dress.
M Pincherle, An illustrated history of music, p 94.

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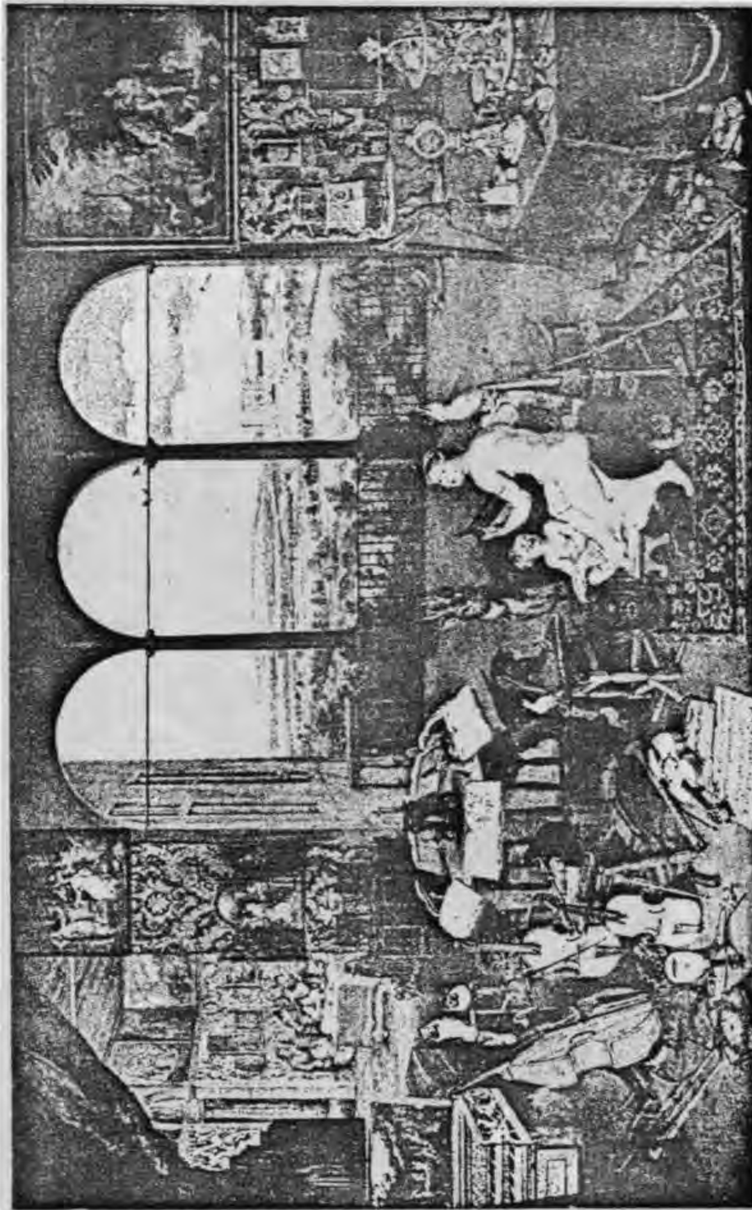

4 Jan Brueghel: Allegory of hearing.
K Geiringer, Instruments in the history of Western music, plate 34.

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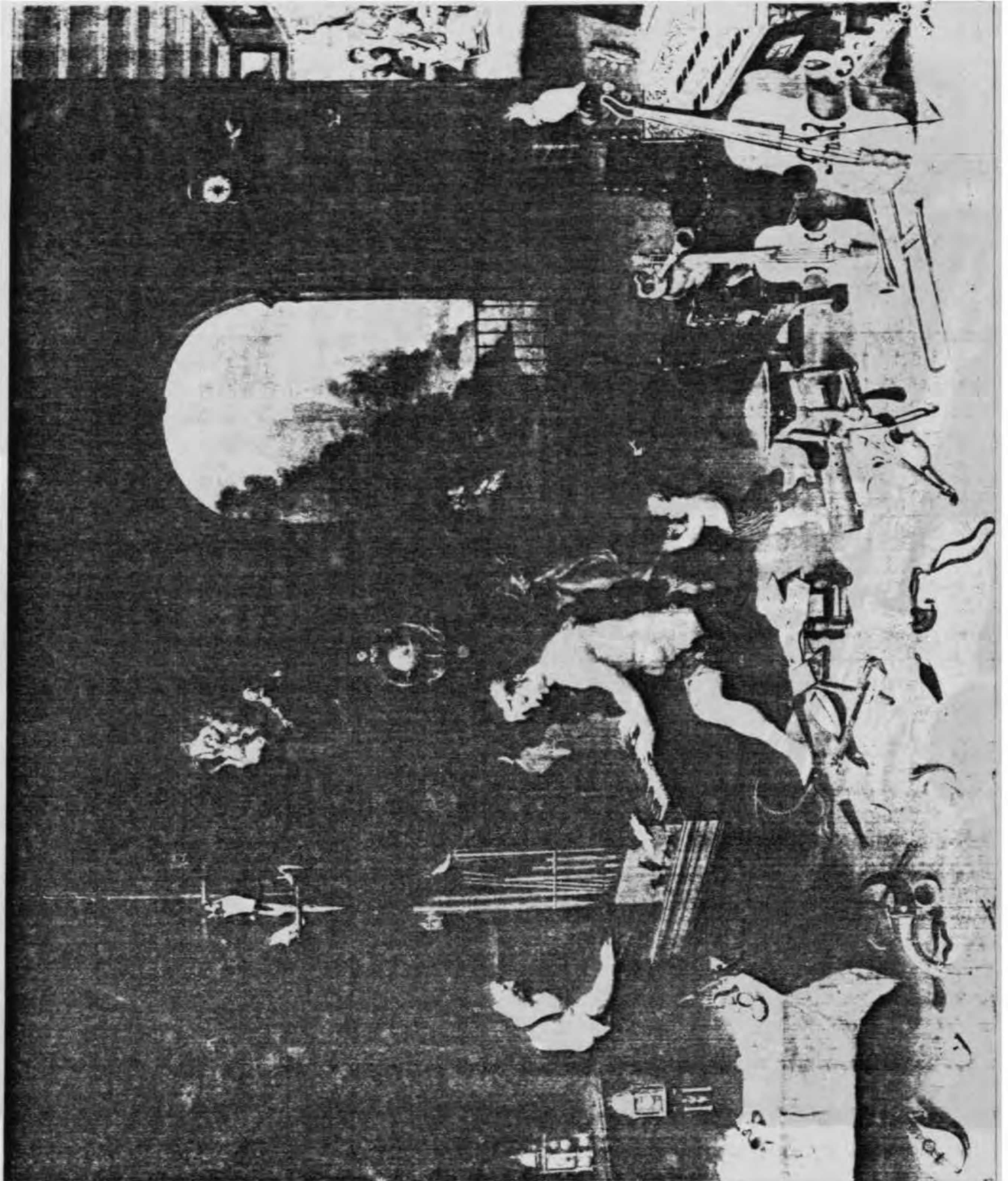

5 Van Kessel and van Balen: Music.
M Pincherle, An illustrated history of music, p 78.

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R Clemencic, <u>Old musical instruments</u>, p 84.

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contrasted with weapons of war as instruments of peace, as when a young man exchanges his sword for a musical instrument. It is interesting that in allegories of vice and virtue, instruments are classed with the former.[49] Cooper maintains that some musical instruments denote happiness.[50]

Musical instruments often bear an erotic symbolism over and above their more literal part in a picture. Cooper explains that "some pipe instruments are phallic and many of the stringed instruments represent the female form".[51] The erotic symbolism is especially prevalent in wind and percussion instruments. Woodwinds have always had a Dionysian connotation of passion and pleasure, as well as being symbols of fertility, birth and rebirth, and music lessons on the lute, theorbo and harpsichord abound in Baroque genre paintings (fig. 7). The sexual symbolism of instruments is based on their suggestive shapes and the poetic notions of their enthralling sounds. The timbre of instruments could also be symbolical of mood, cahracter or temperament: for example, the trumpet has traditionally had a "heroic" connotation.[52]

4 Problems of interpretation

In the points above I have attempted to show in which ways and to what extent iconography of music may further our knowledge of culture in the past. Unfortunately the scholar is faced with many problems of distortion that hinder interpretation, forcing him to take the visual evidence cum grano salis.

It is essential for pictorial works to be properly evaluated as to their musicological value. It is not sufficient for the iconographer to identify and describe the instruments, performers and musical symbols. After evaluating the total work within its context he can gather of what value it may be to learn more about instruments, performing practices, or cultural history. The iconographer has to be assured as to an accurate dating for the work. As Panofsky states, the historical concept is based on the contexts of time and space.[53] A date without an indication of location is virtually useless; whereas an identification of artist/place and date indicates the incorporation of formal values and cultural attitudes of a certain time and place.[54] Winternitz sums up the task of

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GABRIEL METSU,
THE MUSIC LESSON
By courtesy of The Trustees of the National Gallery, London

7 Gabriel Metsu: <u>The music lesson</u>.

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the musical iconologist as follows: "to 'read' the work of art as a document, to concentrate on its material content and thereby see beyond the devices of stylization; to abstract... just those elements which make it art...(by) consciously eliminating the subjective, 'disturbing' elements of style".[55]

Two of the safest guidelines for the iconologist are to base his suppositions on the widest possible sampling, and to use the utmost caution and discretion when accepting things at face-value. The scholar with critical discrimination will aim to have the following points in mind: he must have a sound knowledge and understanding of successive art styles, technical pecularities and mannerisms; he must be familiar with the political and religious creeds which may have influenced the use of allegory and symbolism; he must realise that the extant evidence may be atypical in that the frequency or lack of pictorial representation may not be an accurate reflection of actual practices, and he must remember that the artist may have copied rather than drawn from life.

In many periods the objective of the artist was not to make his art a mirror of reality/nature, but to suggest objects through stylizations. Failure to paint 'realistically' can be the result of many causes, pychological or technical. The artist is style-bound, and may have been limited in the choice of his subjects (by the church, patrons, critics or secular authorities), and he is inhibited by his media and tools (it is difficult to render strings in sculptures, for instance).[56] According to Panofsky, the iconographer must have a knowledge of literary and oral themes and concepts associated with a given period, he must be familiar with the prevailing style and the way it influenced the depiction of objects and forms, and he must have insight into the '_Weltanschauung_' of a people as manifested in their symbols, themes and concepts.[57]

Panofsky mentions three stages of identification in a work of art.[58] The first identifies the primary or natural subject matter (pre-iconographical description), identirying objects, figures, events and expressive qualities, constituting the basic artistic motifs. The second stage isolates the secondary or conventional subject matter (iconographical analysis),

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in which the artistic motifs are connected with specific themes or concepts realised in images, stories and allegories. At this stage correct analysis of the motifs rests on their accurate identification in the first stage. The intrinsic meaning or content is studied in the last stage (iconographical/iconological interpretation). Through the interpretation of the symbolism an symbolical values (often used unconsciously by the artist), the ethos and general attitudes of a society can be revealed.

A danger exists that the iconographer may interpret a picture taken at face-value, when in actual fact its content is allegorical or symbolical. The artist may have copied an instrument from an earlier source and not from contemporary life. At each repetition, the copy will become more distorted and removed from the original. Misunderstandings have arisen in the interpretation of allegorical engravings of the Northern Baroque illustrating religious or political themes. In these works the artist did not attempt to depict musical instruments accurately, but rather to make them striking and an aesthetic addition to the composition.[59] We must realise that an exact duplication of visual reality was not necessarily the artist's primary objective. The extent to which this was the current ideology must be determined before the musicological value of a picture can be assessed. The artist may have tried to show a traditional iconographical program in a different light, or he may have been illustrating a text for which the iconography and subject matter were specified. Possibly the most reliable visual sources are those which illustrate contemporary events such as entertainments and ceremonies.[60]

A picture may deviate from 'reality' due to distortions, whether conscious or unconscious, by the artist. The style of the period or of the artist will influence his attitude to and proficiency in depicting reality[61]; for example, compare the detail of Dürer as opposed to the abstraction of Picasso.

The question of artistic license is important. One has to try and determine the extent to which the artist could 'adapt' his subjects to fit in with his ideas of composition and/or symmetry. He may have seen a lute as a beautiful object, and have used it in a painting as a decorative element. To

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achieve visual balance and symmetry, hae may have had to duplicate instruments without there being any justification for this other than pictorial convention. The incompetence of the artist may have made an object vaguely recognisable but not identifiable for organological purposes. The artist may have been skillful, but may have been hindered by his lack of musical understanding, causing him to depict non-functional or acoustically impossible instruments. The artist may even have distorted the instrument through some form of malice. It was rather common for artists to modify elements of construction and appearance for intellectual, artistic or symbolic reasons.[62]

A picture could deviate from the portrayal of reality if the artist were more concerned with beauty -'prettification'- than reality. Symbolism or allegory can also influence the degree of reality of a work: a lyre may be given an arbitrary number of strings that will reflect a religious or mythological creed- The artist may also have depicted fantastic or allegorical instruments that served as 'props' in stage productions but had no actual use (fig. 8). Reality of a different form is portrayed in depictions of bizarre and fantastic performances and instruments, as in the works of H. Bosch or David Teniers (fig. 9). Musical caricatures distort reality but are nonetheless an important source of information about the social and political connotations given to people and instruments.

Artists of the Renaissance favoured archaic scenes, and often included pseudo-ancient instruments. If they could they copied them from extant instruments or sources, otherwise they invented instruments that had a neoclassical appearance. They could even amalgamate elements from several instruments, that made them seem archaic yet absolutely non-functional.

Other distortions of the visual evidence may result from decay and damage, which is 'rectified' by inept restoration. The more famous a picture is, the greater the chances are that it will have been restored or overpainted at some stage. Less well-known works therefore often offer more reliable evidence. One also has to remenber that our pictorial remains are only fragmentary; that which did not survive iconoclasm, war, and

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8 Figure representing Music in ballet at court of Louis XIV.
P H Lang & O Bettman, A pictorial history of music, p 30.

9 David Teniers the Younger: The rich man being led to Hell.
R D Leppert, Concert in a house: Musical iconography and musical thought, Early Music 7(1), Jan. 1979, p10.

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and wear-and-tear, could be just as important as that which did. The relative popularity and frequency of certain types of instruments is not always a just reflection of the true conditions, especially if one considers for how long the arts were dominated by a religious vein. It must also be borne in mind that the artist and his subjects/sitters may have had personal eccentricities or idiosyncrasies that are not truly typical of their times, which could distort our general view.[63]

Thus there seem to be two categories of pictures that provide evidence for the iconographer. The first depicts 'reality', real people, places and events, and we tend to take this at face-value (usually justifiably so). The second depicts a mythological or symbolical reality, which is derived from other sources than visual reality. This evidence has to be carefully sifted to see what it can offer, usually in the way of broader cultural and historical concepts.

We must also realise that it is extremely difficult to understand and explain a cultural manifestation in restrospect, because with our hindsight we tend to project our ideas and beliefs into the past. The way we view this will depend on our present historical and cultural situation, as well as the sum total of our experiences.[64] Thus it is almost impossible to reach objective or impartial conclusions about the past. To reconstruct and explain a past culture, one must be able to identify with it, to share the same world-view as did the people: to the people of pre-Columbian times the world <u>was</u> flat, for example, and that governed their attitudes and vision in everything. Man is an inquisitive being, and will always probe the past:

> "We shall not cease from exploration
> And the end of all our exploring
> Will be to arrive where we started
> And know the place for the first time".[65]

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II The seventeenth century

A Historical and cultural background

The period from 1600 to c.1750 is generally called the Baroque, designating a style that was characterised by dramatic effects, romanticism, ornamentation, decoration, effusiveniess, abandonment and emotional involvement. The Baroque originated in late sixteenth-century Italy, and has been labelled a Catholic style, the result of the Church's attempt to consolidate its powers through the use of a flamboyant, awesome art that strove to reflect the glories of Heaven on earth. Early Baroque art was Catholic church art, manifested in the spirit and works of Michelangelo, Caravaggio and El Greco; "the new vigor of militant Catholicism filled the arts with its spirit".[1] (fig. 10) The Roman Catholic Church provided a unity in southern Europe, and there were fewer religious and social uprisings than in Northern Europe.

Most of the seventeenth century in Northern Europe was dominated by religious strife, yet it was also the period of absolutist governments, the rise of the wealthy middle classes, and an efflorescence of the arts. At the beginning of the century the clutches of Catholic Spain and the Habsburgs were felt throughout Europe, but France was the other major Catholic power, and succeeded in obtaining political hegemony in Europe. The period after 1660 especially saw the omnipotence of France, England and the Netherlands, based on mercantile and economic interests that to some extent pushed religious dissension into the background.[2]

The Baroque spirit changed the atmosphere of the world. The foundations of modern thinking had been laid in the Renaissance, but in the Baroque the institutional and philosophical patterns that formed the modern world were consolidated. The world-view of the people was widened by contact with eastern through exploratory voyages and trade. Commercial and industrial activity led to an increased prosperity of the middle-classes. A mass market for the arts was opened, as the bourgeoisie began to influence artistic taste.

The physical world and universe were explored by instruments

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10 Lastmann altar scene.
P H Lang & O Bettman, <u>A pictorial history of music</u>, p 25.

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that extended the range of perception - the telescope and the microscope. Galileo, Giordano Bruno, and Kepler confirmed the heliocentric theory, and the earth was seen as subject to natural rather than divine law. The idea of an extended, infinite space intrigued yet dwarfed man; Pascal, for instance experienced inner anguish and anxiety at the silence of infinite space. This concept was treated by artists and musicians, escaping from the bondages of the old world.[3] Scientific societies studied physics, optics, biology, anatomy and mathematics. Systematic doubt (Descartes) reflected the religious upheavals and scientific inquiry, and became the norm. The Catholic Spinoza tried to combine and balance mysticism (emotion) and rationalism (reason), as did the most artists.[4]

The rationalism of the time was based on scientific discoveries, and the wish of people to apply these natural laws to ethics, psychology, politics, economics and religion in order to improve the lot of man. The ideals of this Age of Reason were only systematically applied in the following century, during the Enlightenment. Deism was a new manifestation of the seventeenth century: it was based on the rationalism of J Locke and the astrophysics of Newton, postulating a religion that abided by reason alone, without divine interference.[5] Rationalism affected the arts by advocating the classification of problems as either belonging to the natural sciences or to mathematical philosophy, which were then subjected to systematic analysis. In music musical figures were used to express emotional states (the Affektenlehre), and in painting long diagonal lines indicated a unifying emotion: "consistent principles were observed because they were thought to clarify emotional intent".[6]

The ethos of the period can perhaps be best summed up by saying that it was a study in contrasts and conflicts; "oppositions that were impossible to reconcile had to find a way to coexist".[7] Rationalism and scientific inquiry stood against militant mysticism and exuberant emotionalism, and the arts and society were deeply influenced. Aristocratic absolutism was countered by the rise of the bourgeoisie, gaining economic power and acvocating domesticity. The international power of the Catholic Church was met by the growth of national consciousness in the Protestant countries.

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Religious orthodoxy and freedom of thought fought for the upper hand; toleration was contaminated by harsh religious persecution. The printing press seemed to open new horizons, yet then censorship took them away. In the arts subjective emotionalism was countered by the cool detachment of classicism and academicism, exemplified in the spontaneity of Rubens as opposed to the formalism of Poussin. The details of a painting were important, but were subjugated to the demands of the larger conceptual pattern - the unifying diagonal plane or a focus-point of brilliant colour. The emotions of music were ordered in the Affektenlehre.[8] One could therefore be justified in saying that all manner of thought and action were being stirred, and that the tutelage of the seventeenth century bore rich fruits in the following centuries.[9]

The late Baroque was worldly and rationalistic, society was dominated by kings and princes instead of clerics. Cults of domesticity and hospitality were esteemed, as well as elegant social life. The secular orientated art and life were based on monarchism, absolutism and rationalism, which found their expression in art that exhibited symmetry, order and grandeur instead of boundless abandonment. Nature was subjugated to the will of man. This 'new' Baroque style was the product of the French court of the second half of the seventeenth century (Louis XIV), and this somewhat élitist and exclusive culture became universal in the eighteenth century.[10]

The ultimate French supremacy in Europe was based on the realisation of absolutist doctrines of Cardinal Richelieu and T Hobbes. Richlieu engineered the downfall of the Habsburgs, but died before the fruition of his ideal of an authoritarian state under a strong monarch. This monarch was Louis XIV, who was a minor at his accession in 1643, but by 1653 he had taken over the reins of government. The reign of the Roi Soleil was to last until 1715; he saw himself as the personification of France, synonymous with the state: "L'etat c'est moi".[11]

The absolutism of Louis was not wholly autocratic in that it was the only solution at the time for the governance of the country, and indeed the institutional foundations that were

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laid were taken over by the liberals of the Enlightenment. The absolutism of the king also ensured the waning of the power of the nobility. The French example was followed in Prussia (Frederick II), England (Charles II), and Spain (Philip IV).[12]

The absolutism of Louis XIV had a profound effect on the arts, and Paris became the intellectual and artistic nucleus of Europe. The arts became instruments of royal propaganda by glorifying the state, national power and prestige, stimulating export trade, and impressing visitors. The cult of majesty implied a certain standardisation of the arts by their control as government-run academies. For example, during Lebrun's time at the Academy of Painting, the stylistic qualities of Poussin were favoured over those of Rubens because Poussin's work reflected the cultural philosophy of absolutism. The disciplined, pure, elegant musical style of Jean-Baptiste Lully became the only accepted court style. Louis XIV supported the arts that reflected the "expression of a (aristocratic) class whose code of behaviour was based on etiquette, politeness, and...good taste".[13] As will be seen, in marked contrast with the contemporary Dutch culture.

The Low Countries had become part of the Spanish Empire in 1556, but already by the 1560's the population was up in arms against the religious persecution of Calvinists and incessant taxation. The Dutch rebels based their strength on the sea, but the struggle for independence dragged on into the seventeenth century. The Twelve Years' Truce was signed in 1609 in which the independence of the United Provinces was recognised. The renewed war was ended by the Treaty of Münster, 1648, in which independence was fully acknowledged. The Southern Flemish provinces remained predominantly Catholic, and did not have the cultural efflorescence of the Dutch.[14]

The Dutch organised their own government under a governor (stadtholder), and were determined not to loose their independence again. A semi-ruling class sprang up from the richer upper-middle-class families, the regent families who ran town councils, but there was no aristocratic centralised power. The Protestant movement intensified Dutch anti-authoritarianism

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to the extent that even the unifying authority of the Church was negligible against the individualism of the people who made their homes the centre of religious activity.[15]

The emerging bourgeois culture of the Netherlands was founded on the ideals of commercialism, Calvinism, autonomy, nationalism, individualism and personal liberty, and rationalism. Their mastery of the seas led to a seafaring economy, by which banking houses and corporations such as the Dutch East India Company came into being (1602).[16]

The wealth from commercial activity was relatively evenly-spread through the population. The hardy nature of the Dutch was allied with a genuine appreciation of their hard-won homeland and freedom; this, together with a distaste for (aristocratic) pomp, brought about the cult of the home, the ideals of domesticity. At the time when families felt the need of pictorial art to affirm their delight in materialism, artists were seeking employment: the Calvinists frowned on art, and there was no aristocratic patronage. Demand and supply met, and produced the wealth of the seventeenth century Dutch bourgeois art. Virtually every family could afford a collection of pictures, which became smaller to suit the intimate interiors. Middle-class patronage also resulted in the production of etchings, which were cheaper than paintings.[17]

Music also had to rely on boureois patronage, and became an almost exclusively domestic activity, because church organists were the only musicians to survive Calvinist austerity. The aesthetic pleasure of music making was centred on the home; music teachers taught the lute, viols and virginal, and the family would gather to sing and play in an intimate atmosphere. These scenes were often recorded in oils by painters (fig. 11).[18]

The bourgeois taste (also found in England and Germany) thus had a decisive influence on the whole spectrum of Dutch art and music. The spirit of toleration and social mobility fostered the studies of philosophy and the natural sciences at the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. Human anatomy, optics, astronomy and mathematics were studied. The humanists Constantijn Huygens and Hugo Grotius had notable careers, and

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11 J van Oost: <u>Music in the home</u>.
K M Komma, <u>Musikgeschichte in Bildern</u>, p 137.

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Descartes, Spinoza and Locke were attracted to the Netherlands by the relative freedom of thought and deed allowed.[19]

The mercantile prosperity and acumen of the Dutch had led to the founding of the Dutch East India Company by charter of the States-General. Its aim was to exploit the Eastern trade; the Dutch sailed directly to the East Indies, using Table Bay as a half-way stop. Eventually the Company sent Jan van Riebeeck to the Cape to establish a refreshment post for passing ships; he landed on 6 April, 1652, with eighty men, and proceeded to build a fort and hospital.

Colonisation was not the aim, but already in 1657 free burghers started to farm their own land, and in 1658 the first Black slaves were imported from Angola. By 1671 the free burghers moved eastwards to the more sheltered farmlands. Permanent settlers were not encouraged in the early decades, but in 1688 a group of about one hundred and fifty French Huguenot refugees arrived, and by 1699 there were than 1,100 free burghers at the Cape.

Administration was controlled by the Company's Council of Seventeen from the Netherlands, and a local governor was appointed. Administration of economic matters was rigid, and the Council had little sympathy with the hardships of the colonists. Underproduction was turned into over-production during the tenures of Simon van der Stel and his son Willem Adriaan (1679-1707). The growing wish for autonomy and the 'Afrikaner conciousness' of the burghers enabled them to instigate the dismissal of W A van der Stel in 1707 because of his monopolisation of the market.

The community was predominantly Dutch at the end of the seventeenth century, with a fair number of French and Germans. Roman-Dutch law was used, a heritage from the Dutch motherland, as was the Calvinist Reformed Church. The cultural traditions were formed by European roots, remaining Dutch-orientated for many years, though the French "high-minded Calvinists from a social class perhaps on the whole superior to that...of the older free burghers,...made a valuable contribution to the life and culture".[20] The slaves and non-White aboriginal races also

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had a lasting effect on the social relationships between White and non-White.[21]

B Seventeenth century music: general characteristics

At the beginning of the seventeenth century certain new features were discernible in music in Italy, which spread in varying degrees to the rest of Europe. There was no uniform Baroque musical style, but many characteristics differentiate it from earlier and later music. The composer used an expanded emotional language in conjunction with new harmonies, colours and forms to express a wider range of feelings and ideas through music.

Idiomatic writing was encountered, that is composing with the qualities of a specific instrument in mind, and instrumental music began to develop separately from vocal music. Two vocal styles dominated, in the one the music dominated the text, in the other the text was more important than the music. The secularisation of music was recognised by the division on music into church, chamber or theatre styles. The size and variety of audiences began to increase, as did ensemble participation in chamber works. A wider audience entailed a wider range of music, and new forms germinated: the vocal opera, cantata and oratorio, and multi-movement instrumental sonatas, suites,and concertos; the definitive contrapuntal work was the fugue.

Early Baroque music was still contrapuntally orientated, but there was also a new emphasis on homophony. According to Grout "the sound ideal of the Baroque was a firm bass and a florid treble, held together by unobstrusive harmony".[22] The basso continuo system of notation was used: the composer notated the melody and bass line; the latter was played on one or more continuo instruments (harpsichord, organ, lute), while an instrument such as the bass gamba or cello reinforced the bass line. The keybourd or lute player was expected to improvise suitable chords above the bass notes.[23] The idea of dynamic and tonal alternation led to the development of the concerto form, based on the stile concertato ideal of opposition or contrast of different media. New tension was created by rhythmic and harmonic variations.

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Important composers of the seventeenth century were Monteverdi, Corelli, Lully, Couperin, Purcell, Sweelinck, Froberger, Schütz, Praetorius, and Buxtehude.[24]

C Seventeenth century pictorial art:

1 General characteristics

Dynamic, florid Baroque art was the work of artists who "discovered new worlds or found new ways of interpreting the old";[25] according to Janson it is impossible to explain the artist's impetus as arising from solely religious, political or intellectual thought because "scientific and philosophical thought became too complex, abstract, and systematic for him to share; gravitation, calculus, and Cogito, ergo sum could not stir his imagination".[26]

Once again, there was no uniform Baroque painting style, and there were notable stylistic differences between Northern and Southern Europe. Nonetheless, certain distinctive features can be mentioned: there was a preoccupation with extremes in size, from the immensity of palaces, gardens and monasteries, to the minute details shown in still-life pictures. The expanse of infinite space was explored in the pictorial arts: the limits of the canvas were stretched, spatial limitations became inconsequential, as did traditional distinct spatial spheres. Unlimited expanse was suggested in the landscapes of Lorrain and Poussin. By using contrasting light and dark, mass and void, strong rich colours, and huge diagonals and curves, the artists expanded space yet provided the essential continuity and unity "through the harmony of parts in subordination to the whole".[27]

An especial feature of the Baroque artist was his technical virtuosity. He demanded the recognition of this by forcing an emotional involvement from the beholder; the audience and work formed a complementary entity. Most artists strove for verisimilitude of substance, colour and texture, and became adept at disguising one texture in the form of another (skillfully painted wood could be made to resemble marble).[28]

Furthermore, the artist had a different attitude to his subjects, he saw and portrayed people as they were, not as they wished to appear. Emotions and expressions were revealed in character

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studies, and gestures and deportment added eloquently to the expressiveness of a work. Expression does not depend on noise or melodrama, the the Baroque artist realised the potential of the still-life theme, creating a reality that was suspended in time. Scenes of ordinary life reflected the secular attitude of the artist, though religious art was still important. The artist became a recognised figure in society, often combining art with commerce or teaching activities.[29]

2 The Netherlands

a. Introduction

The seventeenth century was the 'Golden Age' of the Dutch Republic, especially as far as painting was concerned. According to Clark this efflorescence "goes back to a revolutionary change in thought...that replaced Divine Authority by experience, experiment and observation....Dutch painting is a visible expression of this change of mind (and) economically and intellectually - was the first country to profit from the change".[30] The historical background that brought about this change has already been examined. The Calvinist church no longer gave commissions, and there were virtually no land-owning gentry, so patronage fell on the shoulders of the bourgeois merchant-class and municipalities.

A cult of collection started among the private collectors, and the artists operated on a supply and demand basis. There was a divergency in styles and subjects as pictures, especially portraits, became negotiable property: debts were paid with them, they provided security on loans, and were also objects of investment or speculation.[31]

The Dutch artists specialised in the following: still-life compositions, landscapes and seascapes, portraits and group portraits, and scenes of everyday life (genre pictures). Heroic classical history or mythology were avoided, and religious scenes were limited to familiar Bible stories. For the purpose of musical iconography, the still-life and genre themes will be examined in more detail.

There were centres of painting at Amsterdam, Haarlem, Utrecht, Leyden and Delft. The Catholic centre of Utrech was responsible

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for importing the Caravaggean Baroque style from Rome, while the influence of Rubens was felt via Antwerp (Flanders).[32] Although many artists cannot be linked to one specific school, some became truly representative of on tradition. Terbrugghen and Honthorst worked in Utrecht, though it has always been seen as a shool that did not produce any great artists. Haarlem was the home of Hals, Ostade, Buytewech, Brouwer, Claesz, van Beyern and Ruisdael. Rembrandt worked in both Leyden and Amsterdam, where his most notable pupil was Maes. Artists of the Leyden school were Dou, Metsu, Steenwijck and Steen. Delft was important for nurturing Fabritius, de Hooch and Vermeer.

b. The still-life theme

According to Kahr still-life "refers to the depiction of objects that lack the capacity for self-governed motion",[33] but adds that the category usually includes pictures of live animals or people "in which such elements are clearly subordinate to the main subject matter, which usually comprises flowers and other natural entities, food...,books, musical instruments, tools and utensils, and decorative objects".[34] Osborne maintains that it was a natural form for the Dutch to adopt because it reflected the domesticity and materialism of the people.[35] National pride and amateur natural history may have been represented by the presence of sea shells from the East and West Indies (Dutch colonies).[36]

The most plausible explanation of the origins of the still-life states that it developed from Flemish religious art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Many religious paintings had still-life elements, especially flowers, as in the Ghent altarpiece by the van Eyck brothers, and the Portinari altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes. Although the still-life appendages could be taken at decorative face-value, they invariably carried a symbolic meaning that reinforced the religious content. The first still-lifes were thus to be seen in their contexts, but the next step was to isolate the still-life, while keeping its symbolical value. The religious scene 'disappeared' into the background, until the independent still-life emerged. The general Dutch trend of moralizing literature (emblem books) must also have influenced the still-life artist. Even after the still-life objects were liberated from their

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traditional religious contexts, they kept their symbolic meanings, in still-life compositions and scenes of everyday life.[37] According to Kahr the Dutch use of 'disguised symbolism'[38] means that "the spiritual interpretation of material objects is...applicable to art of the seventeenth (century)".[39]

The first flower-pieces (fig. 12) were the work of the Flemish school (Ambrosius Bosschaert and R Savery) and influenced the Utrecht and Amsterdam artists. These early works showed a degree of realism, yet were still in the Mannerist tradition. The subjects were flowers, fruit, shells, insects, butterflies, snails shellfish and caterpillars.[40] Although the compositional elements changed after 1620, the symbolism remained unchanged: fruit and flowers conveyed the fragility, transience and evanescence of earthly things and natural beauty; shells may have had a funerary or resurrection connotation; the snail was symbolic of sin and sloth, and the butterfly indicated the ressurection of the soul, freed from earthly desires.[41]

The next development in the still-life was instigated in the early decades of the seventeenth century in Haarlem. These works were called an Ontbijtje (breakfast piece), and comprised tables laden with food and cutlery, though often the meal seemed to have been interrupted. Early 'breakfast pieces were done by Floris van Dijck, but the form was brought to new heights by Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz. They concentrated on the rendering of light and atmosphere through an almost monochrome palette, and showed the contrasts between different materials such as glass, cloth, porcelain and pewter.[42]

Near the middle of the century the still-life consisting of a mixture of food, flowers and objects of different textures took a new turn - it became an ostentatious expression of aesthetic pleasure and delight in opulence. The master of the pronk-stilleven was Willem Kalf of Amsterdam, followed by van Beyeren.[43]

From the iconographical point of view, the most important form of still-life was the Vanitas, which appeared around 1620. Fuchs maintains that vanity and transience were the themes of all still-lifes in the seventeenth century (cf. still-life with musical instruments, fig. 13), but with the Vanitas we see

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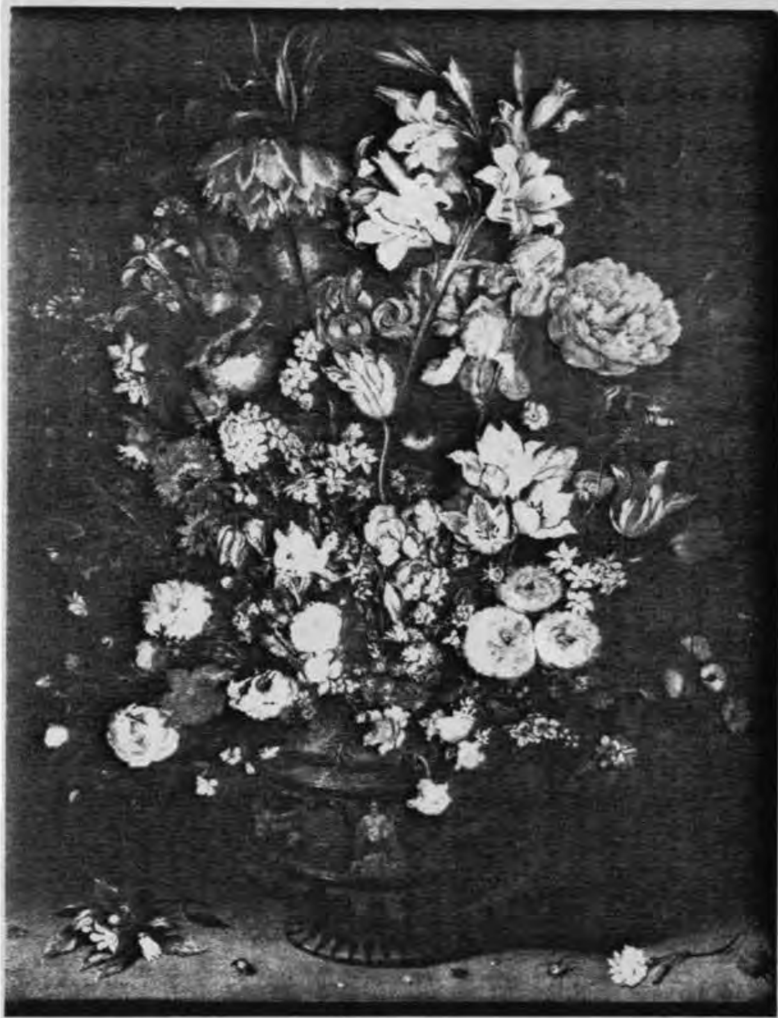

12 Jan Brueghel: Flowers in a vase.

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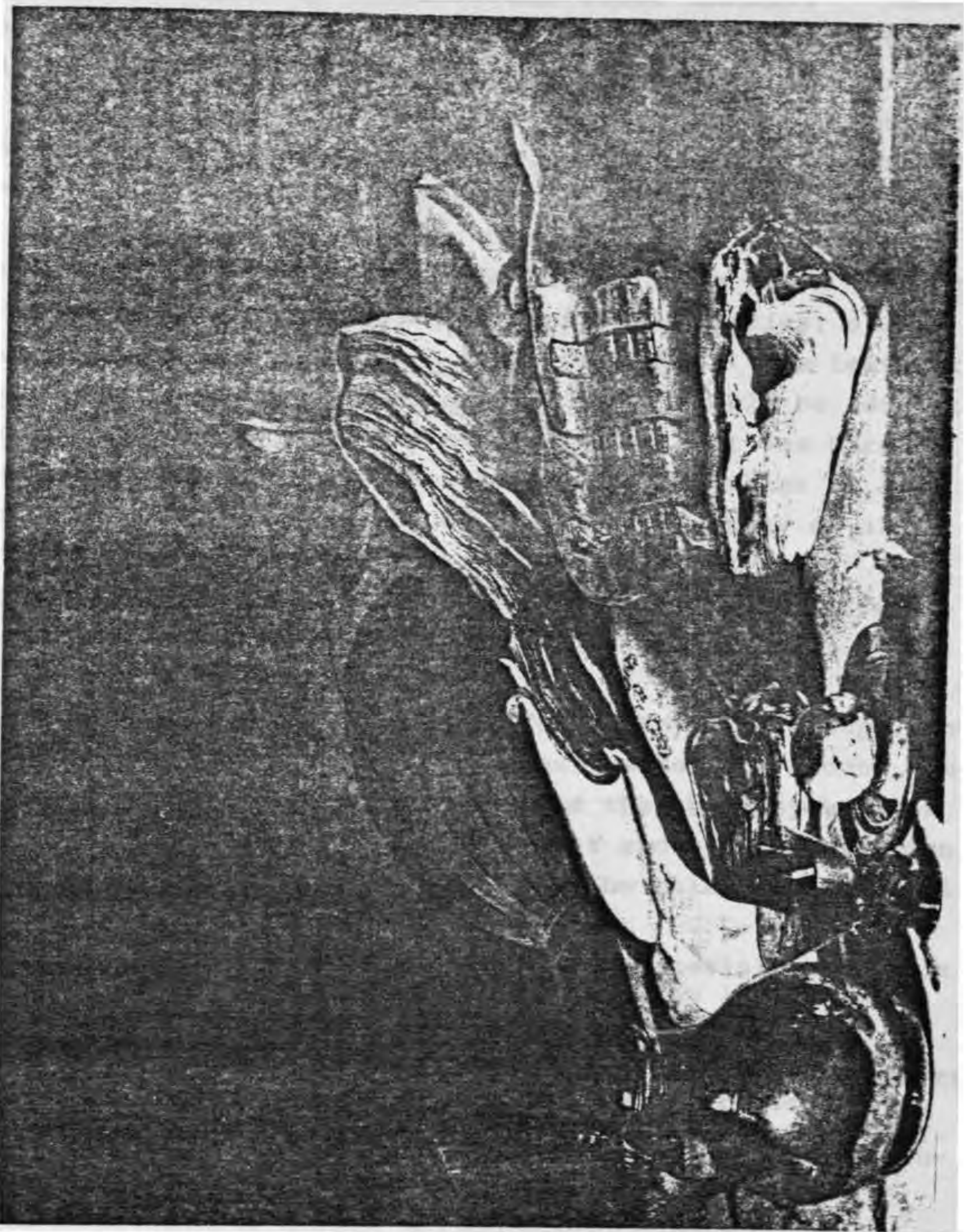

13 School of Rembrandt(?): Still life with books.
L J Bol, Holländische Maler des 17 Jahrhunderts, p 74.

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subject matter with an unequivocable moral content.[44] This genre was almost exclusively practiced by the Leyden school, and was analagous with the memento mori theme of earlier art; as Kahr says, it was as if the people were trying to convince themselves that although they revelled in luxury, they still knew "what is truly important, and that is the life eternal".[45]

The Vanitas derived its name from Ecclesiastes 1:2 - "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity" (vanitas vanitatis et omnia vanitas). This text, or others in similar vein (mors omnia vincit), could be added to the picture to reinforce the theme, though that was hardly necessary. Because the work bid the onlooker think on "the brevity of life, the frailty of man and the vanity of all worldly things",[46] it had a grave and melancholy air. This genre probably flourished in Leyden because of its strong Calvinistic connections.

Objects depicted in Vanitas works fell into three groups, the first contained symbols of earthly existence, the second symbols of the brevity of human life, and the third symbols of resurrection.[47] Objects from the first group were ubiquitous, a few were added from the second, and the third was optional. The following comprised the first group:

(i) Books, scientific instruments,...materials and tools used in the various arts, symbolizing literature, science, painting, sculpture, music, etc.
(ii) Purses, deeds, settlements, jewellery,...precious metals, collectors' pieces - such as shells - banners crowns, sceptres, weapons, and suits or pieces of armour; all these generally denote wealth and power.
(iii) Goblets, pipes,,,smoking requisites, musical instruments, playing cards and dice, which symbolize... tastes and pleasures.

(The following comprised the second group:)

Skulls and, in exceptional cases, whole ekeletons; instruments for measuring time, such as watches, clocks, and hour-glasses; candlesticks and oil-lamps -... sometimes with smoking wicks; soap-bubbles...and flowers, especially roses and anemones.

(The third group comprised:)

ears of corn and sprigs of laurel or ivy... often twisted round a skull.[48]

Hall also mentions the following as symbols of Christianity and resurrection: a glass of wine, a loaf of bread, a crucifix

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or rosary, a butterfly or bird, and a bird's egg.[49]

All facets of life fell under the moralizing gaze of the _Vanitas_ artist; his work appealed to the senses but alluded to the moral danger inherent in them. Musical instruments were in themselves beautiful and were symbolic of their art, but served as a warning against a life of sin and sloth. Lutes, violins, and wind instruments (especially flutes and recorders) were traditionally symbols of lust or a dissolute life: the stringed instruments were symbolic of the female, the winds of the male.[50] The poet Jan van der Veen said: "The fiddle or violin is alas used more in the service of vanity than in the praise and glory of God".[51] In a _Vanitas_ By Luigi Miradori (fig. 14) music (a lute) is depicted as the archetype of ephemeral worldly pleasure, underlined by the presence of a purse, jewels, and a skull.[52] We thus see that an instrument could be symbolical of worldly pleasure, but could also bear an additional sexual symbolism that would stress its original moralizing function.

It seems that David Bailly (1584-c.1657) influenced the future _Vanitas_ painters of Leyden around 1630, especially Harmen and Pieter Steenwijck. In a work by Bailly dated 1627 we see a _Vanitas_ theme - a skull, hourglass, burnt-out candle, books, sheet music, a violin, a satchel, and a piece of armour (fig. 15). A work by him from 1651 (fig. 16) is far more elaborate, with more objects from group one, but still includes the skull and candle-stick.[53]

Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606-c.1683) spent a period in Leyden as a _Vanitas_-painter; two of these contain a skull, and music is represented by a violin, lute or recorder. His main motif seems to be books, which litter a table, and then various objects are added. The recorder is seen as a blatant symbol of decadent worldly pleasure and debauchery in a work from 1664 (fig. 17). It leans aganist the skull, and is contrasted with various religious symbols, such as corn and wheat, and a view of Golgotha (the 'place of the skull') in the background.[54] Immortality is however suggested - ivy crowms the skull. A _Still-life with books_ from 1628 (fig. 18) seems to lack symbols

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14 Luigi Miradori: Vanity.
F Lesure, Music and art in society, plate 92.

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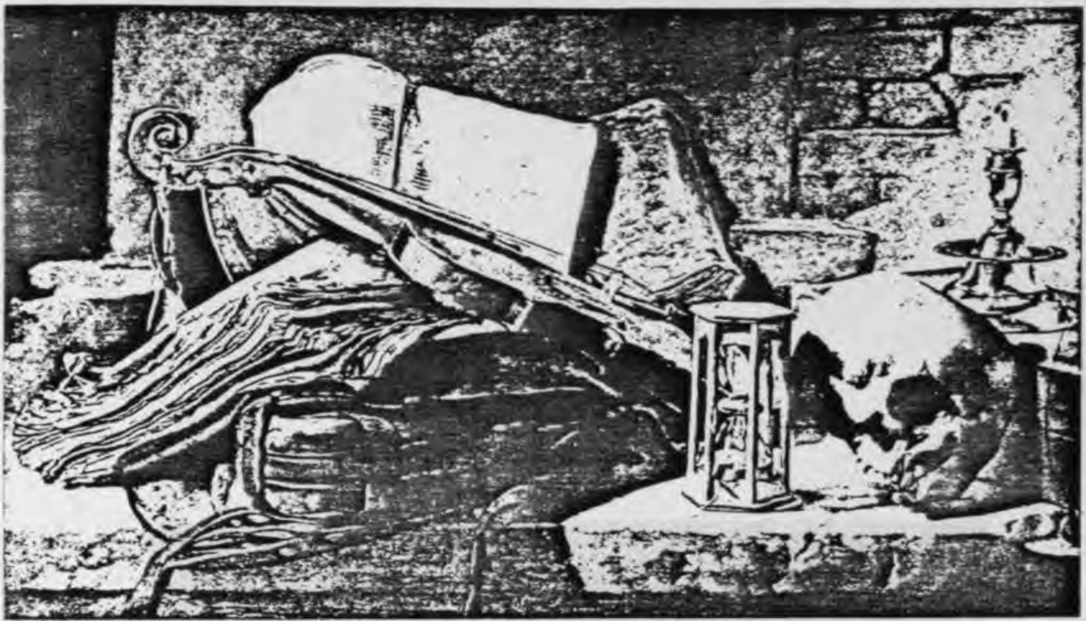
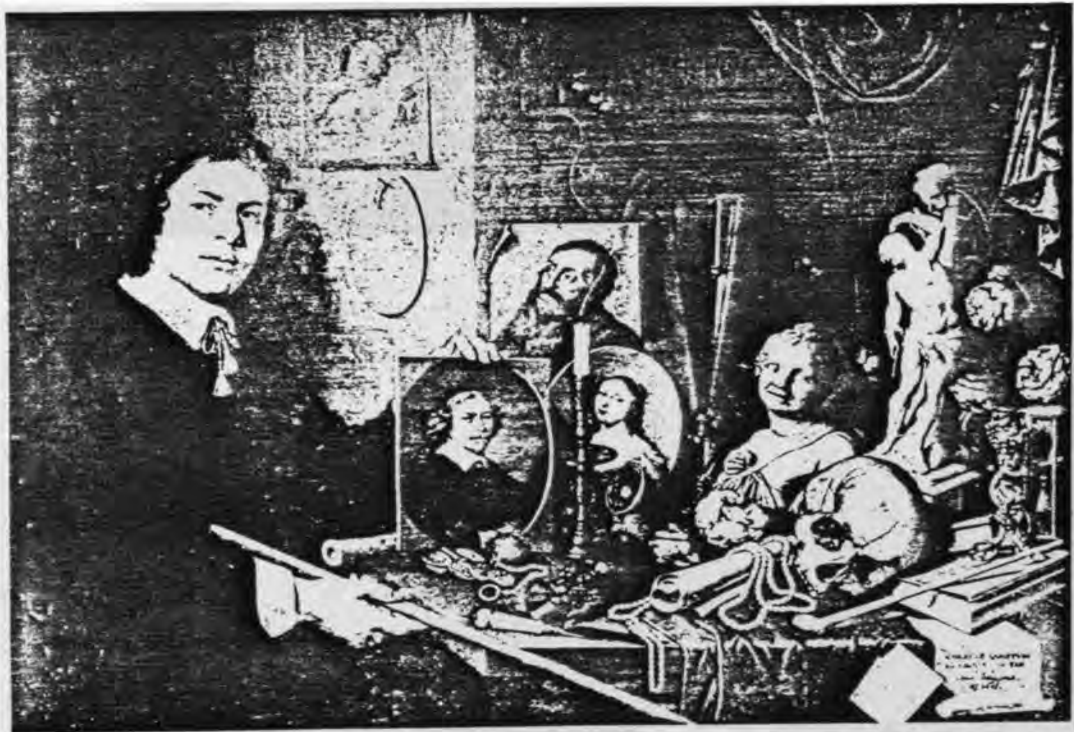


15 David Bailly: Still life.
I Bergström, Dutch still-life painting in the seventeenth century, p 169.



16 David Bailly: Still life.
I Bergström, op.cit., p 159.

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17 Jan Davidsz. de Heem: Vanitas.
R D Leppert, Concert in a house..., Early Music 7(1), Jan. 1979, p 11.

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18 Jan Davidsz. de Heem: Still life.
F Lesure, Music and art in society, plate 79.

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of transience (apart from the books themselves and a violin), until one examines the titles: Brederode's Rodderick ende Alphonsus and Westerbahn's Kusiens Clachten, which both dwell on the uncertainty and unpredictability of life. The moral of emptiness in earthly pastimes is underlined by the violin (Lesure), though to Nash it suggests reconciliation and harmony.[55]

Most of the works of Pieter Claesz. (1597-1661) can be classed as Ontbijtje pieces, but a few merit the name Vanitas because of the inclusion of recognised Vanitas objects. One such work from 1630 (fig. 19) includes books, a quill, a watch, an overturned glass, a smoking oil-lamp, and a skull and femur,[56] which may be symbolical of sexuality.[57]

Pieter Potter (1597-1652) also attempted the Vanitas theme, favourite objects being a skull, globe, watch, quill, books, candlestick and smoking wick. A work from 1646 (fig. 20) includes an open book of music and a recorder, a skull, a globe, and a pair of gaming dice.

Harmen Steenwijck (1612-1656) was born in Delft, and painted at least two Vanitas pictures. A Vanitas from c.1640 (fig. 21) includes the following objects: two pipes that have gone out, an overturned glass, a dying candle, history books, a skull, a Japanese sword, a piece of vine, a flute (dying music?) and a large sea-shell.[58]

Harmen's brother Pieter also painted Vanitas themes. One of his most famous works is the Allegory on the death of Admiral Marten Harpertsz. Tromp (fig. 22) of 1653. It includes an engraved portrait of the hero, and the funeral oration is prominently displayed. Also shown are a recorder, sword, sea-shell, candle-stick, books, an Oriental carpet, and a skull 'wearing' a black beret with a white feather (symbol of the purified soul).[59] A laurel wreath may be indicative of redemption or heroism. Rasmussen notes the iconographical importance of the recorder with its strange metal band around the mouthpiece, of which no examples are extant.[60] The same detail is shown in a still-life of Books and instruments by Jan Vermeulen (fig. 23).

Another Vanitas by P Steenwijck shows a lute, a coffer, a bag,

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19 Pieter Claesz.: Still life with skull.
M M Kahr, Dutch painting in the seventeenth century, p 197.

20 Pieter Potter: Still life.
I Bergström, Dutch still-life painting in the seventeenth century, p 169.

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21 Harmen Steenwijck: *Vanitas*.
R H Fuchs, *Dutch painting*, p 117.

22 Pieter Steenwijck: *Allegory on the death of Admiral Marten Harpertsz. Tromp*.
I Bergström, *Dutch still-life painting...*, p 172.

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23 Jan Vermeulen: Still life.
M Rasmussen & F von Huene: Some recorders in seventeenth century Dutch paintings, Early Music 10(1), Jan. 1982, p 34.

24 Pieter Steenwijck: Vanitas.
I Bergström, Dutch still-life painting..., p 173.

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a jug, a faience pot, some books, smoking utensils, and a skull clamping a recorder in its jaws (fig. 24).[61] This would seem to indicate "the skull beneath the skin" (T S Eliot) even while we enjoy earthly pleasures.

Jan Vermeulen (at Haarlem in 1657) produced several Vanitas pictures. A work from 1654 (fig. 25) shows a disorderly pile of objects: books, a recorder (similar to that in the still-life mentioned above), another recorder, a violin and a shawm, a smoking lamp, a crown, pearls, purses, sheet music, and a skull crowned with an ivy wreath. Two Latin texts are also prominently displayed: Mors omnia vincit and Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas to ensure that the "emblems of the main human ambitions"[62] are correctly interpreted. A later work (fig. 26) has far less objects, but again emphasises instruments, an hour-glass and a candle.

Jacques de Claeuw was born in Dordrecht (1620-?), but worked in Leyden. One Vanitas emphasises the arts of painting and music, with a palette, violin, shawm and sheet music as symbols (fig. 27). Other pleasures, vices or pastimes are indicated by a quill, playing cards, a pipe, books, and deeds or wills. Mortality and transience are suggested by the hour-glass, over-blown roses and mourning cloth flung over the globe.[63] A work from 1650 (fig. 28) is less cluttered, and contains the same images of the quill, rose, violin, globe and lightly-crumpled papers.[64] The new element in this work is the tumbled glass and the crucifix, standing at a diagonal away from the material pleasures on the table.

A work by de Claeuw from 1641 (fig. 29) entitled Vanitas with violin uses more or less the same frame of reference, but the violin is accompanied by a recorder, and a skull and dying candle are also present.[65] A work attributed to de Claeuw (fig. 30) differs from the others in that gold and silver objects are depicted. A violin is shown, as well as a pipe, skull, roses, books, a candle and dice.[66]

According to Bergström, the works of the artists of the second half of the century reflect the decline of the Vanitas genre.[67]

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25 Jan Vermeulen: Vanitas.
J M Nash, The age of Rembrandt and Vermeer, plate 74.

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26 Jan Vermeulen: Still life.
I Bergström, Dutch still-life painting..., p 181.

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27 Jacques de Claeuw: Vanitas.
J M Nash, The age of Rembrandt and Vermeer, plate 152.

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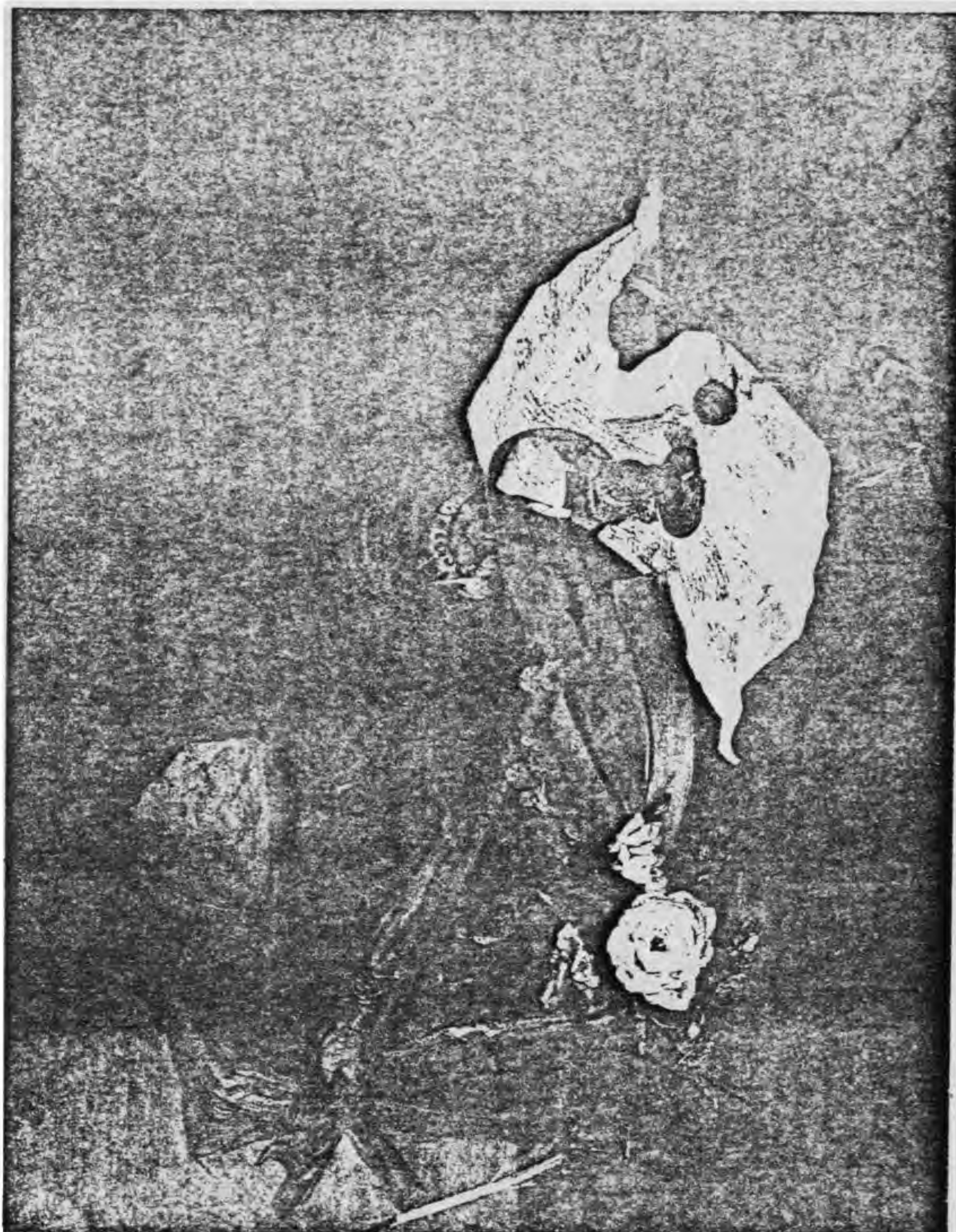

28 Jacques de Claeuw: Vanitas with Crucifix.
L J Bol, Holländische Maler des 17 Jahrhunderts, p 96.

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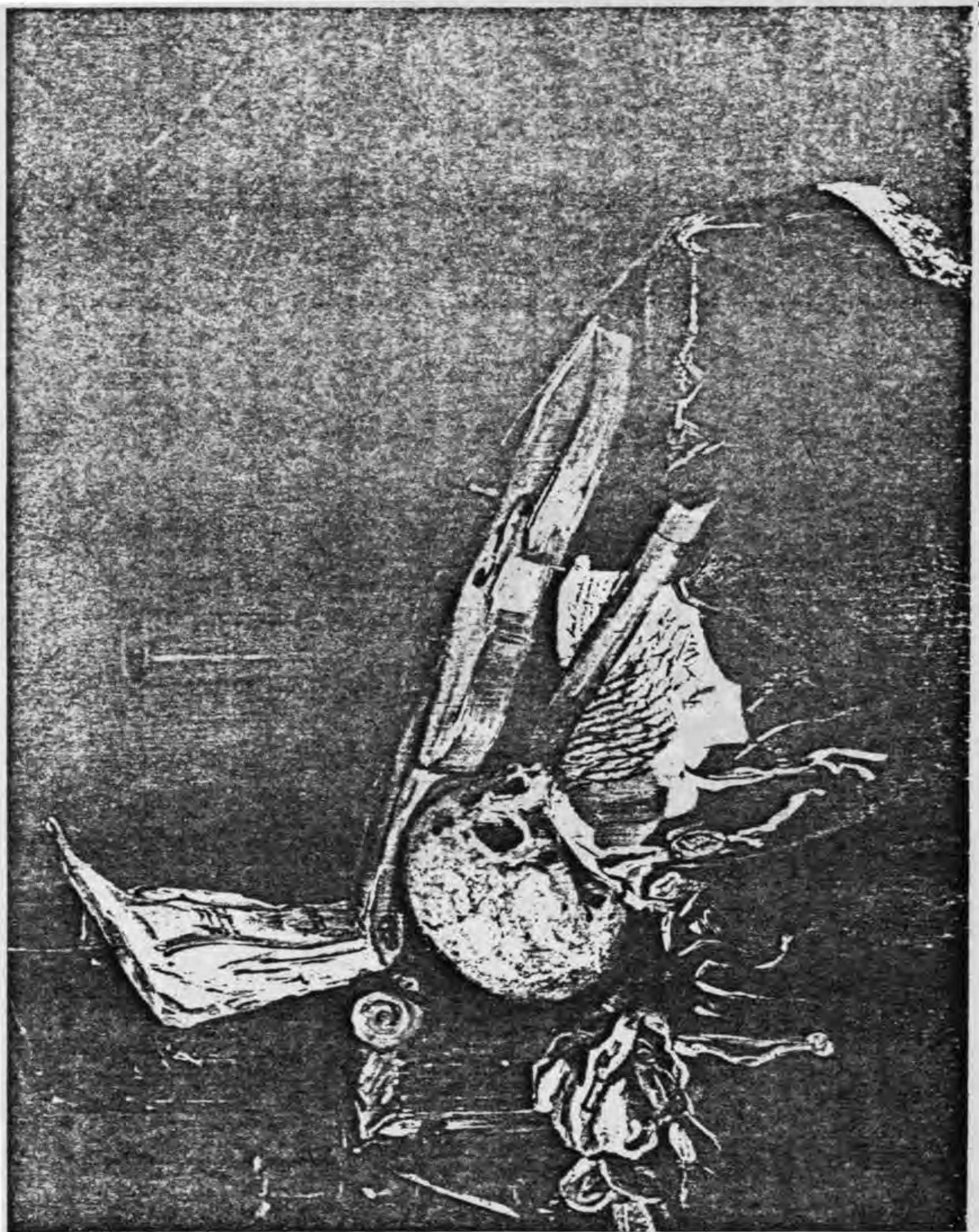

29 Jacques de Claeuw: Vanitas with violin.
L J Bol, Holländische Maler des 17 Jahrhunderts, p 97.

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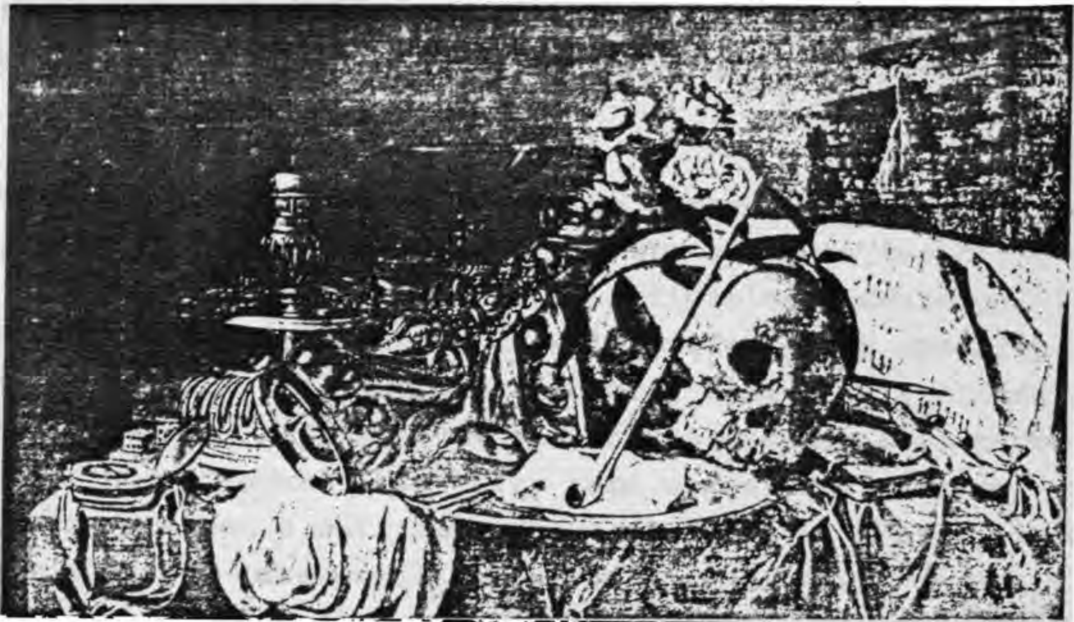

30 Jacques de Claeuw: Vanitas.
I Bergström, Dutch still-life painting..., p 176.

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A typical work by Vincent Lourensz. van der Vinne (1629-1702) (fig. 31) comprises the usual symbols, as well as adding a lute to the two wood-winds, a musket, measuring instruments, ivy wheat, a glass flask and a pair of spectacles.[68] During the later years of the century, the Vanitas scene was often placed within a recognisable setting, such as outside in a park or inside a study,[69] and seems to have shared the spirit of ostentation of the pronkstilleven. It must finally be added that no matter how great the iconographical or historical value lf these works, one must bear in mind that the choice of musical instruments "was largely determined by the purely picturesque qualities"[70] and not merely to serve as dry symbols.

c. The genre theme

According to Kahr, the word genre (French 'type' or 'kind')"is used in relation to art to designate subjects depicting ordinary people engaged in everyday activities. Genre paintings deal with neither identifiable individuals nor specific events".[71] Excluded from this would be pictures that habe and reference to extraneous religious, moral or philosophical matters, in other words, works that carry some underlying message. Genre is in fact not a satisfactory term for Dutch art of scenes of social life, because this art was intentionally didactic or moralistic. The artists chose to free themselves from artistic traditions and formulas, they chose commonplace, unidealised themes, and "painted a kind of social history of ...events".[72]

A genre painting depicts a scene or situation which can be interpreted to show its moral example. The true meaning is revealed through the use of symbolism, and the message of the work may chabge accordingly. The use of allegory was compatible with the seventeenth-century world; it was not obtuse and scholastic, but rather "crude and simplistic, (a) metaphorical interpretation of the world".[73] Realistic genre painting was seen as a mirror of nature and life. The parable-like treatment of a theme suited the temperament and education of the bourgeoisie; a situation was shown which was interpreted on the basis of the collective knowledge of symbolism.[74] The tolerance of the artist allowed him to view his subjects good-naturedly, without excessive ridicule or satire. Through a

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31 Vincent Lourensz. van der Vinne: Vanitas.
L J Bol, Holländische Maler des 17 Jahrhunderts, p 355.

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not too-complex vocabulary, the artist warned of the futility of worldly pleasure and its consequences.[75] The judgment of man was a constant artistic preoccupation.

Dutch genre painting can be classed as either 'peasant' or 'fashionable' genre.[76] Both shed considerable light on social behaviour, attitudes and statification, as well as secondary information about cultural history. The interiors of the houses, furniture and fashions are painstakingly recorded, as are iconographical details of instruments and performance. Whereas the still-life merely shows the appearance of an instrument, in the genre picture it is placed in its social context. We can thereby gauge the attitudes concerning music and its social role, though the symbolical meaning of the instrument will still be important, and distortions may be encountered.

Early genre painting developed in Haarlem with Esaias van de Velde, Willem Buytewech, Adriaen Ostade and Adriaen Brouwer (fig. 32). In general these artists depicted 'peasant' genre. The Leyden painters of 'fashionable' genre were Gerard Dou, the van Mieris brothers, Nicolaes Maes and Gabriel Metsu. Jan Steen, Gerard Terborch and Caspar Netscher also painted 'fashionable' genre, as did Johannes Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch in Delft. In Utrecht Terbrugghen and van Honthorst worked in a slightly different, more detached vein.[77]

The theme of music is seen in 'peasant' genre (tavern or brothel scenes, and 'merrymaking' scenes inside and outside) and 'fashionable' genre (music parties, music lessons, and individual players).

We have seen that in still-lifes musical instruments had a specific symbolic role assigned to them. The same frequently applies in genre scenes, they are a "source of reliably delineated instruments and...of the subtle symbolism which has always attended the relationship of musical instruments and western European art".[78] The symbolic weight of an instrument may be veiled or blatant, but the inclusion of instruments in almost every scene imaginable is often unjustified except for their symbolic function. An individual instrument could for

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32 Adriaen Brouwer: Peasants playing cards.

33 Pieter de Hooch: Conversation.

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example symbolise vanity or eroticism, whereas (secular) music as such usually symbolised the emptiness and futility of worldly pleasure.[79] This was often done by associating music or instruments with vices such as smoking, drinking, gambling, theft and seduction; in other words, music is seen to accompany and encourage decadence and dissipation [80] (fig. 33).

Drums have apparently long been associated with death, as shown in a macabre Dance of Death Baroque engraving (fig. 34) in which, on the left, instruments are shown with ephemeral riches.[81] The trumpet was one of the few instruments that die not have derogatory connotations: it had a noble sound and was used at state occasions, processions and battle-fields.[82] Strangely enough, the violin was not a prestigious instrument; it was considered crude and only for use by 'common fiddlers' (fig. 35). The viol was socially superior, and was thus less frequently depicted in Vanitas pictures or genre scenes of peasant merrymaking. The violin was associated with a dissolute life (symbol of the Seven Deadly Sins),[83] only in the eighteenth century did it gain a more exalted position.[84] Stringed instruments such as the violin and lute had a specific connotation of female sexuality. The implications of lute/violin shown in conjunction with recorder/flute has already been mentioned under Vanitas symbolism. The lute may been a veiled pun, as the word luit in Dutch can, in vulgar colloquialism, refer to the female genitals.[85] According to Fuchs, a contemporary poem says: "Learn on the lute, learn on the virginals to play. For strings have the power to steal the heart away"[86] (fig. 36).

According to Langdon the musical party theme (fig. 37) may celebrate the 'harmony' of true love, as could works of single players.[87] But Kahr shows us the other side of the coin: in Lady seated at the virginals by Vermeer (fig. 38) the woman appears to be chaste and demure, yet the presence of a viola da gamba in the foreground may point to an imminent erotic 'duet'.[88] As will be seen later, the Music Lesson theme was well disposed to various levels of symbolism and interpretation. In The singing lesson by Netscher (fig. 39) an air of seduction or elopement underlies the genteel activities. This interpretation rests on the reading of the ancillary symbols -

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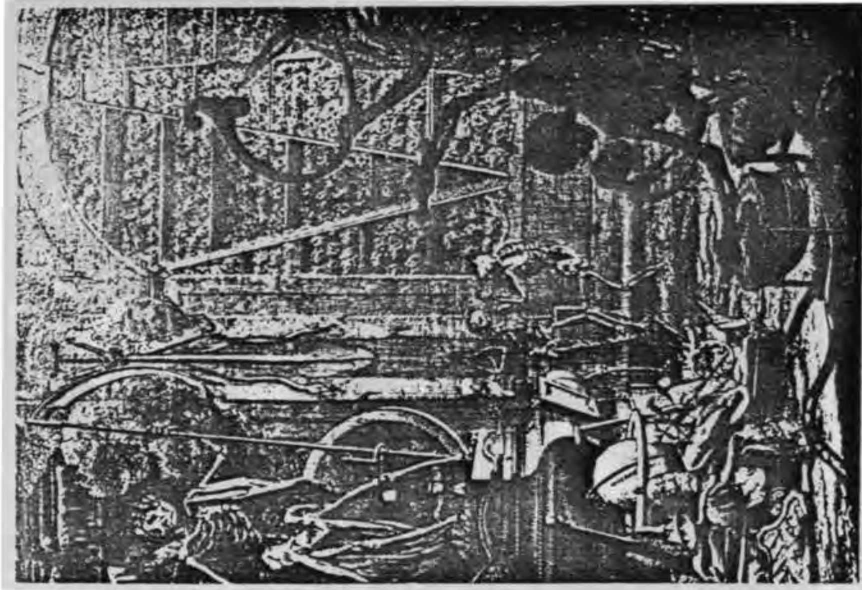

34 Dance of Death.
R Clemencic, Old musical instruments, p 9.

35 Jan Miense Molenaer: Children making music.
R Clemencic, Old musical instruments, p 81.

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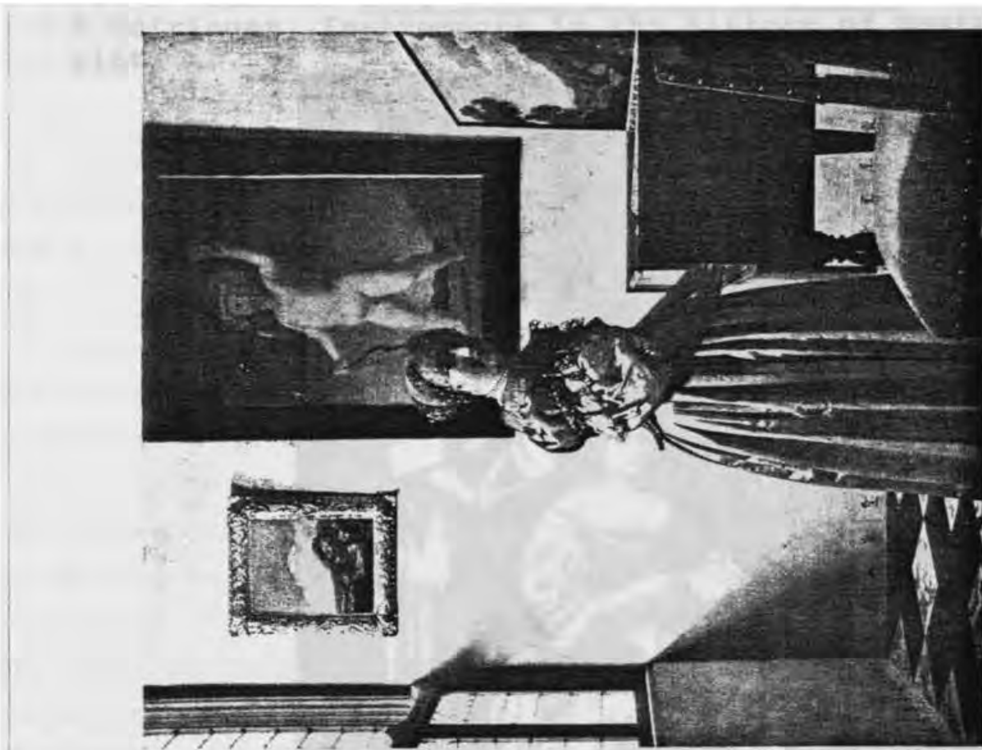
36 Frans Hals: The fool.



37 Johannes Vermeer: A young woman standing at a virginal.

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38 J Vermeer: Lady seated at the virginals.
K Geiringer, Instruments in the history of Western music, plate XL.

39 Caspar Netscher: The singing lesson.
F Lesure, Music in art and society, plate 33.

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bunches of grapes (<u>in vino veritas</u>?) and peaches (the heart) - only the hearts of the two know what is in their unconscious minds. Furthermore, in the background we see a sculpture of an elopement.[89]

Musical instruments could be used to illustrate a moralizing proverb. In <u>Banquet in the open air</u> (fig. 40) by Buytewech richly-dressed men and women are shown surrounded by symbols of Luxury (peacocks, golden vases) and Vanity (musical instruments). This would seem to illustrate the legend: "When we are at leisure, surrounded by Luxury, Death may be nearer than we know";[90] Buytewech shows a church in the background. The maxim 'cleanliness is next to godliness' is illustrated in a work by Emanuel de Witte (c.1616-1692), <u>Interior with a woman playing the virginals</u> (fig. 41). We see an anonymous woman making music in a bedroom, and then we notice she is not alone- a man is obviously still in bed. The maid in a distant room is busy cleaning, representing 'moral cleanliness' in the midst of decadence[91] (symbolised by the ewer of wine, the mirror, the instrument, the bed and the soldier's sword).

The matter of interpretation seems to be complicated by the fact that the respectability of instruments and secular music were tarnished, yet we know that domestic music making was an important part of seventeenth-century Dutch culture. On the one hand music would thus have been respectable, and would merit being captured in oils by an artist. But music was also associated with the seedier, dissolute side of life, and by depicting music in just this context, the artist was in fact warning against vice, and not merely recording a social event. The former would be descriptive, the latter interpretative and moralizing. It would appear to be elementary to separate the two, but the intentions of the artist were seldom clear-cut, and his use of symbolism may have been purely unconscious and not premeditated. It seems probable, however, that in the given social and cultural context, very few works were painted that had no smybolic content, whatever its nature or purpose.

Leppert recognises this duality of thought, and traces its influence on the arts.[92] He maintains that the majority of

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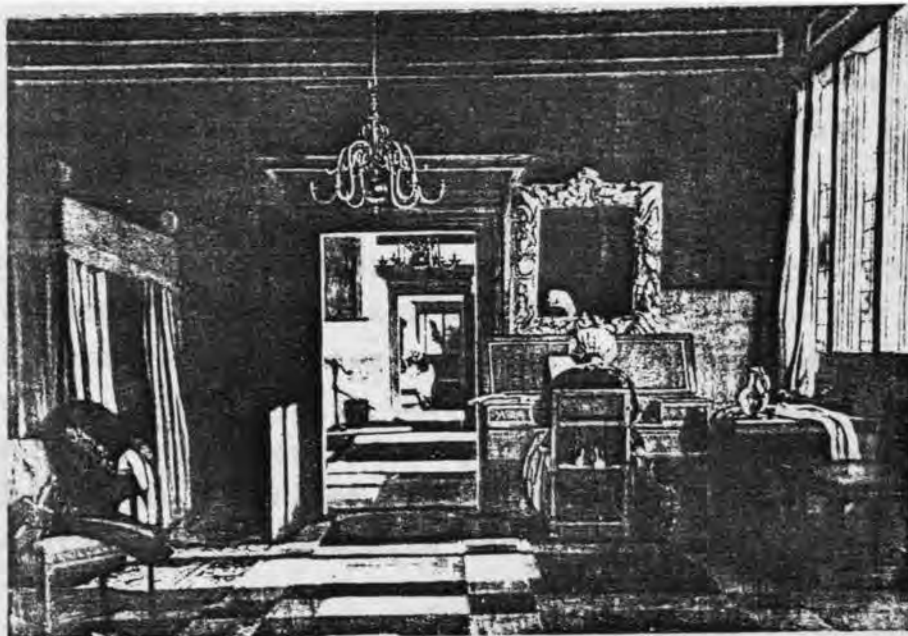
40 Buytewech: Banquet in the open air.
R H Fuchs, Dutch painting, p 47.



41 Emanuel de Witte: Interior with a woman playing the virginals.
M M Kahr, Dutch painting in the seventeenth century, p 186.

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art sought to equate music with lasciviousness, because many Calvinists believed that secular music served the devil rather than God. The most popular themes that illustrated this view were the Prodigal Son pictures in which music was associated with evil and debauchery (another version was the 'merry company' scene), the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (in which the latter indulge in sensual pleasures, including music), the rich man being led to Hell (cf. fig. 9) or the trials of Job (in which music gives pain or torment, and assumes grotesque allegorical forms), and of course the Vanitas still-life.[93]

Leppert cites two examples of paintings that, although seemingly innocuous, were calculated to plead the case for secular music. Here musicians were associated with godliness because "we associate their music making with that which is either pleasing to God, or ar least upstanding...(showing) secular music a positive force for good".[94] In Concert in a house by the Fleming Gonzales Coques (1614-84) he tries to convey his idea about the power and role of music (fig. 42). Through the use of pictures-within-a-picture, the composure and attitude of the musicians, and the inscription on the virginal ("Music is the companion of joy, the healer of sadness"), music becomes virtuous, harmonious, regulated and temperate - the opposite of its more usual connotations.[95]

In the Music party by Jan Miense Molenaer (c.1610-68) music is used as a metaphor for marital temperence and fidelity (fig. 43). Music (temperence) is contrasted with two scenes of intemperence: two men fighting with knives, and sinful lust between a monkey and cat. The married couple listen to well-ordered music; the dog as symbol of conjugal fidelity seems to show that fidelity is a prerequisite for a 'harmonious' marriage.[96]

Thus music became entangled in a complexity of symbolism and propaganda. The assessment of the iconographical value of genre works with musical themes depends on one's ability to identify the idea that gave the work form, because the "artist's concern with expressing an attitude towards music (may take) precedence over the realities of performance practice",[97] as actually happened in Concert in a house.

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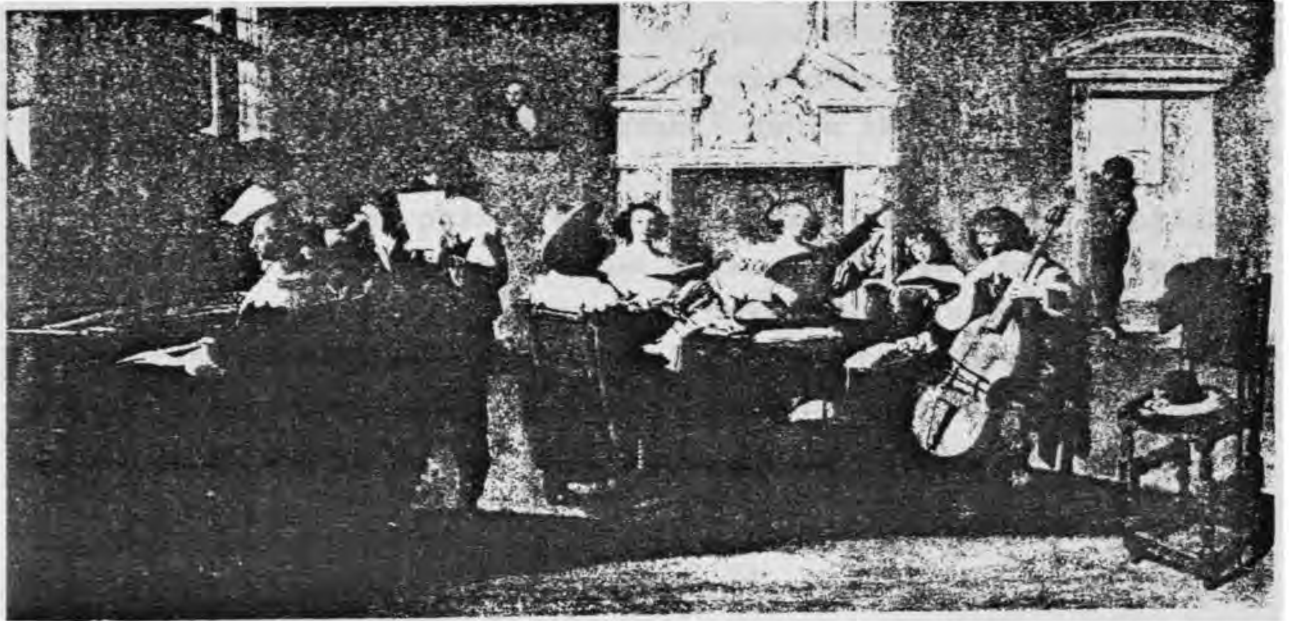

42 Gonzales Coques: Concert in a house.
R D Leppert, Concert in a house..., Early Music 7(1), Jan. 1979, p 4.

43 Jan Miense Molenaer: Music party.
R D Leppert, op.cit., p 14.

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Because of the vast quantities of pictures available with music themes, a few representative examples only will be chosen, starting with the 'peasant' genre theme.

The earliest genre painters in Amsterdam, Utrecht and Haarlem specialised in depicting scenes of low life, set in taverns or brothels, showing soldiers and peasants carousing in a rough-and-tumble manner. Sensuality or eroticism were usually stressed to show their emptiness and futility, and the tripartite combination of 'wine, women and song' often formed the nucleus of these works. Dirck van Baburen (1590-1624) seems to have been the first artist to treat the subject of the procuress in connection with music.[98] The procuress from 1622 (fig.44) conveys an unequivocal message: a woman strums merrily on a lute, while a gentleman offers her a coin, and the old procuress seems to demand payment. Another work by Baburen entitled Good company (fig.45) shows a procuress, a half- undressed young woman, a gentleman encircling her with one arm and holding a glass of wine in the other hand, and a musician playing the lute. The young woman holds a violin carelessly on her lap, the instruments being "the symbols of a lust for life".[99]

Although Gerard van Honthorst (1590-1656) worked in Utrecht and had been influenced by Caravaggio, his genre paintings had the same predilection for moralizing as the other Dutch painters. He specialised in brothel scenes, which were meant to illustrate the parable of the Prodigal Son.[100] One such work was A banquet (fig. 46) from 1620, in which the stupefying effects of women, music and wine are shown. A procuress type figure is present. The procuress (fig. 47) from 1625 shows the procuress-'client'-woman trio. The man displays his purse, and the woman holds a lute. Apart from the sexual connotation, Kahr states that the lute was "a commonly understood symbol for harmony in the sense of agreement".[101] Illicit, venal love is therefore condemned by the artist.[102]

Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635-81) was a Leyden artist who specialised in explicit representations of tavern or brothel scenes to warn against the evils within them. The brothel

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44 Dirck van Baburen: <u>The procuress</u>.
M M Kahr, <u>Dutch painting in the seventeenth century</u>, p 43.

45 Dirck van Baburen: <u>Good company</u>.
F Lesure, <u>Music in art and society</u>, plate 29.

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46 Gerard van Honthorst: A banquet.
J M Nash, The age of Rembrandt and Vermeer, plate 12.

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47 Gerard van Honthorst: The procuress.
M M Kahr, Dutch painting in the seventeenth century, p 41.

48 Frans van Mieris the Elder: The brothel.
M M Kahr, op.cit., p 181.

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from 1658 (fig. 48) shows a woman pouring wine for a soldier, while another man is apparently in s drunken stupour at the table. Another man and woman are seen in the doorway. The moral decadence is highlighted by the rumpled bedding, the copulating dogs, the wine, and the lute on the wall.[103]

J Vermeer (1632-75) did not often show explicit scenes, having a more subtle use of one symbolic element to illustrate his intent, rather than many inter-related symbols.[104] One atypical work is The procuress (fig. 49) from 1656, showing Caravaggian influence. A procuress, man and woman are shown, as well as a musician who draws the onlooker into the action. He holds a stringed instrument in one hand and a glass of red wine in the other, strictly in keeping with the subject of the work, according to Kahr.[105]

Merry company scenes were numerous, and showed entertainments at weddings, fairs, dances, or for no special occasion in particular. Jan Steen (c.1626-79) was particularly fond of showing people in a mood of levity, and though a lesson is to be learned from each picture, his moralizing was not malicious. In the following pictures music plays an active role: The dissolute household (fig. 50), virtually a catalogue of vice; The peasant wedding (fig. 51) of 1667; The card players (fig. 52); The drunk woman (fig. 53) and Party in the open air (fig. 54) of 1677. The violin appeared most often, as well as flutes, recorders and bagpipes, which confirmed the social status of the people depicted (fig. 55).

Steen also painted a serenade scene (fig. 56) in which a lute, flute, another woodwind, and probably the tromba marina are shown.[106] Two members of the group are singing, whereas an engraving by Serwouter shows a purely instrumental serenade given by the town musicians (fig. 57). We know from documentary and pictorial sources that the Dutch town musicians kept public musical activities alive by playing at weddings, dances and feasts, and throughout the Calvinist asceticism they kept the musical tradition from extinction.[107]

The painters of 'peasant' genre also painted intimate scenes

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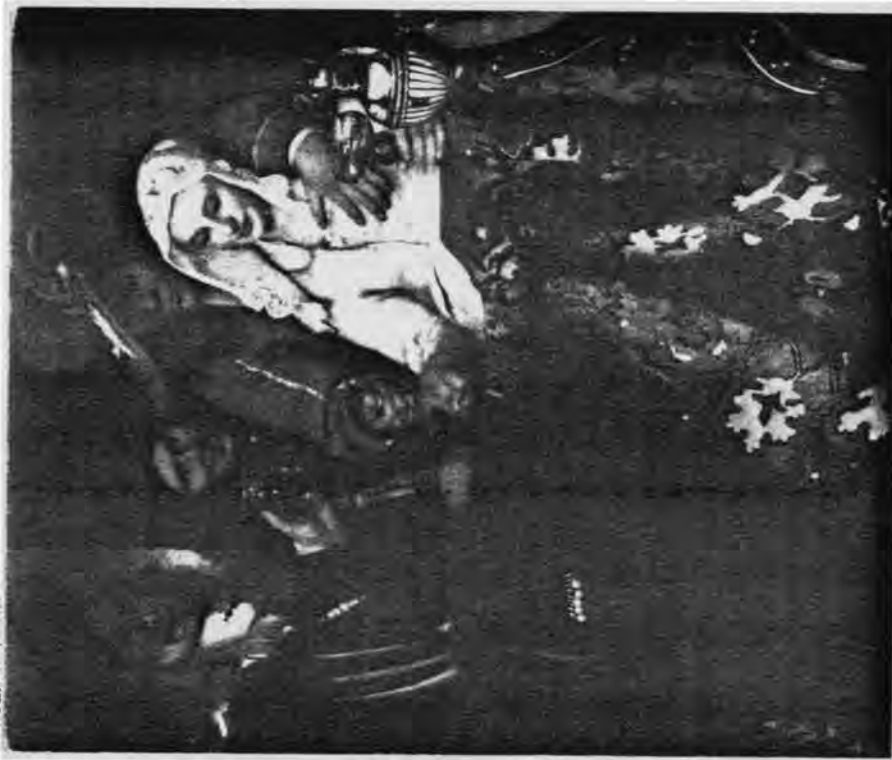

49 J Vermeer: <u>The procuress</u>.

50 Jan Steen: <u>The dissolute household</u>.
W Martin, <u>Jan Steen</u>, plate 49.

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51 Jan Steen: The peasant wedding.
W Martin, Jan Steen, plate 53.

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52 Jan Steen: The card players.
W Martin, Jan Steen, plate 55.

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53 Jan Steen: The drunk woman.
W Martin, Jan Steen, plate 56.

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54 Jan Steen: Party in the open air.
W Martin, Jan Steen, plate 67.

55 Jan Steen: detail from Merry company on a terrace.
E Winternitz, Musical instruments and their symbolism in Western art, plate 12b.

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56 Jan Steen: Serenade.
W Martin, Jan Steen, plate 76.

57 P Serwouter: Serenade with town musicians.
D F Scheurleer, Het muziekleven van Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw, p 39.

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of music in the home, but it was the 'fashionable' genre artists who exploited this type of theme (fig. 58). The Leyden school specialised in quiet, domestic scenes set in middle-class interiors, which told a story through elaborate symbolism. The Delft school was influenced by Leyden.[108]

The symbolic role of music was the same in the fashionable genre theme as in the peasant genre and Vanitas. It seems to be veiled behind an elegance and refinement, but the discrepency between appearance and reality becomes all the more powerful because of this pretentious masking of the base nature of man. The artist seems to be trying to show that although the milieus and clothes may be different, all people are subject to the same desires and weaknesses. According to Kahr, the artist of the seventeenth century was expected to convey a carefully designed message in his work, which would be easily grasped according to the prevailing iconographic tradition.[109] Thus the 'music lesson' genre was especially popular, because of the ambiguity of the nature of the lesson; love flourishd in a conducive atmosphere of music-making (fig. 59) :"playing a musical instrument can in itself have sexual implications, and a second instrument suggests a sexual partnership".[110] By interpreting instruments as metaphors for erotic relationships, we gain more insight into the purpose of the pictures, by looking behind the aloof elegance and decorum of the people. We must realise that the pictures would have been understood in contemporary society as condemnations of sensual pleasures.

These pictures are interesting from the iconographical point of view because they depict the instruments and how and where they were played. Different instruments are shown, as one would expect in the higher social levels:keyboards such as the virginal, clavichord, harpsichord and spinet, lutes, violas da gamba, guitars, citterns, portative organs, and more rarely, violins. Instruments such as drums, woodwinds and bagpipes are conspicuous by their absence. The musicians, usually both men and women, are most often shown sitting around a table covered with a rich Turkey carpet, or sitting at the keyboard. Vocalists and instrumentalists alike use part books, and often one of the group will be beating time in some manner. Refresh-

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58 Gerard Terborch: The concert.

59 Jan Miense Molenaer: Players of theorbo lute and cittern.
K Geiringer, Instruments in the history of Western music, plate 39.

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ments may be shown, but there does not seem to be the same connection between alcohol and music as in the peasant genre pictures (fig. 60). To Nash the "image of the musical party signifies frivolity in the face of eternal judgement"[111] (fig. 61).

Once again, in the face of negative connotations associated with music, G Coques sought to show the other side of the matter. In The family of Jacques van Eyck (the mayor of Antwerp) he shows the eight sober people who obviously enjoy making music (bass viola da gamba, portative organ, guitar). The presence of a cleric suggests approval and condonation of secular music[112] (fig. 62). A work by Simon de Passe from 1612 entitled Musical company (fig. 63) also stresses the clemency of music in the home, illustrating the Biblical text from Isaiah 11:6 about the lamb dwelling with the wolf.

A few representative examples of music lessons or music making in the home will be shown. I feel that at this stage commentary is unnecessary in that the pictures speak for themselves.

In the style of Gerard Dou: The music lesson (fig. 64); clavichord and viola da gamba.

Caspar Netscher (1639-84): Musical entertainment, c.1670 (fig. 65); note the woman's way of holding the tenor viola da gamba.

Pieter de Hooch (1629-83): The music party (fig. 66); one of the rare representations of a recorder and violin; other instruments are a cittern and viol.

Gerard Dou (1613-75): Lady at the clavichord (fig. 67); note the conspicuous presence of the viola da gamba, as in the work by Vermeer (fig. 38) above.

J M Molenaer: Woman at the virginal (fig. 68); the monkey may be symbolic of vanity or the baser instincts of man.[113]

Jan Steen: The music lesson (fig. 69); the prominent key hanging on the wall is an interesting symbol.

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60 Jacob Jordaens: Family portrait.

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61 Jan Miense Molenaer: Family making music.
J M Nash, The age of Rembrandt and Vermeer, plate 50.

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62 Gonzales Coques: The family of Jacques van Eyck.
K Geiringer, Instruments in the history..., plate 36.

63 Simon de Passe: Musical company.
H Besseler & W Bachmann, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band IV, Lieferung 3, p 71.

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64 Style of Gerard Dou: The music lesson.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 127.

65 Caspar Netscher: Musical entertainment.
G Kinsky, op.cit., p 145.

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66 Pieter de Hooch: detail from The music party.
H Brown & J Lascelle, Music iconography, p 108.

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67 Gerard Dou: Lady at the clavichord.
Cover of Early Music 8(2), April 1980.

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68 Jan Miense Molenaer: Woman at the virginal.

69 Jan Steen: The music lesson.

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Gerard Terborch (1617-81): The lute player (fig. 70).
G Terborch: The musical lesson, 1675, (fig. 71); as is often the case, one of the players is more interested in his partner than in the music.
G Terborch: The guitar lesson (fig. 72).

J Vermeer: Young woman standing in front of clavichord and gentleman listening ("The music lesson") (fig. 73); Vermeer's works have a frozen quality - we see musicians, but cannot actually envisage them producing sound. Note once again the bass viola da gamda.
J Vermeer: Young woman playing music receives letter from maidservant ("The love letter"), c.1670 (fig. 74); the letter theme was popular with most artists, probably indicating the presence of a distant lover. The picture also shows an example of lute tabulature in the right-hand foreground, the slippers indicate sexual passion, and the lute stands for love and affection.[114] A similar composition was used by P de Hooch (fig. 75), also with a lute, and the interesting symbol of a caged bird.
J Vermeer: The concert (fig. 76); a trio is depicted - a woman plays the harpsichord, the soldier plays the lute, and the other woman sings and beats time. A viola da gamba lies on the floor, and another stringed instrument lies on the table. An erotic undercurrent is confirmed by the painting of The procuress (fig. 44) by D van Baburen on the wall.[115]

Finally, let us examine a picture that stands in a category of its own, and uses the image of music to reinforce its symbolism. The work is The morning toilet By J Steen, from 1663 (fig. 77). According to Fuchs the Dutch artist had to adapt himself to the needs and capabilities of the indigineous culture, so a certain crudity of expression may have resulted.[116] At first appearance the picture seems innocuous, but by interpreting a string of symbols, the underlying warning against and condemnation of venal love becomes clear. A woman is shown on a rumpled bed, putting on a stocking; according to Nash "the open door and the bold stare are not incidental, as Steen indicates by various signs, literal and metaphorical".[117]
We see two pillows on the bed, and the candle and open jewel-

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70 Gerard Terborch: The lute player.
E Plietzsch, Gerard Terborch, plate 87.

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71 Gerard Terborch: The musical lesson.
E Plietzsch, Gerard Terborch, plate 92.

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72 Gerard Terborch: The guitar lesson.
E Plietzsch, Gerard Terborch, plate 95.

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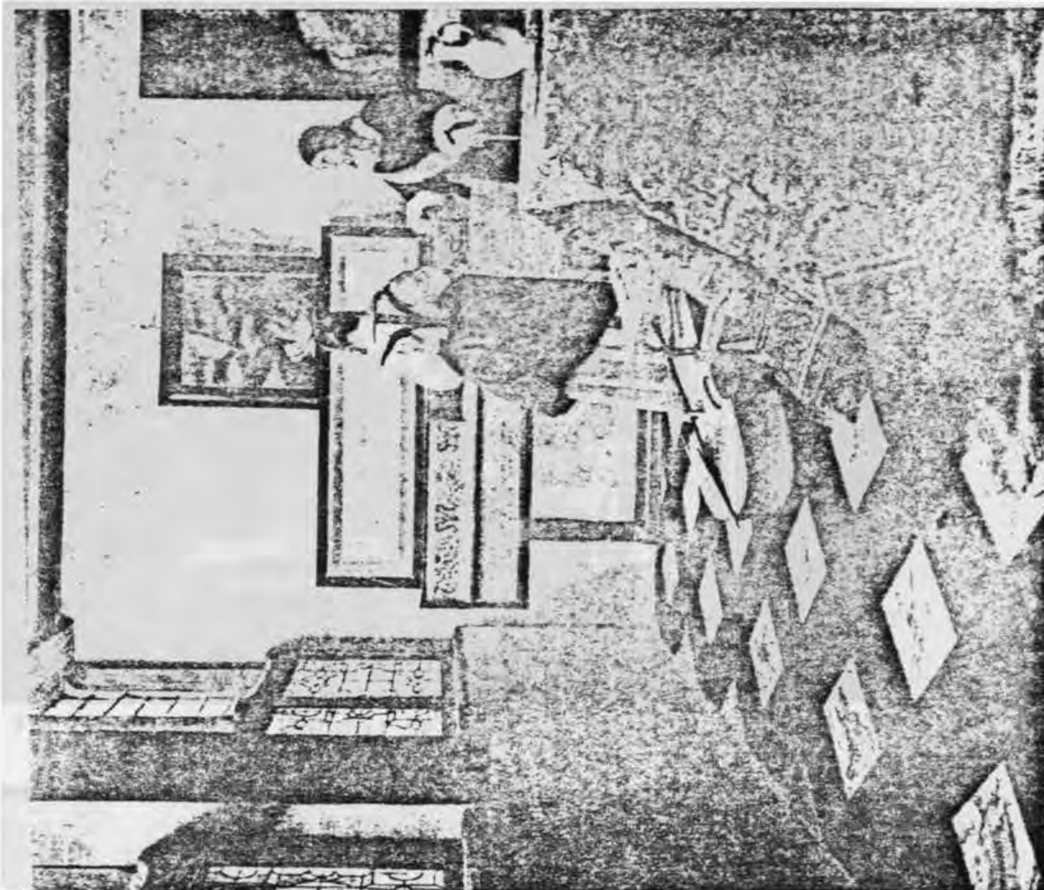
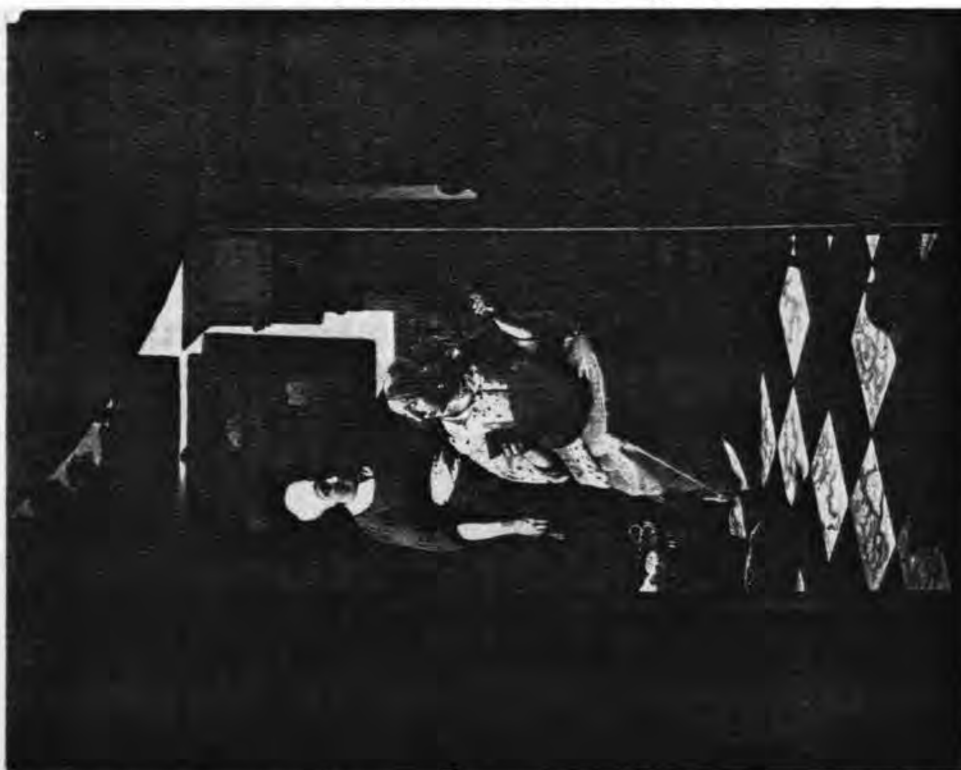


73 J Vermeer: Young woman standing in front of clavichord and gentleman listening.
P T Swillens, Johannes Vermeer, plate 3.



74 J Vermeer: Young woman playing music receives letter from maidservant.

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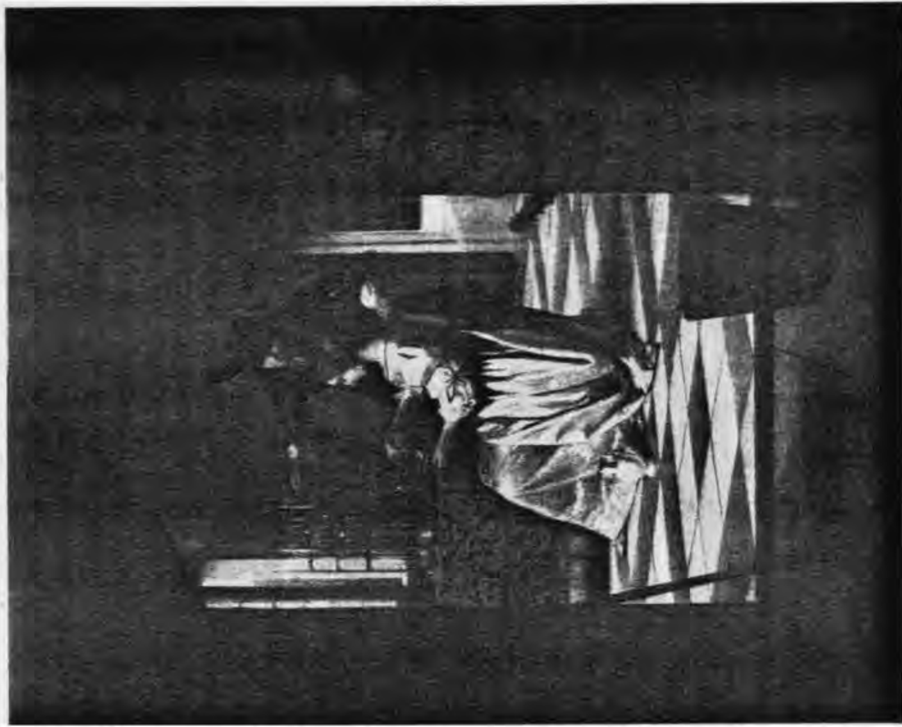

75 Pieter de Hooch: A couple with a parrot.

76 J Vermeer: The concert.
P Swillens, Johannes Vermeer, plate 7.

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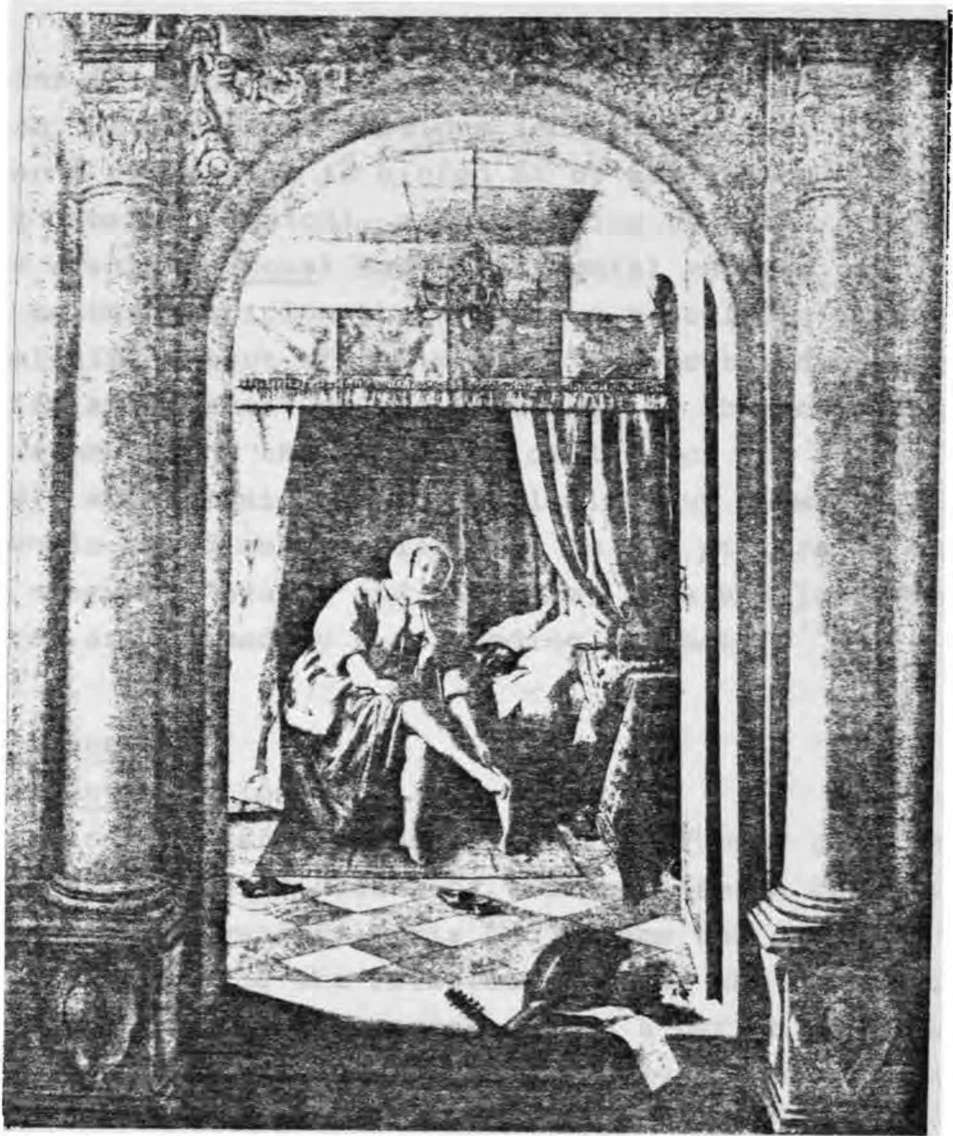

77 Jan Steen: The morning toilet.
Steen en zijn tijd, p 31.

78 Detail from above.

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box refer to a contemporary saying: "Neither does one buy pearls in the dark, nor does one look for love at night".[118] The woman's profession is hinted at by the randomly-slung slippers (sexual passion), and according to Fuchs and Nash the word for stocking (kous) had a colloquial meaning of 'loose woman', so our suspicion that she is a prostitute is confirmed.[119] The moralizing aspect of the picture is portrayed through the still-life arrangement on the threshold of the door (fig. 78): a lute (symbolising the pleasures of love or the vanity of all pleasure), sheet music, and a skull with ivy entwined around it. A whole new dimension is added to the picture by the Vanitas element: "Beauty and Pleasure, love and lust, Venus and whore, are framed by a foreboding of death".[120]

3 France

a. Introduction

Pictorial art in France produced nothing of note until the beginning of the third decade of the seventeenth century, but by the end of the century Paris had become the cultural centre of Europe. Following the religious wars of the sixteenth century, France was left impoverished, and a period of building up started, so that already by mid-century France was an omnipotent power in Europe.[121]

The Italian style of Caravaggio had been brought to Paris early in the century, but was not popular. The French tradition had its roots in sixteenth-century art, supplemented by the style of Carracci introduced by Vouet. Up until the middle of the century styles were eclectic, ranging from dramatic Baroque to Classicism.[122] The seventeenth century saw the birth of French Classicism, which became the dominant court style from the second half of the century. This was a unique style, which if it has to be labelled, can be called 'Classicistic Baroque'. The term 'classical' denoted culture of the 'highest achievement', or reliance on the forms and themes of classical antiquity, or qualities of balance and proportion as opposed to the general Baroque ethos. The Baroque in France sprang from the Italian roots, but was tempered by indigeneous humanism, rationalism and Stoicism.[123] Classicism was supreme after the 1640's: a classicism that strove to present the nobility of human life,

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and that appealed to the intellect rather than the senses by emphasizing drawing and composition above colour.[124]

The indigeneous tradition proved so strong that extraneous influences had little impact. Even the Caravaggian naturalism was tempered to suit the classical spirit. The Dutch style especially had relatively little influence in France, though a few artists such as Sébastien Stoskopff stood as exceptions.[125]

The classical style was propogated by Poussin and Lorrain, and although they spent almost their entire careers in Italy, they had a profound effect on French painting. Poussin's loyalty to antiquity appealed to the trend of order and clarity preferred by the moulders of French culture. A revival of Stoicism encouraged paintings of Stoic heroes and "lucid, didactic illustrations of human behaviour in the context of serious ethical problems".[126] Scenes from history, mythology and the Bible were favoured, ultimately based on the clarity and ideals of beauty of Raphael.[127] Artists who were influenced by Poussin include Philippe de Champaigne, Laurent de La Hyre, Eustache Le Sueur, and Charles Lebrun in his early works.

According to Thuillier the 'minor genres' of painting were not so limited by the strict tutelage of <u>la grande peinture</u>.[128] The painters of still-lifes, landscapes, genre subjects and portraits were thus less bound by prescriptions and models, and they could choose from all manner of current styles. The term 'painters of reality' was used to indicate painters who "scrutinized reality intently and rendered it in simple, often moving images".[129] Painters of reality included the Le Nain brothers, Louise Moillon, Sébastien Stoskopff, Jacques Linard and Lubin Baugin.

According to Janson, the French genre tradition stemmed from the same roots as the Dutch and Flemish peasant pictures.[130] The difference lay in the treatment of the subject by the artist: the Dutch painters added humour or good-natured satire, whereas the French works were more serious and dignified.[131] During the first half of the seventeenth century artists were drawn to depicting the realities of everyday life and their

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moral implications, by "striking through the externals of everyday life, (perceiving) the human and eternal verities behind the veil of appearances".[132] This interest in the symbolical and psychological value of introspective examination was lost by the second half of the century, as works became sumptuous decorations devoid of feeling.[133]

The uniformity of the French art style of the second half of the seventeenth century was the result of the founding of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1648. Initially, the Academy had as purpose to free artist from the limitations imposed by the guilds and to improve their status in society.[134] But when Lebrun gained control of the Academy in the 1660's, it became a State machine for controlling, guiding and regulating artistic taste and practice. The grande peinture of Louis XIV was an assimulation of grand Baroque tempered by the rationalism of Descartes ("clear and distinct" ideas) and intuitive good taste.[135] It was postulated that art could be explained, analysed and taught according to rational rules of composition, drawing, expression and colour usage. The merits of artists and subjects were tabulated and graded : Poussin and classical or biblical history subjects ranked at the top, Flemish and Dutch artists and still-life subjects at the bottom.[136]

The absurd rigidity of the Academy led to the formulation of set precepts governing all aspects of painting. Towards the end of the century two factions existed: the 'Poussinistes' favoured the superiority of drawing and idealism, the 'Rubénistes' stood for the superiority of colour and realism. The officaial view of the Academy sided with the Poussinistes, but the brilliant Flemish colours became more important during the last quarter of the century, and triumphed in the next. By the start of the reign of Louis XV (1715), the dominance of the Academy was at an end.[137]

It will thus be realised that painting was profoundly affected by the vicissitudes of artistic taste during the seventeenth century, more so than in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands there were many artistic centres that functioned seperately,

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but in France everything was ultimately controlled from Paris. As we would expect, painting reflects the aristocratic trend of French culture; we do not find the cult of music in the home as in the Netherlands that provided the subject matter for so many paintings. Representations of music are proportionately rarer in French art, the majority deal with music at the court or in a mythological setting. Representative works from the following three categories will be examined: still-life, genre themes, and works in the 'grand manner'.

b. The still-life theme

French still-life painting of the seventeenth century has only been 'rediscovered' in this century, and the scarcity of signed paintings makes the writing of its history problematic.[138] Although we know little about its origins, it is indubitable that the factors which influenced the still-life theme were manifold. Influences from the North and South were important - the French artists visited other countries, and foreign artists came to work in France. Also, the painters used an 'international language' of formulas, precluding the identification of purely national stylistic features. The French artists were especially impressed by the Caravaggian school, which painted isolated objects to emphasize their individual reality rather than just their symbolic content.[139]

According to Dupont, these painters "were simply good craftsmen specializing in the still life, (who) suggested rather than described the humble objects they delighted in".[140] Although they were unambitious and unpretentious craftsmen, they were undoubtedly influenced by artistic thought in connection with the historical, religious and mythological pictures being produced in the capital. Despite all the influences, the still-life genre of France was unique: each object was depicted with verisimilitude, but with more restrained tonal harmonies and frequent modulations; an air of sobriety dominated.[141]

Still-life painters of the early part of the century were Linard, L Moillon, Francois Garnier, Du Melszet, Stoskopff, L Baugin and Le Motte. After 1640 the sobriety gradually disappeared, the works became sumptuous and ostentatious (almost

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contemporary with the pronkstilleven), leading to the extravagant flower-pieces of decorative still-life by N Baudesson and Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer later in the century.[142]

Dupont maintains that the simplistic piety and poetic quality of French still-life pictures were conveyed by imbuing the object with "sensual or spiritual overtones...a typically XVIIth-century creation".[143] Yet d'Otrange Mastai believes that the peintures de la réalité did not indulge in obtuse symbolism, though they did subtle allegory.[144] She continues that an element of morbidity is nonetheless apparent in some works (especially Stoskopff) that stamp them as belonging to a certain age and ethos. This was the age in which the quest for ideal beauty was replaced by an authenticity that portrayed decrepitude, "the first touch of decay, the gnawing of the worm".[145]

The favourite subjects were fruit and flowers, and The Five Senses, in which objects of beauty could justifiably be depicted. Linard (d. 1645) specialised in all these genres, and was able to evoke a melancholy air in some of his Vanitas pictures.[146] The five senses (fig. 79) shows an arrangement of objects against a dark background. The objects are similar to those one would expect in a Vanitas: a book of music, a purse, playing cards, fruit and flowers, a painting, a mirror, and two half-eaten pomegranates (symbols of fertility).

The cosmopolitan Stoskopff (1597-1657) produced a work in 1633 entitled Les cinq sens ou l'été (fig. 80) that reflects French simplicity and clarity of composition.[147] It is notable that he taught painting, symbolism and the lute, and often included musical instruments in his moralizing vanités.[148] This work is unconventional in that it includes the figure of a woman, and a landscape scene in the background. We see a lute and book of music, a chessboard and a vase of flowers on a table covered by a rich cloth. The woman holds a large bowl of fruit, a globe stands on the floor, and a violin hangs on the wall.

L Baugin (c.1612-63) combined a geometrical style with delicate

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79 Jacques Linard: The five senses.
M d'Otrange Mastai, Illusion in art, p 171.

80 Sébastien Stoskopff: Les cinq sens ou l'été.
Cover of Early Music 9(4), Oct. 1981.

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colouring in his Still life with a chessboard (fig. 81), in which he "evoked the pleasures of the table as well as the gratifications of all the senses";[149] Dupont calls it a Vanitas transformed into an amusing riddle.[150] Once again we see a chessboard, flowers, a purse, fruit (melon) and a lute or mandolin. According to Elsen, the seventeenth century audience appreciated exercises of the intellect, and "would have admired the mental calculation that produced musical and pictorial harmonies".[151]

The 'international language' was nost obvious in the Vanitas pictures, which used images that were the communal property of artists. According to Thuillier it was not contradictory that the works which celebrated the beauty of objects (fruit, flowers, musical instruments) also stressed their transience; in fact "all the spirituality of French still life painting of the early seventeenth century derives from (this)".[152]

One such work, attributed to the school of Georges de La Tour, (fig. 82), is almost monochromatic. It shows the worldly pleasures of man, such as a chessboard, playing cards, dice, flowers, books and a stringed instrument. We also see coins and a purse, a sword, and a skull which is reflected in a mirror. Another Vanitas by an artist from Champaigne's school (fig. 83) is much more stark: it consists of one tulip in a vase, an hourglass, and a grinning skull.[153]

A Vanitas by Simon Renard de Saint-Andrê from Alsace (fig. 84) combined most of the traditional elements: a skull crowned with laurel, an extinguished candle, an hourglass, a watch and roses in full bloom (to evoke love). Instrumental music was represented by the dancing-master's pochette or 'kit', with its bow, and vocal music by the open book of music, "chosen as a comment upon this vain and worldly collection".[154]

c. The genre theme

In general, the imposition of Academicism meant that fewer scenes of low life were produced in France than in other European countries. A different atmosphere also pervades

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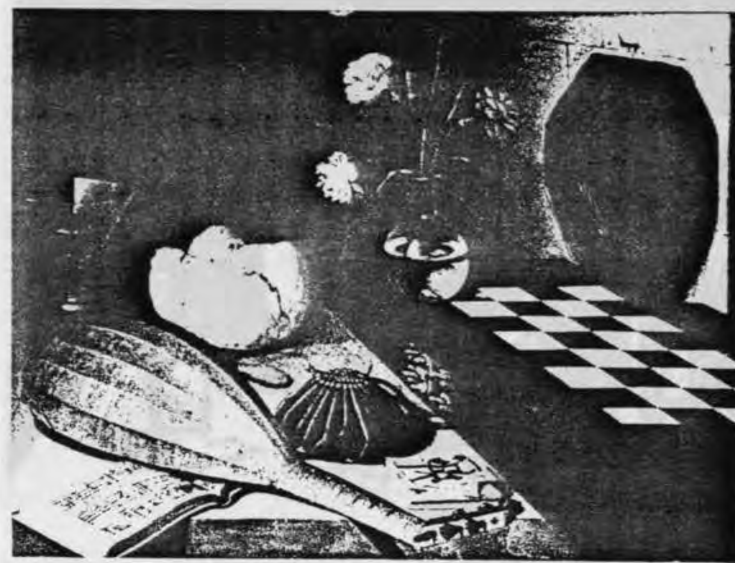

81 Lubin Baugin: Still life with a chessboard.
A Elsen, Purposes of art, p 325.

82 Anonymous Vanitas, French school.
Thuillier & A Châtelet, French painting from Le Nain to Fragonard, p 39.

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83 Chamgaigne's school: Vanitas.
M d' Otrange Mastai, Illusion in art, p 174.

84 Simon Renard de Saint-Andrè: Vanitas.
F Lesure, Music and art in society, plate 77.

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the rare French genre works, a tranquility and gravity based on the recognition of human dignity.[155] There was however also a market for small works showing the labours and recreations of country people, reflecting the mid-century taste for burlesque. The Dutch and Flemish artists became more popular, and even rich connoiseurs began to collect their works. The Le Nain brothers and Georges de la Tour were influenced by Dutch painters, and Valentin de Boulogne showed Caravaggian influence. The Caravaggian tradition of realism was important to all the peintures de la realité.[156]

The impression is conveyed that these works did not rely exclusively on symbolism and allegory to point out a deeper moral. They depicted people as they were in everyday life, and as such they stand as antithesis to painting in Paris.

Georges de la Tour (1593-1652) and Valentin de Boulogne (d.1632?) painted works in which we can see a more specific role attached to music. Three works by the latter show music and wine as the pleasures of the lower classes: Soldiers and Bohemians (fig. 85), The concert, and Musical company (fig. 86). In all three we see typical 'low' instruments played by people with vacuous expressions; there seems to be no genuine enjoyment, in contrast with the Dutch works that are similar. De la Tour treated the bad reputation of professional musicians in Itinerant musicians brawling (fig. 87), showing an amalgamation of the tragic and comic similar to many Dutch works.[157]

The works of the le Nain brothers have a simplistic, narrative quality, by which "the Dutch descriptive art of the period (was) lifted from the level of commonplace genre".[158] Representative works include The village piper (fig. 88), Peasant family (fig. 89), La halte du cavalier (fig. 90), and House music (fig. 91).

d. Grand painting

In French grande peinture music is treated as an incidental ornamentation, often symbolical, yet never upsetting the artistic creeds of classical order and balance. Music was superceeded by the demands of historical and mythological composi-

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85 Valentin de Boulogne: Soldiers and Bohemians.
A Elsen, Purposes of art, plate 24.

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86 Valentin de Boulogne: Musical company.
H Besseler & W Bachmann, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band IV, Lieferung 3, p 57.

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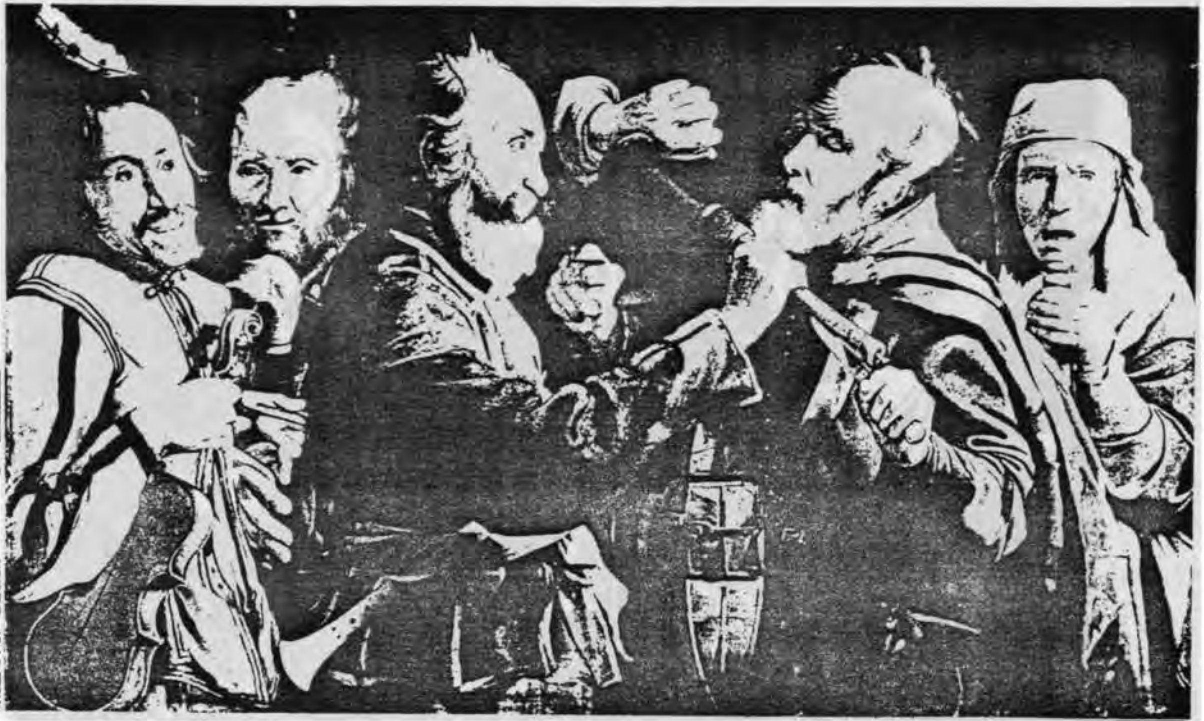

87 Georges de la Tour: Itinerant musicians brawling.
F Lesure, Music and art in society, plate 29.

88 Antoine & Louis le Nain: The village piper.
R H Wilenski, French painting, plate 23a.

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89 Louis le Nain: Peasant family.
A Elsen, Purposes of art, p 199,

90 Louis le Nain: La halte du cavalier.
R H Wilenski, French painting, plate 25a.

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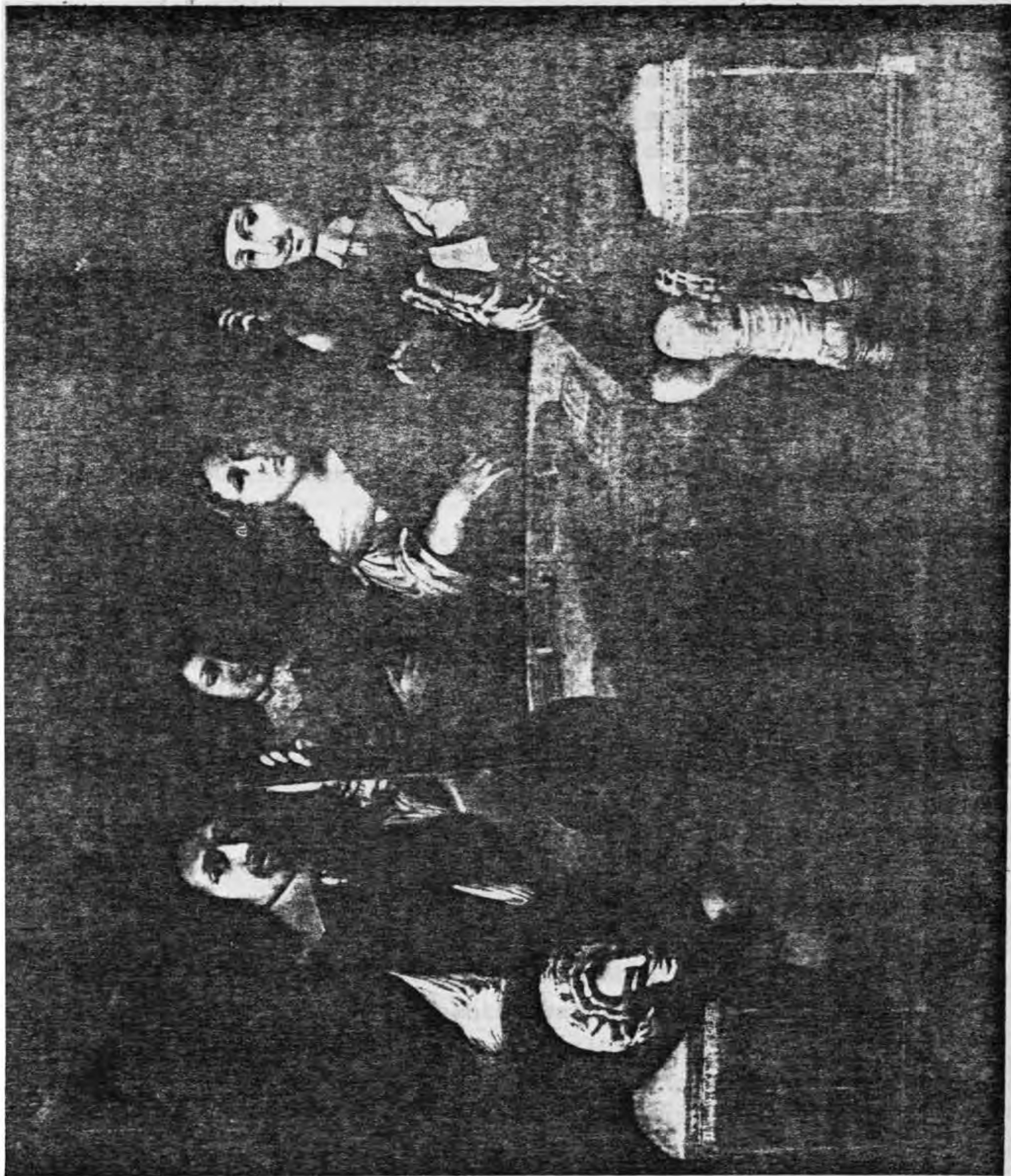

91 Louis le Nain: House music.
H Besseler & W Bachmann, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band IV, Lieferung 3, p 51.

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tions, or even propoganda - such as Louis XIV's musicians by François Puget from 1687 (fig. 92). Since archaic instrments were frequently depicted, as in Orpheus and Eurydice (fig. 93) by Poussin (1594-1665), these paintings often have little organological value. But they do reveal the attitude of the intelligentsia to music: they recognised its mythical and magical power (Poussin wanted to paint the passions with the modes of music [159]), and did not visualize it as degrading and demoralizing.[160] A dance to the music of time (fig. 94) by Poussin includes elements that stress the transience of human life (an hourglass and soap-bubbles), but music (the lyre) is not used as a symbol of vanity or pleasure as might have been done in a Dutch work.

Eustache Le Sueur (1616-55) continued the tradition of Raphael in his works for the Chambre des Muses of the Hôtel Lambert. Two large pictures depict groups of the Muses - Clio, Euterpe and Thalia (fig. 95), and Melpomene, Erato and Polymnia (fig. 96), and smaller works represent Urania, Terpsichore (fig. 97) and Calliope.[161] In one picture Polymnia is shown playing a bass viol, and in another a transverse flute is seen, so Le Sueur depicted both contemporary and archaic instruments. In Music (fig. 98) by La Hyre (1606-56) we see a contemporary chitarrone and a book of music transposed to antiquity.

The most reliable pictorial evidence about organology and musical practice in seventeenth century France comes from numerous engravings of court entertainments. Here we see how and where operas were staged, and how concerts and dances were organized (figs. 99,100,101,102).

4 The Cape of Good Hope: pictorial evidence of musical life

In attempting to examine the musical iconography of the Cape in the seventeenth century one is naturally confronted by unique problems. A comparison between the Netherlands and France revealed a quantative and qualitative difference in the iconographical evidence, but at the Cape it is, to our knowledge, entirely lacking during this earliest period.

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92 Francois Puget: Louis XIV's musicians.
P Collaer & A Linden, Historical atlas of music, p 68.

93 Nicolas Poussin: detail from Orpheus and Eurydice.
K Komma, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, p 138.

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94 Nicolas Poussin: A dance to the music of time.
M Vaizey, One hundred masterpieces of art, p 51.

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95 Eustache Le Sueur: Clio, Euterpe and Thalia. R H Wilenski, French painting, plate 20a.

96 Eustache Le Sueur: Melpomene, Erato and Polymnia. Ibid., plate 20b.

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97 Eustache Le Sueur: Terpsichore.
J Thuillier & A Châtelet, French painting from Le Nain to Fragonard, p 88.

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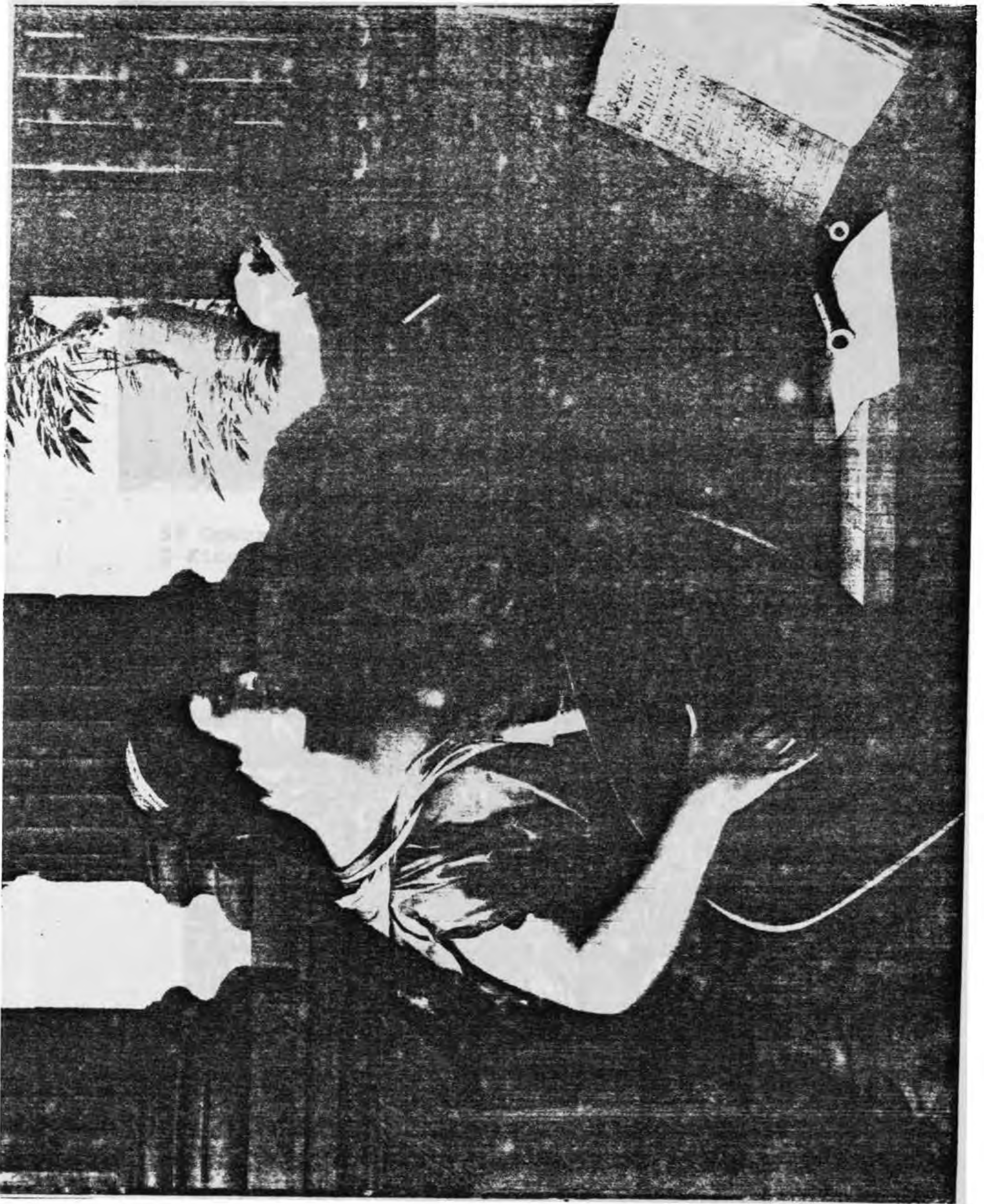

98 Laurent La Hyre: Music.
M Pincherle, An illustrated history of music, p 86.

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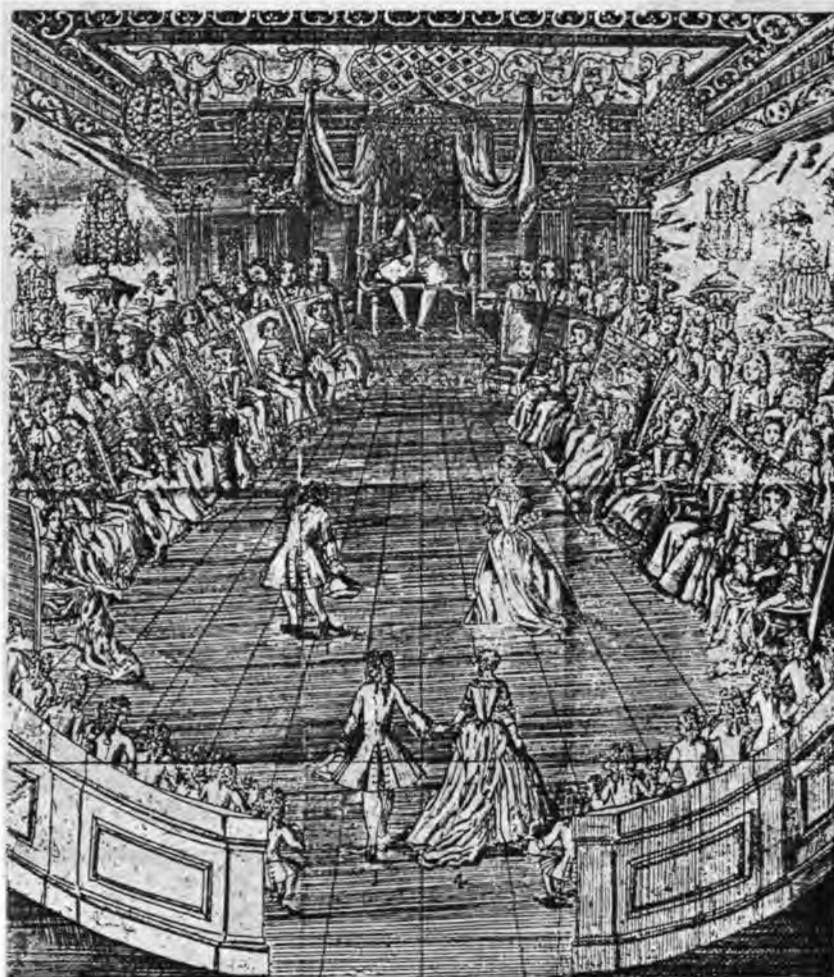
99 Opera performance in the Marble Court, Versailles, 1674.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 190.



100 P Rameau: The dancing master (the minuet).
P Collaer & A Linden, Historical atlas of music, p 80.

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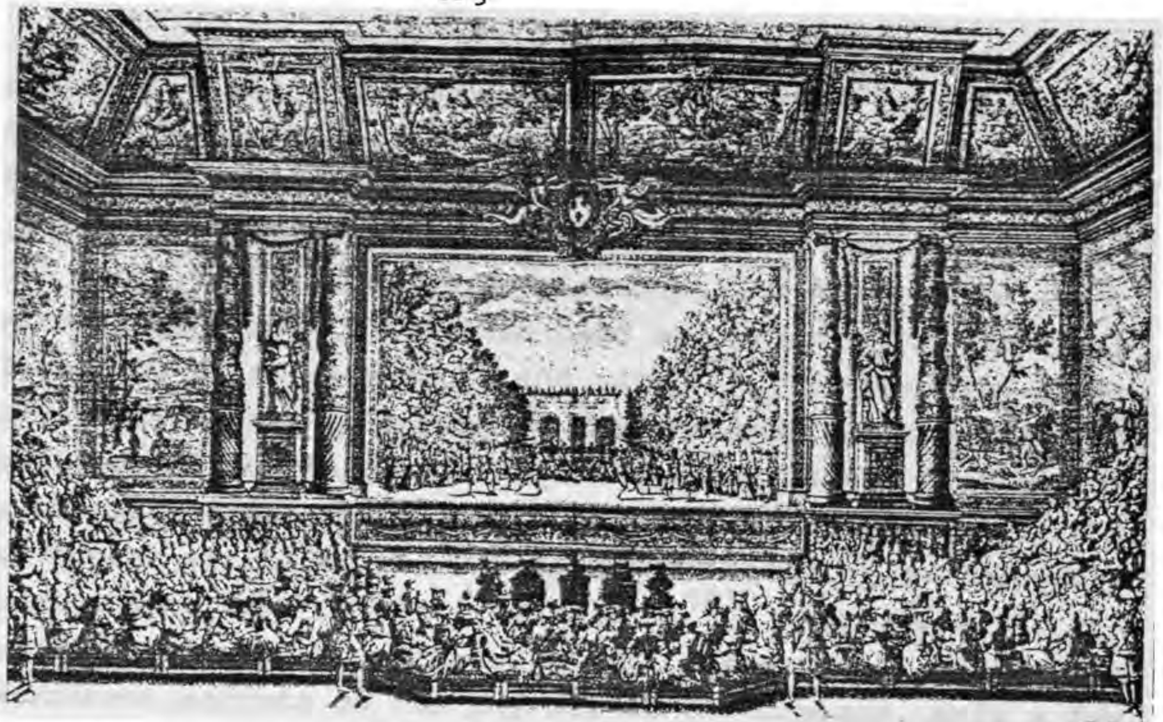

101 Opera performance in the Theatre Royal, Versailles, 1678.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 190.

102 Concert at Versailles, c.1670.
H Besseler & W Bachmann, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band IV, Lieferung 2, p 16.

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There are many possible reasons for the lack of visual evidence about life at the Cape, not just about musical practice. The earliest pictures were drawn by the seamen or passengers of the ships that called at the Cape refreshment post on their way to India. They were obviously unskilled artists and only made rough sketches, which were used by copper-plate engravers in Europe to illustrate books and maps.[162] Furthermore, these artists were intent on recording the topography and aboriginal inhabitants of the Cape, so Table Mountain and the Hottentots were the most frequent subjects. Engravings of Hottentots and their habits satisfied the voracious curiosity of contemporary Europeans about the "beastlie savages".[163] Apart from the temporary visitors who recorded visual impressions, there were no permanent artists on the payroll of the Company, only a few ordinary house-painters and a cartographer.[164]

Artists of a more professional nature did however visit the Cape, but then again they were more interested in natural than Cultural history. One has to remember that the settlers at the Cape clung resolutely to their Dutch culture, and as far as possible kept traditions and habits the same as in Europe. So for visitors to the Cape there would have been little of note or interest to record about the European inhabitants, as they were propogators of seventeenth-century Dutch or French culture. Naturally artists turned to record the unfamiliar or exotic.

Artists such as Heinrich Claudius (d. c. 1697) specialized in depictions of flora and fauna, and shipwrecks were also frequent subjects. In fact, for many decades artists did not even bother to record what the settlement looked like from the shore, and street scenes and interiors were very rare until the time of Johannes Rach (1777).[165] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries travellers to the Cape and South Africa such as Charles Davidson Bell, Sir John Barrow, William Burchell and Samuel Daniell wrote about and sketched the Hottentots and Bushmen, including their music. Europeans would no doubt not have been very interested in the way of life of the settlers that was actually so similar to theirs. Pictorial art also received an impetus during the time of the first

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British occupation (1795).[166]

Berman also notes that although the settlers came from the rich artistic background of the 'Golden Age', they had little time or opportunity to enhance the quality of their life in the early years; they "were fully occupied in the fundamental problem of sustaining life".[167] The leaders of the community did of course bring cultural refinements with them, including Old Masters.[168] Like other luxury items such as glass, porcelain, certain articles of furniture and harpsichords,[169] paintings and engravings were imported from Europe. Furthermore, Fransen states that the pictorial art that existed up to about 1900 had a definite didactic rather than aesthetic function of showing people in Europe the peoples, plants and animals of South Africa. He also points out that the strenuous pioneer existence was hardly conducive to the development and nurturing of artistic talent, neither would anyone have been able to support himself as a professional artist. Only around 1800 did this start to be feasible.[171] By that time the Dutch art tradition had been forgotten.[172]

The lack of pictorial evidence does not imply we know nothing about music at the Cape, it just means we do not have corroborative visual evidence, because contemporary written sources are quite abundant. In view of the strong cultural links with the Netherlands, analogy would seem justified, because music and the instruments initially came from Europe. Thus one reads about the same kinds of instruments and types of music at the Cape as were found in the motherland.[173] There were cultural modifications at the Cape as a result of the specific circumstances and environment, but music no doubt did not have to change much from Europe to the Cape. In fact, according to Bouws, music was used by the Company administration at the Cape as a stablising, constant factor, which provided the necessary routine and relaxation for the employees.[174]

Although Baroque grandeur could not be realised in the primarily utilitarian architecture at the Cape, typical Baroque ceremonial music played an important part. In the first place, there were the official musicians employed by the Company, and

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as such they had the same duties and status as the town musicians in the Netherlands (cf. p 38 above). They sounded the tatoos, heralded the dawn of a new day, and warned of fire or danger, using the bugle or trumpet, drum and flute, and in later years the oboe and clarinet.[175] The players also morning and evening prayers, although there was no instrumental accompaniment in church until the Cape received its first organ in 1737.[176]

Bouws notes that the similarities and analogies between music in the Netherlands and the Cape extend to all levels of secular music.[177] Because the senior Company officials at the Cape came from a developed cultural background they brought their instruments with them.[178] Already in the first years we hear of a violin, and a harpsichord belonging to Maria van Riebeeck.[179] Music formed an inseperable part of official ceremonies: fanfares and drum-rolls announced high officials and visitors, grand music accompanied the inauguration or departure of a governor, and all the musical resources were mustered for funerals of dignitaries.[180]

Music was obligatory at banquets, during which musicians played contemporary European dances such as the Pavane, Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Gavotte, Gigue, Rigaudon and Minuet (which comprised the Baroque sonata da camera and later suite) on any of the following: violin, trumpet, horn, double bass, oboe, cello, clarinet, bassoon, harp or flute.[181] We know that balls were an important part of social life, and the official musicians again provided the music, though in later years many households had their own 'orchestra'of slaves who mastered the bassoon, clarinet, horn, violin, flute and cello.[182] Chamber music was also an important recreation: there were no public entertainments until the nineteenth century, so people had to provide their own indoor amusements: "the ladies played the spinnet (sic) and the harp, and the men the violin, flute, hautbois and other wind instruments. The Cape people had a passion for dancing...contre dances, waltzes, minuets and quadrilles".[183] The only probable differences between the seventeenth and eighteenth century would have been a slight shift in emphasis of the types of instruments used, and the

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current dances that were in vogue in Europe reached the Cape via the sailors.

Botha notes the "raised dais" on which the slave musicians sat,[184] and a similar arrangement is to be seen in a picture by A Matham of a wedding reception in seventeenth century Netherlands (fig. 103). The town musicians play the lute, viola da gamba and violin while the guests sit at the table. Three other pictures from the Netherlands show dances: Matham (fig. 104), Chrispijn de Passe (fig. 105) and Pieter Codde (fig. 106). In the first the town musicians accompany the dancers on the gamba and violin. In the second the music is provided by a harpsichord and violin, and in the third by a lute player. In the Cape dancing was also permitted in the taverns on Sundays in the seventeenth century, accompanied by the flute and violin.[185]

This description of musical life at the Cape in the seventeenth century is of necessity sketchy, but we must never doubt that music played an important part in the growing community, and that it was indispensible for cementing morale and community feelings.

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103 A Matham: Wedding with the town musicians.
D F Scheurleer, Het muziekleven van Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw, p 40.

104 A Matham: Dance accomanied by the town musicians.
Ibid., p 42.

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105 Chrispijn de Passe: The dance.
D J Balfoort, Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw, p 56.

106 Pieter Codde: The dance.
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III The eighteenth century

A Historical and cultural background

Whereas the seventeenth century was characterised by basically only one style (Baroque), the eighteenth century encompassed the late Baroque, Rococo and Neoclassic styles. According to Fleming the eighteenth century witnessed "the beginnings of the mechanical, industrial, and political revolutions; the decline of the aristocracy and the rise of the middle class; and the early phases of the neoclassical and romantic styles",[1] all these styles "either continued, modified, or departed from the high baroque".[2] The rococo represented the last vestiges of aristocratic, universal taste; rationalism crystallized into the Enlightenment, and a classical revival heralded the stylistic eclecticism of the nineteenth century. The surface tranquility of the Age of Reason was shattered by a violent social revolution in France, leading to changes that were irrevocable, socially, politically and artistically.

The political, cultural and intellectual hegemony of France that had been consolidated under Louis XIV continued to hold sway during the eighteenth century. There was a parallel century-long struggle against the monarchy, Church and aristocracy.[3] The intellectual essence of the struggle was contained in the Encyclopédie edited by Diderot: in seeking the absolute truth, it "opposed science to religion and, tremendously encouraged by the apparent infallibility of the newly born sciences, arrogated to itself the right to answer every question definitively".[4] In the light of this, the rococo represented the last uttering of aristocratic frivolity, superseded by a more serious, classical spirit around the middle of the century. But there was still a staggering discrepency between the "feudal aristocracy living in luxury while the people staggered under the burden of providing the means for its profligacy".[5]

The reign of Louis XIV ended in 1715, and the latter years had been characterised by grandiloquent, devout gloom. His successor, Louis XV, decided against the formal court life at Versailles and moved back to Paris. For the arts, this meant that patronage, no longer a court monopoly, fell to a broader

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spectrum of people.[6] Throughout the century, the aristocracy based on land ownership declined in power and status, as opposed to the rising commercial class. Adam Smith advocated a revolutionary laissez-faire economic policy in his Wealth of Nations of 1776, but unfortunately neither Louis XV or Louis XVI ever understood the magnitude of the contemporary problems.[7] Louis XV tried to reinstate the feudal nobility in positions of power in the administrative machinery. Unfortunately, the absolutism of Louis XIV had not cultivated statesmen, and Louis XV found that he had to turn to the bourgeois business-minded ministers for guidance. Though Louis XV was essentially well-meaning, the social rifts were widening because of his inability to recognise and respond to the needs of the lower classes.

In spite of growing political and social confusion in France, it continued to be the cultural and intellectual trendsetter in Europe. The rococo style generated by the aristocrats was the "last Western style that can lay claim to universality and the last to adhere strictly to the cult of charm and beauty".[8] An international upper class carried the French culture throughout the courts of Europe: "French fashions in architecture, painting, furniture, costume, and manners were echoed...(and) French was spoken".[9]

In the Netherlands the French influence was prevalent from the middle of the seventeenth century. The only area in which the Dutch had been innovative was in painting, otherwise they had relied on French taste to govern the refined aspects of their cultural life.[10] This shift in emphasis from the comfortable bourgeois culture of the Dutch to the graceful frivolity of the French even left its mark on the Dutch colonies (cf. the period in which Cape Town was called 'Little Paris').

William of Orange had married Mary of York, and as William III he ruled the British Isles from 1689-1702. The Netherlands and England were allies during the War of the Spanish Succession against France, and the peace treaty was signed at Utrecht in 1713. Although the United Provinces still prospered in the eighteenth century and held considerable international prestige,[11]

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the economic and cultural efflorescence of the previous century was not equalled. The eighteenth century was one of general commercial and political decline.

As Sewter states, the changes from the baroque to the rococo necessitated no breaks in continuity, "but rather a change of emphasis from the grandiloquent and splendid to the light and delicate. Generally lacking ...the intense religious emotion and drama of the Baroque...the Rococo aimed above all to please,"[12] which sums up the ethos of the rococo admirably. The rococo spirit was based on the principles of intimate conversation, music, flirting, wit, gracefulness, polish, sensuality, caprice, pleasure-loving, connoiseurship, frivolity, playfulness, charm, femininity and refinement of taste (fig. 107). According to Lang, it gave the world "the most lighthearted, amoral, and beautiful entertainments, pastorals, hunts, and amourous idyls, filled woth smiles, sighs, philosophy, conversation, and the delicate tinkling of the clavecin".[13] Small wonder that the style that venerated the boudoir and idolised the woman[14] was also known as the style galant.

The rococo style was suited to intimate interiors, as opposed to the grandiose Baroque, so therefore it concentrated on interior decoration and the major art forms. Its influence on the decorative arts was felt as late as 1780.[15] The typical decorative motifs were small, graceful and executed in delicate pastels: undulating curves, scrolls, foliage, rock-work, shells, birds and landscapes with ruins decorated the watered silks of costumes and furniture, porcelain vases, table-ware and Sèvres figurines (fig. 108), and all manner of arts and architecture.[16]

The salon became the venue for informal social occasions, hosted by intelligent, artistic patrons who propagated the arts and the tastes of the nobility. The penchant for naturalism led to the use of smaller Hôtels, pavilions, pagodas, garden-houses, natural gardesn (fig. 109), and constructed settings in which aristocrats, dressed as shepherds and shepherdesses could dance, flirt and picnic in a fanciful world devoid of reality.[17]

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107 Typical Rococo ornamentation: Musicians in a landscape, engraving by Holzhalb , 1761.
R Clemencic, Old musical instruments, p 97.

108 Rococo porcelain group.
Ibid., p 87.

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109 Eighteenth century garden musicale.
P H Lang & O Bettman, A pictorial history of music, p 58.

110 Antoine Watteau: detail, showing the new, ingratiating style of Rococo pictorial art.
Ibid., p 58.

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The chief topic of the rococo was love, which found expression in art, music and literature. Certain artists specialised in frivolous, bucolic scenes or outdoor festivities (fêtes galantes) that illustrated the 'return to nature' creed of the Enlightenment. Antoine Watteau was the leader in this field, creating the unique rococo style for small easel paintings (fig. 110) that influenced Francois Boucher, Nicolas Lancret and Jean Honoré Fragonard. At the same time, there were artists who worked for bourgeois patrons and executed more moralizing subjects that reflected a social consciousness, such as Jean Baptiste Chardin and Jean Baptiste Greuze, both influential.[18]

The scale of musical compositions and performances became smaller and intimate, in keeping with the rococo spirit of elegance. Patronage was not confined to the court or church, and the composer had to write for a wider audience. The rococo style sought to please the ear through ingratiating sounds that were polished, entertaining, ornamented, short and logical, without "straining for emotional heights or powerful effects".[19] The harpsichord and stringed instruments were suited to the intimate nature of the music composed by men such as François Couperin and Jean Philippe Rameau.

The rationalism of the Baroque culminated in the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, referring especially to the period between 1715 and 1789.[20] It was a spiritual movement "directed toward the secularization of spiritual and practical life... (that advocated) unprejudiced and undogmatic thinking and observation instead of relying on the guidance of other minds conditioned by tradition and special allegiances".[21] The Enlightenment, a revolt of the spirit, was manifested in many movements: the inventive spirit, scientific inquiry, the Encyclopédie (fig. 111) of Diderot, deism, the new social order, the desire for freedom (artistic as well as social), optimism and the belief in human perfectibility, and of course rationalism and empiricism.[22] Reason, as "the source of all human knowledge,...was able to establish the essence of things a priori, without having recourse to sensory perception",[23] reached its apotheosis with Immanuel Kant, who however went on to recognise the limitations of reason in the Critique of

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111 Engraving from the Encyclopédie of An instrument maker's workshop.
M Pincherle, An illustrated history of music, p 141.

112 A vignette from the Complete works of Mozart showing the desire for the classical ideal.
P H Lang & O Bettman, A pictorial history of music, p 71.

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Pure Reason, 1781.

Another intellectual by-product of the Enlightenment was the 'natural man' living according to the original social contract as postulated by Jean Jacques Rousseau, who abhorred the artificiality and corruption of the contemporary society. Ultimately Rousseau came to stress sensibilité, which reflected a current of irrationalism, and Voltaire also admitted that man acts irrationally.[24] The works of Rousseau were preludes to the late eighteenth century spirit of revolution as well as nineteenth-century romanticism. Another manifestation of irrationalism and emotionalism was the Sturm und Drang artistic and literary movement in Germany, which negated the absolutism of reason alone.[25]

The classical revival (fig. 112) at mid-century represented the cooler, more serious spirit that was the culmination of the antibaroque movement that generated a noble "middle-class elegance as opposed to the extravagant excesses of the old art of the aristocracy".[26] Neo-classicism began as a revival of classical (especially Hellenistic) technique and spirit in many of the arts, but in music it led to a specific style called Classical. According to Lang the soul of the eighteenth century was consummated and reached its apotheosis in music, that Classical "incarnation of the Apollonian art".[27]

The spirit of classicism had never been entirely absent during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but around 1750 it became the leading expression of artistic and humanistic thought. Classicism coincided with the reign of Louis XVI (1774-1792) and Marie Antoinette, and is also called the Louis XVI style. The classical style had its roots in the rococo, and it was never a mindless imitation of classicism, but rather represented art created in the spirit of the older models, as "subtle reinterpretations expressed in the courtly French style".[28]

According to Lang, people sought refuge in the ideals of beauty of classical antiquity because they were disillusioned with the ideals of goodness and truth as postulated in the previous centuries.[29] Moreover, the classical revival reflected the

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new emphasis on universality based on Kant's analysis of the preconceptions of time and space. This proved that the same frame of reference was shared by all mankind, so sound ideas and noble creations would have universal validity and appeal, a prime exponent being classical antiquity.[30] The necessity of the arts appealing to all meant that they were finally wrest irrevocably out of exclusively aristocratic influence, and relied on clarity, nobility, amiability and honesty.

Lang also maintains that the rococo had had definite links with classicism, and that it was inevitable that rationalism would discover its affinity to antiquity,[31] though many of the propogators of the Enlightenment believed they had already surpassed the feats of the ancients.[32] Furthermore, the late eighteenth century saw the birth of Germanic genius that was classical in orientation and thought, which led to the founding of modern systems of science in philology and philosophy.[33]

The classical revival was spurred on by the archaeological excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the 1760's, and the work of Winckelmann, History of Ancient Art, 1764. The artists of the late eighteenth century had tangible models to consult, and attempted to produce works that recaptured the universality of content and form, the 'noble simplicity' and 'quiet grandeur' that Winkelmann had seen in Greek art.[34] Decoration ā la greque or ā l'antique was found in the form of "pyramids, columns, medallions, urns and sarcophagi; from hairstyles to soup-tureens to the decoration of snuffboxes".[35]

The political and religious ethics of antiquity, especially Rome, also became symbols of the revolutionary spirit before and after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.[36] This spirit of individualism was also manifested in the arts, since unique gifts and individual worth in the artist were recognised and respected. The humanistic element in the classical revival emphasized the natural freedom of man, the value of the soul and human life, and was responsible for "the spiritual turning away from the celestial to the human, from the universe to the individual",[37] and supported Kant's moral religion: "We live in the invisible church; God's kingdom is, however, in ourselves".[38]

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The classical ideals of organic unity, monumental simplicity, tempered subjectivity, and purity and nobility of feeling were reflected in the music of Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-87), Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-91). They enforced radical changes from the disintegrating Baroque style to the mature Classical style that reached its apogee at the end of the century with Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827). This same symmetry and plastic clarity was sought by architects and artists in France, and Jacques Louis David became the representative artistic voice of the revolutionary spirit because his paintings carried a political or social message. The works of neoclassical artists such as David and Antonio Canova showed the artistic techniques of antiquity but could not recapture its harmonious spirit.[39] The definitive antibaroque neoclassical style was the ultimate bourgeois criticism of the frivolity and superficiality of the rococo court style: the moral overtones justified reliance on conservative classicism in a revolutionary period.[40]

Thus the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed tubbulence in all spheres. As French power began to wane on the eve of the Revolution, Austria, Prussia and Russia emerged as powerful forces, especially under leaders such as Frederick II and Maria Theresa, who propogated enlightened absolutism.[41] In America, the wars of independence followed the Declaration of Independence (1776), and reflected the contemporary ideology. When the French Revolution failed to realise Utopia, a period of counter-revolutionary reaction set in, and French national supremacy was ultimately crushed in the next century, along with the ideals of Napoleon.

Napoleon's troops had overrun the Netherlands at the close of the eighteenth century. Louis Bonaparte was made King of Holland in 1806, but in 1810 it was attached to the French Empire. At the fall of Napoleon the Orange family returned to the Netherlands, and the Northern and Southern provinces were temporarily united as the Kingdom of the Netherlands. As a result of the political upheavals, European nationalism grew, the universality of culture diminished and "the arts appeared increasingly in local frames of reference".[42]

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The eighteenth century opened at the Cape under the governorship of Willem A van der Stel, dismissed in 1707. The growth of the white population was retarded by the cessation of assisted immigration to the Cape from Europe in 1707, and the importation of slaves rather than European artisans in 1717. This meant that by 1795 (the end of Company rule), the white population at the Cape totalled only fifteen-thousand.

Until 1779 the cattle-farmers spread north and eastwards within a radius of about eight hundred kilometres of Cape Town. Although relations with the Hottentots were amicable, the nomadic Bushmen were somewhat more bellicose. In 1770 the farmers encountered the vanguard of the Bantu people at the Great Fish River: nine wars followed within the next century, the first taking place 1779-80.

The political climate was in general growing restless as a result of the rationalistic and democratic ideologies that were being propogated in France and America. During the aftermath of the American Declaration of Independence the Netherlands became the enemy of England, and the French, as American allies, posted a garrison of soldiers at the Cape. This was ostensibly to protect the Cape against possible attack from the English, but when they did land in September 1795, the soldiers surrendered after only a token resistance.

The Cape Patriots had initiated bloodless revolts at Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet in 1795 against the inefficient and unsympathetic rule of the Company, but not against the sovereign authority of the Netherlands as such. The bankrupcy of the Company in 1795 coincided with the English occupation. The English remained in control until 1803, when the Batavian Republic reinstated Dutch rule until 1806. As a result of the Napoleonic wars, the English returned in 1806, and in 1814 the Cape was ceded to Great Britain.[43]

The Cape enjoyed prosperity and consolidation under the governorship of Tulbagh (1751-71), especially as social conditions and the standard of living were raised: the Burgher Watch House was built, streets were improved, and double-storey

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houses replaced the earlier thatched-roof buildings. The 1770'S and 1780's were comparatively cosmopolitan, with a great deal of French (rococo) influence. Under continued French influence, the neoclassical style began to appear in architecture and furniture around 1780, about 2 decades later than in Europe; although the people initially seemed to cling to the archaic Baroque and rococo styles, the symmetry and simplicity of neoclassicism soon began to become popular, and was firmly established by 1791.[44]

For the whole of the eighteenth century therefore the factors that influenced the culture of the Cape people were primarily Dutch and French; English influence was only felt in the nineteenth century. The culture of the people was still predominantly Dutch, though the influence of the Calvinist faith lessened in the secularized eighteenth century. Afrikaans had evolved out of the various Dutch dialects, and while it retained the Dutch vocabulary, it was only the spoken language, as Dutch remained the more formal, written language.[45]

The eighteenth century was therefore a period of expansion and consolidation, but political affairs in Europe left a deep mark on the Cape. The century that followed was torn by conflicts that had started in the eighteenth century, such as the relations with the Bantu.

B Eighteenth century music: general characteristics

The eighteenth century was characterized by a complex divergency of musical styles which overlapped chronologically: the late Baroque, the Rococo, a preclassical transition and the mature Classical style. The Rococo musical style was mainly French in inspiration, whereas the Classical style originated primarily in Germany. The changes from the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century were stylistic and formal, and involved new media of performance.

The Rococo style was the product of the French *clavecin* school under François Couperin, and was light, elaborate and ornate. This style was used by Jean Philippe Rameau, Domenico Scarlatti

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and Georg-Philip Telemann. The Rococo style in music lasted from about 1720 to 1775, which was roughly the same time that Bach and Handel wrote their definitive works in the Baroque style.[46] The preclassical style began to emerge between 1740 and 1770, and was influenced by the German brand of Rococo called the Empfindsamer Stil, of which the chief exponent was Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Other preclassical composers were Johann Quantz, Johann Stamitz and Johann Christian Bach. These composers used new sectional forms and homophonic textures, and the basso continuo bacame superfluous as new instrumental media developed (orchestral works as opposed to the chamber quality of most Baroque works).

The Classical style of about 1760 to 1820 grew out of the experiments of the above composers, who often used a mixture of styles in their works. The mature Classical style was realized by Haydn, Mozart, Gluck and Beethoven. There were many changes that separated the later works of Beethoven from those of, for example Haydn, but the vocabulary had merely been expanded, not radically changed. Classicism in music was based on the ideals of symmetry, clarity of form and tempered emotionalism. Some of the characteristics of Classical music were: the use of sectional forms such as the sonata and symphony; clear, short phrases; homophonic textures with a single melodic line; compact themes and melodies; diatonic harmonies; instrumental, absolute music (though the opera underwent reform under Gluck and received new vitality), and alternation of tempo and tonality according to sectional divisions.

The ideal, typical music of the period after 1750 can be defined thus: "its language should be universal...it should be noble as well as entertaining; it should be expressive within the bounds of decorum; it should be 'natural'...free of needless technical complications and capable of immediately pleasing any normally sensitive listener".[47]

C Eighteenth century pictorial art:

1 General characteristics

As already noted, the majority of the arts were essentially French-inspired in the eighteenth century. The Baroque was

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disintegrating by the beginning of the eighteenth century to adapt to the taste of Parisian society for elegance and "new ideals, closer to normal human dimensions".[48] On the other hand, Fleming recognizes a certain aimlessness and isolation in the works of the early Rococo artists such as Watteau: "something of the loss of identity, the alienation, even anonymity felt by an aristocratic society no longer subject to the commands of a powerful authoritarian personality"[49] (Louis XIV).

Rococo paintings were smaller in scale than Baroque works, and easel works were more popular than murals. Artists revelled in the sensuous depiction of colour (especially pastels). The didactic and propagandistic properties of art and the archaic linear style of the seventeenth century fell into disuse.[50] The former 'international symbolism' that had conveyed morals and allegories was replaced by a style almost devoid of moralizing overtones. This is a very important point in the examination of musical iconography, because one must not attempt to interpret painting of the eighteenth century according to the mores of the seventeenth century.

The grand sujet of the seventeenth century - mythology, history, religion - was rejected.[51] Instead, art depicted the amusements and pleasures of life, and illustrated contemporary manners and fashions (fig. 113). Chief of these was the new genre of the fête galante created by Watteau (after prototypes by Claude Gillot) to portray the amusements, conversations, ballets, pastoral masques and entertainments of elegant society.[52] Two other painters who worked in the same vein as Watteau were Boucher and Fragonard.

The Rococo artist delighted in nature and portrayed landscapes, albeit often "artificial landscape of parks, gardens and arcadian rusticity".[53] Dutch seventeenth century art had a great influence on landscapes, still-lifes, and popular everyday scenes that were painted by the French artists. The still-life achieved a new dignity with Jean-Baptiste Chardin, who also ressurected the genre painting that was based on the Dutch proto-types. Jean-Baptiste Greuze portrayed scenes of middle-

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113 J M Moreau the Younger: La petite loge,showing the interior of a theatre or opera house.
K Komma, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, p 189.

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class rural life imbued with ingenuous morality that were intended to be edifying, thereby reviving the concept of didactic art.[54] Diderot's aesthetic imperative had an influence on Greuze and others: "To render virtue lovable, vice hateful..., that is the task of every honnête homme who takes up the pen, the brush, or the chisel".[55] Fleming calls those genre pictures with informal everyday life sequences the result of "middle-class reactions to aristocratic posturing",[56] and Sewter calls this the 'anti-Rococo' style.[57]

The portraiture genre was surprisingly natural, informal and intimate in the eighteenth century. The artists attempted to capture individual character and personality by concentrating on nuances of expression and gesture. Outstanding portraitists were Maurice Quentin de la Tour, Jean-Marc Nattier, Watteau and Chardin.[58]

The neoclassical style represented a rejection of the extravagances and extremes of Rococo genre pittoresque,[59] and a desire to recapture the gravity and grandeur of the Louis XIV Grand style and the classicism of Poussin.[60] Neoclassical art once again concentrated on moral values such as heroism, self-sacrifice, determination, stoicism and Spartan simplicity that were seen as the values of antiquity, especially Rome. As these became the manifesto of the French Revolution, neoclassicism became the instrument of the revolutionary spirit.[61] The characteristics of neoclassicism were: the structural value of drawing was emphasized instead of sensuous colour; serious subject matter; elevated diction, measured compositions; solidly constructed forms; linearism; nobility and dignity; severity, and strictly ordered planar compositions and movements.[62]

The neoclassical style emanated from Italy (based on the indigenous artistic traditions and archaeological excavations), but was brought to maturity in France by Jacques Louis David (1748-1825). His success as the pictorial spokesman of the revolutionary spirit was due "to the fact that his style caught the same strong spirit that the revolutionists espoused...David frankly addressed his art to the newly established middle-class social order".[63] David's choice of subject and style suited

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the new ethos that prevailed until the Napoleonic wars and romanticism of the nineteenth century.

2 The Netherlands

a. Introduction

"Every civilisation seems to have its nemesis, not only because the first bright impulses become tarnished by greed and laziness, but because of unpredictables".[64] After the magnificence of Dutch art in the seventeenth century, it was inevitable that regression or stagnation would set in. Historical hindsight places this at around 1680, but it is notable that at the time the painters had no qualms about the quality of their work.[65] They tended to rest complacently on the laurels of former artists; they continued within the tradition of the earlier styles but without innovation or originality: "technical competence combined with a singular lack of imagination".[66] The unique identity of Dutch art was lost, replaced by superficial imitations of the current French style.[67] An example of the dry, derivative academic style is to be seen in Portrait of a musician (fig. 114) by the Fleming Horemans, which is however a valuable iconographical source.

The lack of artistic impetus was probably caused by the air of contentment that pervaded life in the United Provinces. There was general properity and peace, and the people were only too eager to accept the current French courtoisie as the norm for elegance and good taste. The lighter spirit that characterized the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century produced works devoid of "the heavy, moralistic seriousness of the preceding century".[68] Contemporary opinion held that "only the charming and elegant (were) worthy subjects for painting"[69] which led to pretentiousness and academicism. Already in the seventeenth century the baroque grandeur of the Flemish school had at times been preferred to the allegorical style of the indigenous artists. Dutch realism was abandonned in favour of commonplace clichés, and from the iconographic point of view it is interesting that the 'disguised symbolism' that had dominated seventeenth century painting was achaic by the eighteenth century.[70]

Dutch painting of the eighteenth century as influenced by

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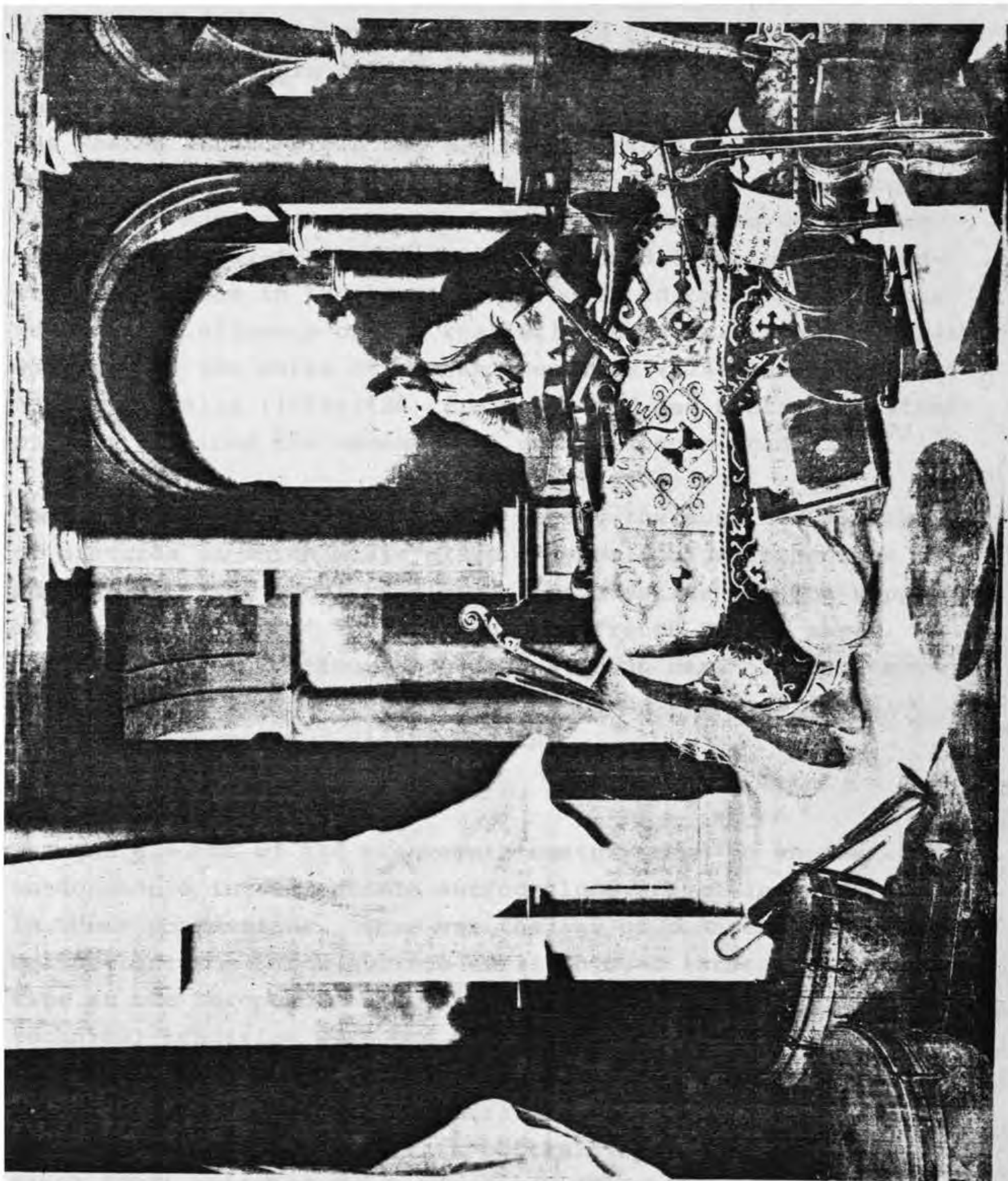

114 Horemans: Portrait of a musician.
M Pincherle, An illustrated history of music, p 132.

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French taste was therefore characterized by a lack of moral tone and formal realism. The anecdotal type of picture continued to dominate, but it was suffused by a new mood; the paintings of masters like Steen and Vermeer was "translated into a thoroughly contemporary idiom and differently oriented".[71] The French Rococo style was most discernible in the works of Adriaen van der Werff, Jacob de Wit, Aert Schouman and Cornelis Troost.[72] Adriaen Coorte, Rachel Ruysch, Jan van Os and Jan van Huysum (1692-1749; fig. 115) continued to paint outstanding still-lifes in the traditional Dutch idiom. As the Rococo waned, the influence of the realistic genre painting of Chardin was seen in the works of Wybrand Hendriks (1744-1831; fig. 116), Adriaan de Lelie (1755-1820; fig. 117) and Jan Ekels, who attempted to continue the seventeenth century genre tradition.[73]

When one considers the mentioned facts, the absolute dearth of pictures in which music plays a symbolical role becomes less surprising. The local tradition lost prestige and the support of the 'tastemakers' in favour of the French Rococo style. The banal, unpretentious nature of a great deal of Dutch symbolism was totally out of keeping with the world of fêtes galantes and unctuous pleasantaries.

b. The genre theme

The genre works of the eighteenth century tend to show well-to-do people in comfortable surroundings, revelling with pride in their possessions. This was the age of connoiseurship and collection: the Dutch artists still enjoyed international prestige at the European courts, provided that they combined their technical tradition with the new French mood.[74] The 'conversation-piece' type of picture displayed a new dignity and respectability, in which "no moral level (could) turn the reality into an illusion".[75] In a portrait by Cornelis Troost (1697-1750) entitled The music lover (fig. 118) the subject is treated with a new informal formalism.[76] There is no insidious symbolism or obtuse underlying message, we merely see a dignified gentleman with his cello: music had lost most of its dissolute undertones and had become primarily a decorative element. The same atmosphere of elegant decorum is seen in Family in an interior (fig. 119) by Troost. It is typically a documentary

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115 Jan van Huysum: Flower basket.

116 (left) Wybrand Hendriks: Family group.

117 (right) Adriaan de Lelie: Interior.
H E van Gelder, Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden,
pp 627,649.

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118 Cornelis Troost: The music lover.
R H Fuchs, Dutch painting, p 101.

119 Cornelis Troost: Family in an interior.
H Langdon, Everyday-life painting, p 43.

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rather than a narrative genre picture, conveying a sense of comfortable materialism but also gentle edification by stressing domestic harmony and felicity.

Van Gelder notes that Troost is important for depicting details of everyday life in his works, both of the higher and lower social classes.[77] The hurdy-gurdy player (fig. 120) shows a man playing for the members of a rich household. He is symbolically placed on a lower step, and the audience show mixed reactions. This picture is important iconographically because it depicts the hurdy-gurdy, which became a vogue instrument in the eighteenth century, though originally a folk instrument.

Genre pieces were still produced that showed music in the home or other groups engaged in music making. Music societies became popular during the eighteenth century, and laid the foundations for the concert societies,[78] (a development paralleled in countries such as England, of bringing music out of the court and church and into the democratic concert hall). Although the concertvereenigingen did much good, Balfoort regrets that this movement did much to destroy the already rare habit of music in the home.[79] A music society is shown by Nicolas Aertman (1713-93), and we see a cello, transverse flute, violin and harpsichord among the instruments (fig. 121).

Another important step was taken by W Writs in Amsterdam, 1777, who formed a society or academy for all the arts called Felix Meritis. A building was erected in 1788 that included a large concert hall with a capacity of six-hundred seats. A permanent orchestra was formed, and concerts took place regularly.[80] A work by Pieter Babiers and Jacques Kuyper (1761-1808) shows this hall (fig. 122), with its informal air showing that people did not necessarily stop their talking of walking whilst the music was playing.

Thus, to explain the situation of pictorial art at the end of the eighteenth century in the Netherlands, Fuchs states that "the function of painting had altered, which meant that the content, too, had changed completely. In a culture which had an empirical and materialistic relation to reality, taking the

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120 Cornelis Troost: The hurdy-gurdy player.
H E van Gelder, Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden, p 646.

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121 Nicolas Aertman: <u>A music society</u>.
D J Balfoort, <u>Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw</u>, p 104.

122 Pieter Babiers & Jacques Kuypers: <u>Concert hall in Felix Meritis</u>, Amsterdam.
D J Balfoort, <u>op.cit</u>., p 144.

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world in its actual appearance and no longer as one grand metaphor for God's perfect creation, there was little use for the double meanings of seventeenth century painting".[81]

3 France

a. Introduction

There is an intrinsic difference between musical iconography of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century and in eighteenth century France because the former imbued music with a symbolic role that makes interpretation possible on many levels. Music was used as a social and moral commentary, because its respectability was of an equivocal nature. Both in art and society it had to shake off its negative connotations, which was in a great measure achieved by the eighteenth century. The changes in attitude were indigenous, but also resulted from extensive French influence.

Musical iconography in France of the earlier eighteenth century seems to be less complicated. The artists of the Rococo appeared to be content to depict contemporary instruments and performing practices as a natural part of life. Music served a function as entertainment and decoration, and was often showed in a beguiling, charming role. Here we see no memento mori to shock us to repentence; everything is carefree and sensual, but never entirely dissolute. Instruments were also depicted in the vein of comfortable materialism: they became richly decorated and in themselves symbols of the wealth of the owner.[82] Certain instruments did however continue to be associated with a certain social class or profession; for example, the popular Italian comedians usually played the guitar or musette, and the theorbo was an exclusively aristocratic instrument. One of the few examples extant of music used in a symbolic role is in a work by Alexandre-Francois Desportes (1661-1740) from 1717 entitled Still life with flowers, fruit and animals (fig. 123). According to Schönberger the "monkey playing the violin is to be interpreted as a satire on musical virtuosi".[83]

An examination of the musical iconography of eighteenth century France reveals trends in uses of instruments and performing practices that corroborate written sources. For example,

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123 Alexandre-Francois Desportes: detail from Still life with flowers, fruit and animals.
A Schönberger & H Soehner, The age of Rococo, plate 184.

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Baroque instrumental groups were directed by the harpsichordist, around whom they gathered informally. By the latter half of the eighteenth century a different type of orchestra was evolving, which was divided into separate string and wind sections. The harpsichord was no longer needed as a continuo instrument, so the lead was taken by a conductor, often using a violin bow as a baton[84] (figs. 124,125). The string timbre became dominant, especially when larger locales were used, as an instrument such as the violin had greater dynamic and dramatic range than the archaic viol family instruments. Thus in France the violin, which had been held in disrepute as a dance instrument for peasants, came to be accepted as a noble instrument in the course of the eighteenth century[86] (fig. 126). Similarly, the viola da gamba was superseded by the cello, and the violin family became the nucleus of the orchestra.[87] This change in emphasis from the viol to the violin family is revealed in pictures. Iconography also reflects the decline in importance of woodwinds (such as the recorder), and the advent of new instruments such as the transverse flute.

There do not seem to have been distortions by artists of instruments for 'prettification' or allegory. The representations of instruments appear to be reliable, as do their contexts (aristocratic outdoor and indoor entertainments, concerts), though the exclusiveness of Rococo culture must be borne in mind: intimate bourgeois musical evenings were not often depicted, but we must not immediately assume they did not exist. The social context of the revolutionary spirit is revealed in the change of emphasis in neoclassic art. The stoic-minded had no time for the frivolity and levity of the Rococo, preferring the simplicity and austerity that found expression in artists like Pierre-Hubert Subleyras, Joseph-Marie Vien and David.[88] As a result we find very few pictures in neoclassic art that include music, as this was a symbol of the overthrown aristocracy. Instruments of antiquity were depicted, as in Paris and Helen by David (fig. 127). Lastly, accuracy and reliability are assured with painters such as Augustin de Saint-Aubin and Louis Léopold Boilly: the latter delineated social and cultural details with painstaking care.[89] Kinsky also warns that pictorial sources decrease in number during

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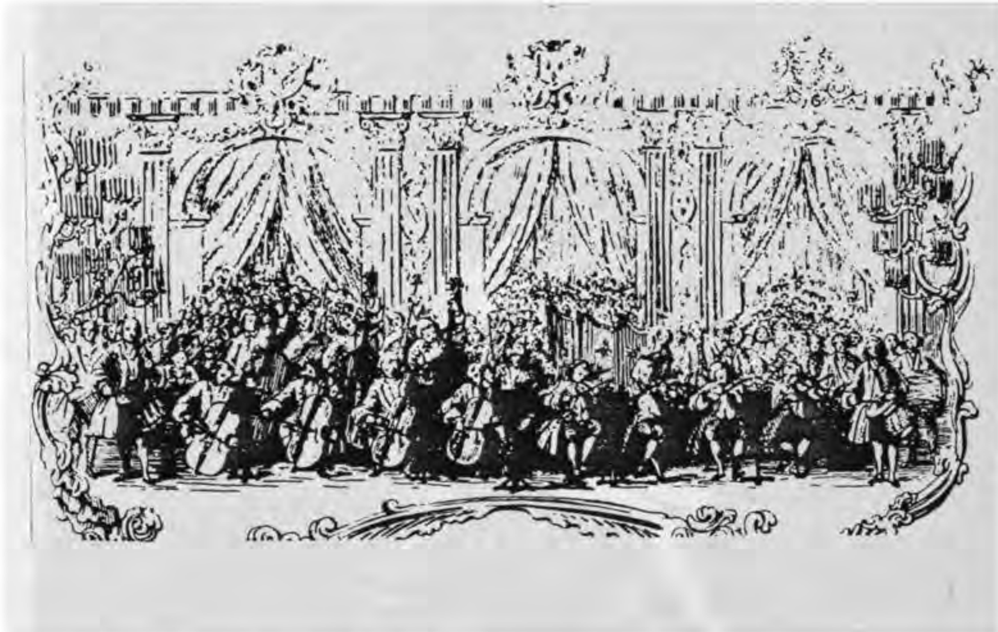
124 Van Loo: Harpsichord concert, showing the informal grouping of the players.
P Collaer & A Linden, Historical atlas of music, p 91.



125 A court orchestra of the later eighteenth century, showing the more organized seating of the players.
P H Lang & O Bettman, A pictorial history of music, p 69.

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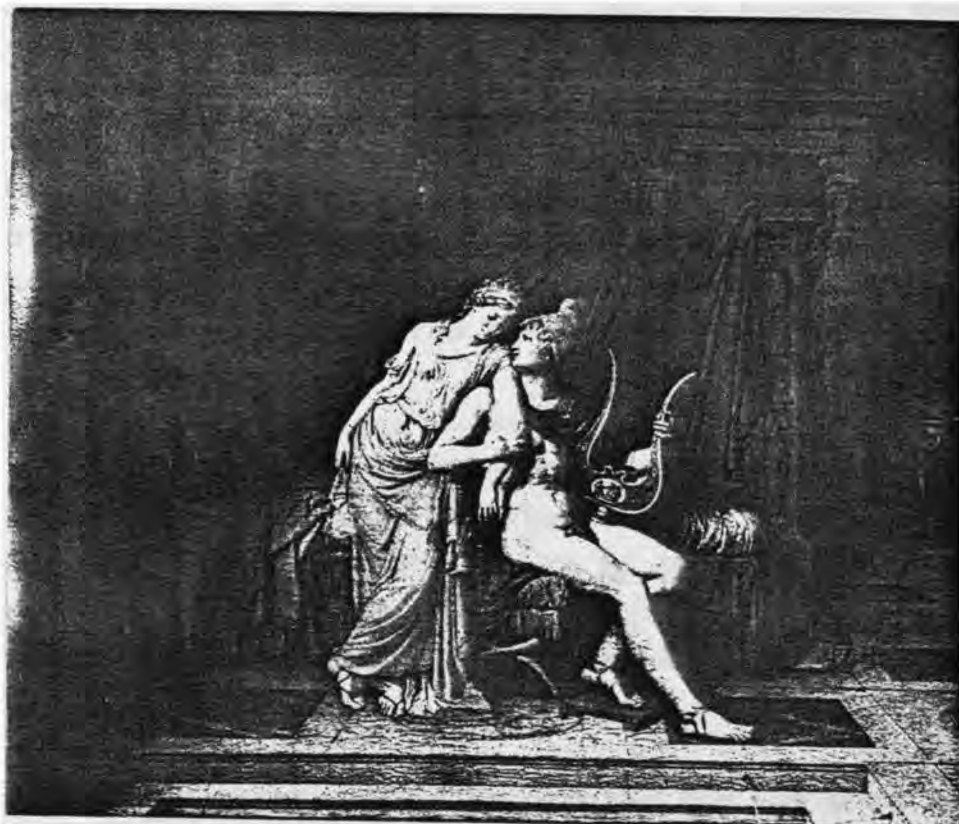
126 Antoine Jean Duclos: Le bal paré, showing the musicians, including the violinists, in the gallery. G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 227.



127 Jacques Louis David: Paris and Helen, with a lyre. A G Palacios, The age of Louis XVI, p 33.

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the eighteenth century.[90]

Whereas in my examination of seventeeth century iconography I concentrated on the symbolic role of music according to artistic genres, in this section I shall briefly examine the pictorial sources to find evidence of the changes in the types of musical instruments used in eighteenth century France. My standpoint is that in this period the actual physical details of construction and performance are more important to the iconographer than the moral attitudes and messages conveyed through intricate symbolism. I shall begin by mentioning which instruments were declining in popularity, and indicate those that were replacing them; the 'new' instruments will be noted, as well as those that were fashionable (b). Secondly, the kind of musical instruments in the still-life will be noted (c).

b. The development of instruments as depicted in pictures

The ousting of the viol family by the violin family has been noted. The viola da gamba was the last to succumb, and we find depictions of it up to the middle of the eighteenth century. A copper engraving by N H Tardieu (1674-1749) shows Watteau and a gamba player in an outdoor scene (fig. 128). The talented portraitist Jean-Marc Nattier (1685-1766) painted a portrait of Madame Henriette de France (the daughter of Louis XV) in 1754 (fig. 129) in which she plays a gamba, and a harpsichord is seen protruding from behind a curtain.

One of the rare depictions by Watteau (1684-1721) of the gamba is in Le concert champêtre (fig. 130), also showing the theorbo, transverse flute and singers. The gamba is again shown with the more modern transverse flute in La Barre and his interpreters by Robert Tournières from 1705-15 (fig. 131). Whereas in the seventeenth century a rustic character may have been shown with a recorder, Watteau depicts The Savoyard holding an oboe (fig.132).

The harpsichord continued to be popular for the home until almost the end of the eighteenth century, though its importance in ensemble or orchestral works waned. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) painted a whimsical La leçon de musique (fig. 133) showing a double-keyboard harpsichord. By the eighteenth

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128 N H Tardieu: The painter Watteau and a gamba player.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 219.

129 Jean-Marc Nattier: Madame Henriette de France.
Early Music 6(4), October 1978, p 526.

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130 Antoine Watteau: Le concert champêtre.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 219.

131 Robert Tournières: La Barre and his interpreters.
K Geiringer, Instruments in the history of Western music, plate XLIII.

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132 Antoine Watteau: The Savoyard.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 224.

133 Jean Honoré Fragonard: The music lesson.

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century the lute was very rarely used, but a member of the archlute family, the theorbo, was quite popular in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. It had a greater bass range than the ordinary lute,[91] but was an unwieldy instrument, and seems to have fallen out of use in France sooner than in other European countries.[92] It was depicted by Watteau in Le concert champêtre (fig. 130) and in The music party (fig. 134); La Finette (fig. 135) shows a lute. Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743) depicted a theorbo in La leçon de musique (fig. 136), and a lute is seen in La Musique (fig. 137) by Francois Boucher (1703-70), in which a transverse flute perhaps lends eroticism.

Fine examples of the cello are to be found in Watteau's The music party (fig. 134), and a still-life by Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755) entitled Cello (fig. 138), and a still-life by Gabriel Moulineuf (1749-1817) (fig. 139), and in L'assemblée au concert (fig. 140) , about 1785 after Nicolas Lavreince. The latter should record the irrevocable advent of the cello.

According to Sachs, the lute declined in importance as the harpsichord increased (the French clavecin school), but also because the guitar gained favour.[93] The vogue for the guitar began in the late seventeenth century,[94] and in the eighteenth century the Italian actors brought it to Paris, where it became fashionable "in the hands of both comedians and ladies of high society".[95] Claude Gillot (1673-1722) painted the Italian comedians, as in a wash drawing entitled Guitar serenade (fig. 141). Watteau also saw the comedians after their return to Paris in 1716 (having been banished between 1697 and 1716),[96] which he recorded in The Italian Comedians (fig. 142) and Le Mezzetin (fig. 143), both showing the use of the guitar.

The guitar was depicted in 'high society' by Watteau in The lesson of love (fig. 144) and by Fragonard in La Gimard (fig. 145). The Gohin family of 1787 (fig. 146) by Louis Léopold Boilly (1761-1845) shows the moderation that began to set in during neoclassicism,[97] and we also see a guitar depicted in L'Enfant au fard (fig. 147).

The transverse (side-blown) flute (as opposed to the end-blown

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134 Antoine Watteau: The music party.
S Scoll & S White, Music and the culture of man, p 146.

135 Antoine Watteau: La Finette.
R H Wilenski, French painting, plate 42b.

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136 Nicolas Lancret: La lecon de musique.

137 Francois Boucher: La Musique.

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138 (left) Jean-Baptiste Oudry: Cello.

139 (right) Gabriel Moulineuf: Still-life.
M d'Otrange Mastai, Illusion in art, pp 233,228.

140 F Dequevauviller, after N Lavreince: L'assemblée au concert.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 219.

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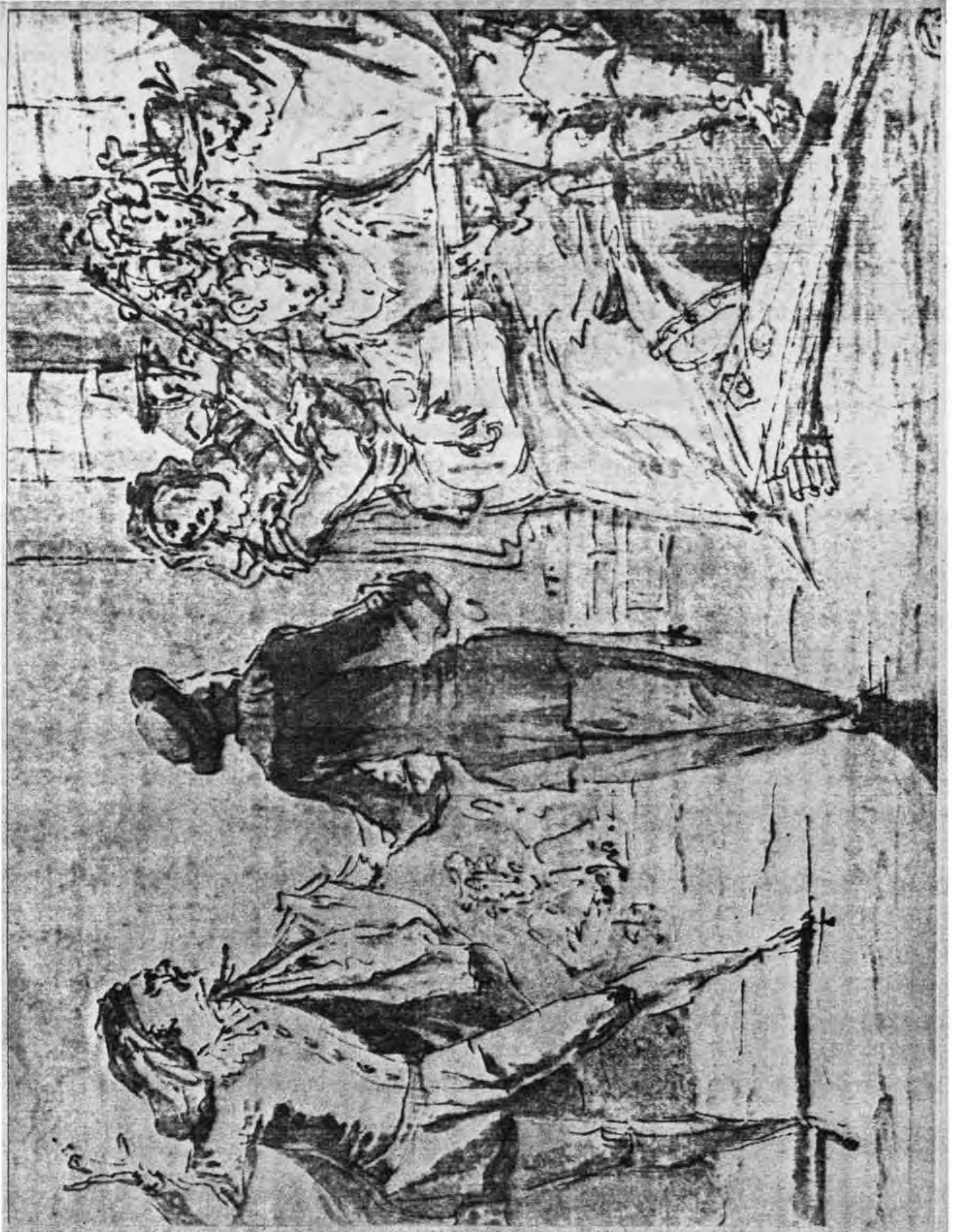

141 Claude Gillot: Guitar serenade.
M Pincherle, An illustrated history of music, p 117.

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142 Antoine Watteau: The Italian Comedians.
H Langdon, Everday-life painting, p 46.

143 Antoine Watteau: Le Mezzetin.

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144 Antoine Watteau: The lesson of love.
H Langdon, Everyday-life painting, p 46.

145 Jean Honoré Fragonard: La Gimard.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 224.

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146 Louis Léopold Boilly: The Gohin family.
A G Palacios, The age of Louis XVI, p 29.

147 Louis Léopold Boilly: L'Enfant au fard.
R H Wilenski, French painting, plate 70a.

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recorder family), became more common in the eighteenth century as a result of constructional modification that increased its accuracy and agility.[98] The wooden transverse flute was being introduced in the court orchestra of Lully in the seventeenth century,[99] and became a standard instrument in the classical orchestra to relieve the monotony of the strings.[100] The relative scarcity of recorders is explained by the ascendency of the transverse flute. Examples of the flute are to be seen in La Barre and his interpreters (fig. 131), Le concert champêtre (fig. 130), La Musique (fig. 137), the still-life by Moulineuf (fig. 139), Still life with violin by Oudry (fig. 148), L'assemblée au concert (fig. 140), and in a portrait of François Devinne, the flautist, by David (fig. 149).

The harpsichord was depicted in its chamber music environment in L'assemblée au concert (fig.140), the portrait of Henriette de France (fig. 129), and La leçon de musique by Fragonard (fig. 136). But the late eighteenth century saw the successful invention of the piano, which was technically superior to the harpsichord family. The need was felt for a powerful instrument that could produce variations in tone quality and volume, and that had crescendo and diminuendo possibilities.[101] Pianos were manufactured for the first time in France by Sêbastian Erard in 1777. His squre pianos were so popular that the harpsichord was finally abandoned.[102] A possible example of the early square piano is in Portrait of Boieldieu by Boilly (fig. 150).

The harp had been used in early Baroque music to realize the figured bass instead of the lute of harpsichord, and also in early Italian operas.[103] Its usage declined during the seventeenth century as the harpsichord was regarded as superior in chords, polyphony and technique. According to Sachs, the harp owes much of its ascendency to the development of the piano, which eventually ousted the harpsichord.[104] Thus until the end of the eighteenth century the harp was seldom used in orchestral music, except to add chromatic effects. The harp was able to justify renewed interest because of its technical improvements, such as pedals to make chromatic scales possible.[105] The harp became a domestic instrument for women, and both the

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148 Jean-Baptiste Oudry: Still life with violin.
M d'Otrange Mastai, Illusion in art, p 233.

149 Jacques Louis David: François Devinne.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 223.

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150 Louis Léopold Boilly: Portrait of Boieldieu.
M Pincherle, An illustrated history of music, p 146.

151 J M Moreau the Younger: L'accord parfait.
G Kinsky, A history of music in pictures, p 239.

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harp and piano continued to gain popularity at the close of the eighteenth century.

An engraving after J M Moreau the Younger (1741-1814) of 1777 entitled L'accord parfait (fig. 151) shows a woman harpist. A keyboard instrument is shown, and it is tempting to think it may be one of Erard's pianos, otherwise it is probably a harpsichord. A detail from Madame Récamier at the Abbaye aux Bois (fig. 152) by Dejuine also shows a pedal harp, and quite possibly another square piano (probable because Madame Récamier was only born in 1777). A harp is also seen in an etching by Saint-Aubin after Duclos, from 1765 (fig. 153).

The hurdy-gurdy (French vielle) was a fashionable instrument in the eighteenth century. In the early sixteenth century it was depicted in the hands of angels, but by the next century it was scorned as a folk instrument for beggars, peasants and women.[106] The hurdy-gurdy (a mechanical bowed instrument) was revived in the eighteenth century as part of the pastoral craze, the "yearning for the'simple' life, for mock rusticality, with shepherds and shepherdesses in a pastoral idyll".[107] All grades of society played the vielle, and there were professional musicians and composers who did the instrument justice.[108] (fig. 154).

Another folk instrument that was revived in aristocratic circles was the bellows-filled bagpipe, the French Musette. The bag was wrapped in silk or velvet, and decorated with needlework and ribbons, and was played by ladies and gentleman.[109] Three works by Watteau illustrate the musette: Fête champêtre (fig. 155), L'Amour au théâtre francais (fig. 156), and L'Accordée de village (fig. 157), in which the vielle is also used to accompany the dancers. The Parisian Nicolas Chédeville (1705-82) composed many works for the musette and vielle, which are seen on the front of the music Les Défis, ou l'etude amusante (fig. 158) from about 1740.

c. The still-life theme

In the eighteenth century the still-life was classed with portraiture, landscape and genre-painting as belonging to the

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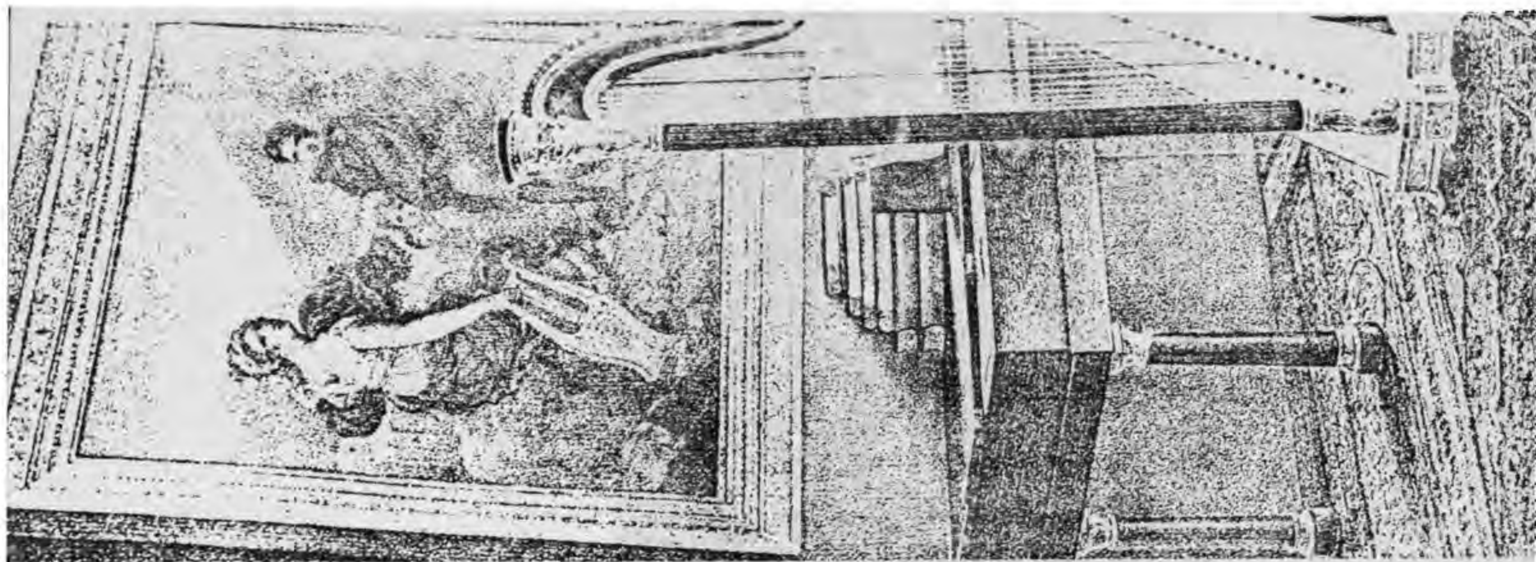

152 Dejuine: detail from Madame Récamier at the Abbaye aux Bois.
M Pincherle, An illustrated history of music, p 147.

153 Augustin de Saint-Aubin: The concert.
K Komma, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, p 173.

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154 J Bellange: Beggars quarreling (note the hurdy-gurdy)
R Clemencic, Old musical instruments, p 110.

155 Antoine Watteau: detail from L'Amour au théâtre francais.
E Winternitz, Musical instruments and their symbolism in Western art, plate 26a.

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156 Antoine Watteau: detail from Fête Champêtre.
E Winternitz, Musical instruments and their symbolism in Western art, plate 26b.

157 Antoine Watteau: detail from L'Accordée de village.
Ibid., plate 26c.

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158 <u>Des Défis, ou l'etude amusante</u>, c.1740.
M Pincherle, <u>An illustrated history of music</u>, p 103.

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lower categories of the Académie,[110] but painters such as de la Tour, Chardin, Watteau, Hubert Robert and Greuze often added dignity and respectability to these 'minor genres'.

Chardin (1699-1779) was admitted to the Académie in 1728 as peinture de fleurs, fruits et sujets à caractères.[111] He built up his reputation as a genre painter in works such as Le Bénédicité, 1740, (fig. 159), but after 1750 he painted only still-lifes[112] with animals, utensils and food. Les attributs de la musique (fig. 160) depicts a violin, flute, theorbo, horn, musette and printed music.

Oudry specialized in genre landscapes depicting hunting scenes and still-lifes of game and fowl.[113] The theme of a low stool bearing musical instruments was popular for a while, here represented by three works of Oudry. Le tabouret de laque, 1742, (fig. 161), shows a richly decorated musette and books; Cello (fig. 138) has already been mentioned, and Still-life with violin (fig. 148) shows a violin, transverse flute, guitar and sheet music. A work by Oudry's pupil Roland de la Porte (fig. 162) shows a musette, books, an Oriental porcelain bowl and screen, and playing cards scattered on the floor, the only objects reminiscent of a Vanitas.

The life-size work by Moulineuf (fig. 139) is one of the few that contains Vanitas objects, such as the astrological globe, shell, butterfly, and bird in a cage, but it is possible they were merely decorative. Finally, the violin was depicted in Les attributs des arts by Pierre Subleyras (1699-1749) (fig. 163), by Nicolas-Henry Jeaurat de Bertry with a horn (fig. 164) in Les attributs des arts, and in Musical instruments (fig. 165) by the same artist.

4 The Cape of Good Hope: pictorial evidence of musical life

It has already been mentioned that the eighteenth century was a time of growing prosperity at the Cape. The population grew, and their material and aesthetic values were reflected in the houses and furnishings that became more pretentious.[114] There were still many economic problems, but mere subsistence was not the overriding concern. For the first time a professional

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159 Jean Baptiste Chardin: Le Bénédicité.

160 Jean Baptiste Chardin: Les attributs de la musique.
M d'Otrange Mastai, Illusion in art, p 233.

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161 Jean-Baptiste Oudry: Le tabouret de laque.
M d' Otrange Mastai, Illusion in art, p 224.

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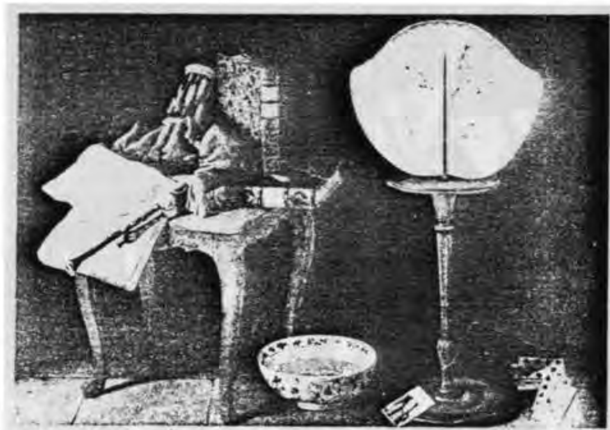
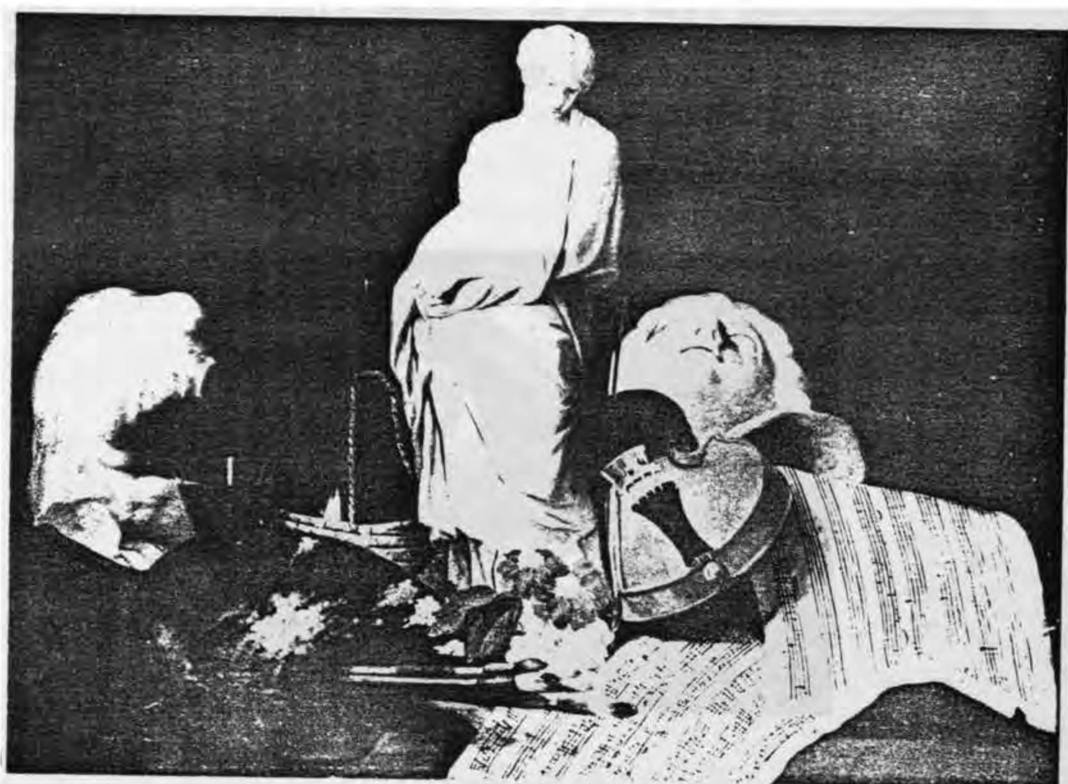


162 Roland de la Porte: A screen decorated with Chinoiserie
M d'Otrange Mastai, Illusion in art, p 225.



163 Pierre Subleyras: Les attributs des arts.
Ibid., p 236.

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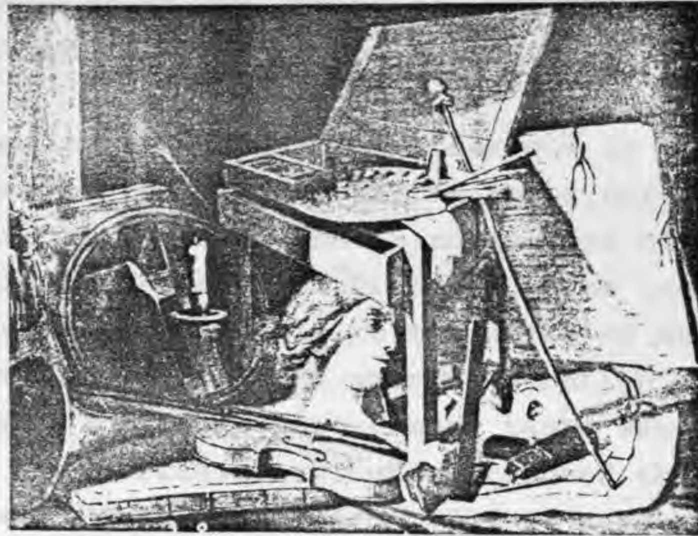
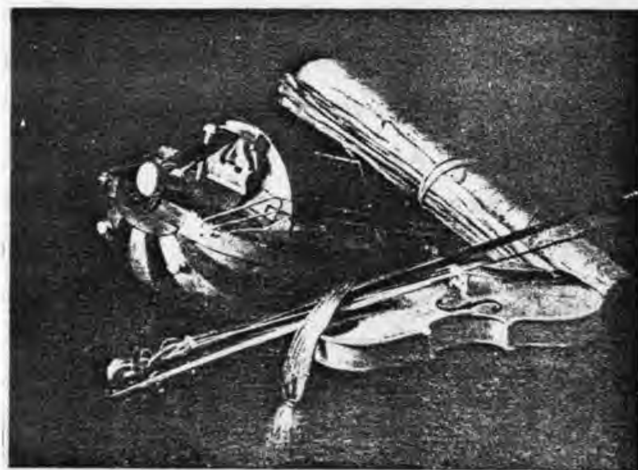


164 Nicolas-Henry Jeaurat de Bertry: Les attributs des arts.
M d'Otrange Mastai, Illusion in art, p 234.



165 Nicolas-Henry Jeaurat de Bertry: Musical instruments.
Loc.cit.

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artist could come to the Cape and earn a living through his craft. But even up to the end of the eighteenth century art was primarily architectural and decorative rather than pictorial.[115]

The Cape community stayed staunchly Baroque in their taste, though elements of the Rococo started to be noticed in furniture and the applied arts around the third quarter of the eighteenth century (the baroque-rococo of Fransen). The transition from baroque to rococo was discernible in the works of Anreith, but this rococo period was of much shorter duration at the Cape than in Europe. The omnipotent French taste was however felt at the advent of neoclassicism, which reached the Cape about 1780,[116] and the French years from 1781-91 were especially prosperous and active culturally (fig. 166). Louis-Michel Thibault was a French architect who came to the Cape in 1783 and was important for consolidating neoclassicism .[118]

Although not abundant, there are a few eighteenth century pictorial sources of the Cape that may be used in musical iconography. These type of pictures are however uaually not detailed, and are therefore useful for establishing the social context of music rather than specific organological details. Once again written records give many details concerning the types of music and instruments used. A few interesting points arise: for example, the lute seems to have been used throughout the century,[119] unlike in Europe. A chalk drawing (fig. 167) by either Anreith or Thibault shows a lutenist being 'inspired' by a muse with a pair of bellows.[120] Furthermore, it is interesting that Anreith brought his knowledge of traditional iconography with him, as two works from the Lutheran Church in Cape Town show. The first, a plaster relief on the balcony of the organ loft (fig. 168), shows King David playing a harp, and the second, a lectern (fig. 169) comprises a lyre as its footpiece. A presentation tableau by Thibault (fig. 170) for governor Van de Graaff depicts a couple of military trumpets or bugles as decoration. Another example of musical instruments in pictorial art is on a New Years' card of 1741 (fig. 171) showing an organ, trumpets, and either a lute or guitar.

It seems that music fulfilled the same varied functions in the

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166 From the original water-colour by Thibault, showing late eighteenth century Cape Town.
Pictorial history of South Africa, p 173.

167 Attributed to Anton Anreith: Chalk drawing of a lutenist.
H Fransen, Drie eeue kuns in Suid Afrika, p 89.

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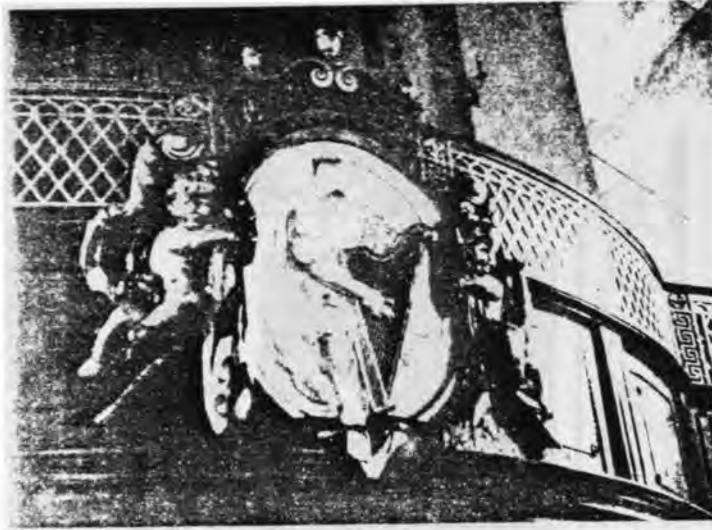
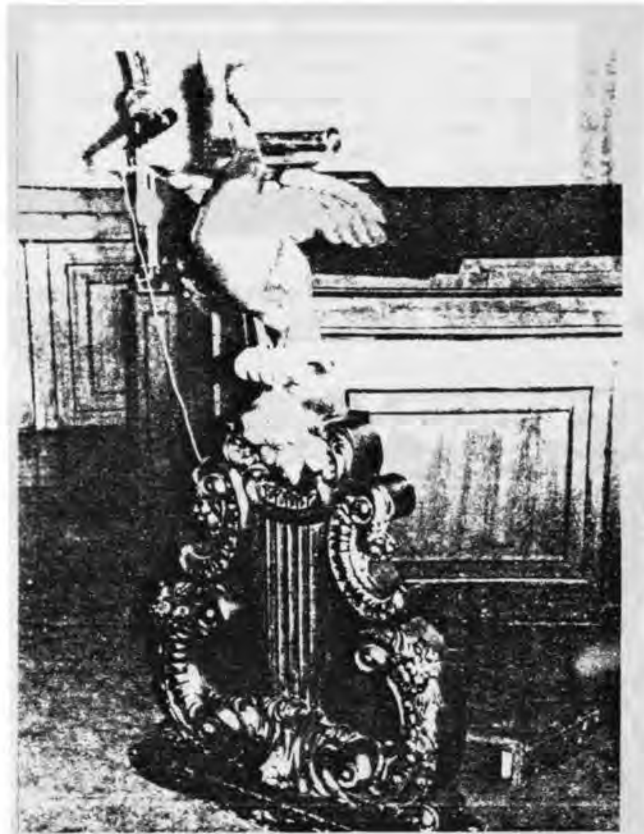


168 Anton Anreith: King David plaster relief, Lutheran Church, Cape Town.
H Fransen, <u>Drie eeue kuns in Suid Afrika</u>, p 57.



169 Anton Anreith: Lectern, Lutheran Church, Cape Town.
<u>Ibid</u>., p 59.

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170 L M Thibault: Presentation tableau.
H Fransen, Drie eeue kuns in Suid Afrika, p 88.

171 New Year's card, 1741, the Cape.
A J Boëseken, Onder Suidersterre, Tussen die Ooste en die Weste 1652-1795, p 73.

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in the eighteenth as in the previous century. Music is shown in its official capacity in the funeral procession of Baron van Rheede, the Governor-Elect, held on April 17, 1773 (fig. 172). Drummers are shown in the third row from the top, and trumpeters in the next row. A funeral procession from the Netherlands shows a similar format, though musicians are not directly visible (fig. 173).

By the eighteenth century most of the permanent orchestras comprised Malay slaves or servants, and were still found in the nineteenth century.[121] These orchestras could be hired to accompany indoor dancing, or were owned by wealthy citizens.[122] One of the few extant pictorial representations of a slave band is seen in an anonymous drawing from about 1821 (fig. 174), showing the visit of Lord Charles Somerset to Bergvliet Farm. The band consisted of fourteen men and one child, all dressed in hussar uniforms. Apart from trumpets, a drum and a flute, we also see a serpent[123] (a member of the cornett family; the <u>serpent militaire</u> was favoured for military bands[124]).

Lady Anne Barnard arrived at the Cape during the first British occupation, and noted that the orchestra that played at the Castle balls consisted of "half a dozen black fiddlers".[125] A copper-engraved dance program (fig. 175) from the late eighteenth century indicates music that was popular, including the minuet, hornpipe and gavotte.[126] A caricature, though dating from around 1828 (fig. 176), shows that dancing had become a very important social grace, dancing-masters being known from earlier times [127] as were music teachers.[128]

As in the previous century, people had to provide their own domestic amusements, which included music making.[129] The piano, lute and harp were favourite instruments.[130] M D Teenstra, a Dutch gentleman-farmer who visited the Cape in 1825, noted that many households boasted a piano or another instrument, and that a knowledge of music and dancing was considered essential for young girls.[131] The popularity of the harp and piano can be ascribed to British influence, these being the almost obligatory female instruments, as opposed to the flute which was played by gentleman.[132] A wash drawing by Sir Charles D'Oyly

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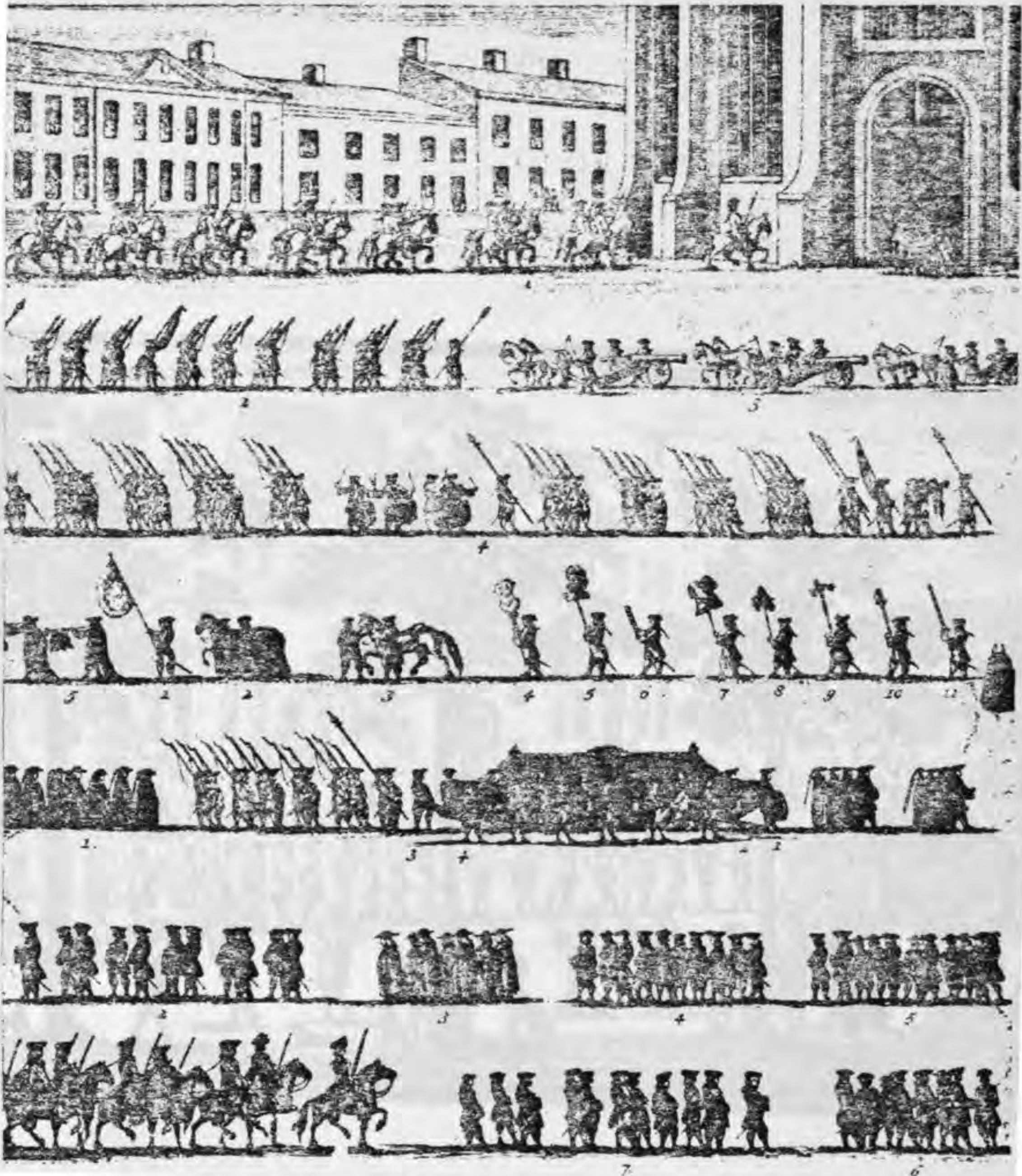

172 Funeral procession of the Governor-Elect, Baron van Rheede, April 17, 1773, Cape Town.
Pictorial history of South Africa, p 142.

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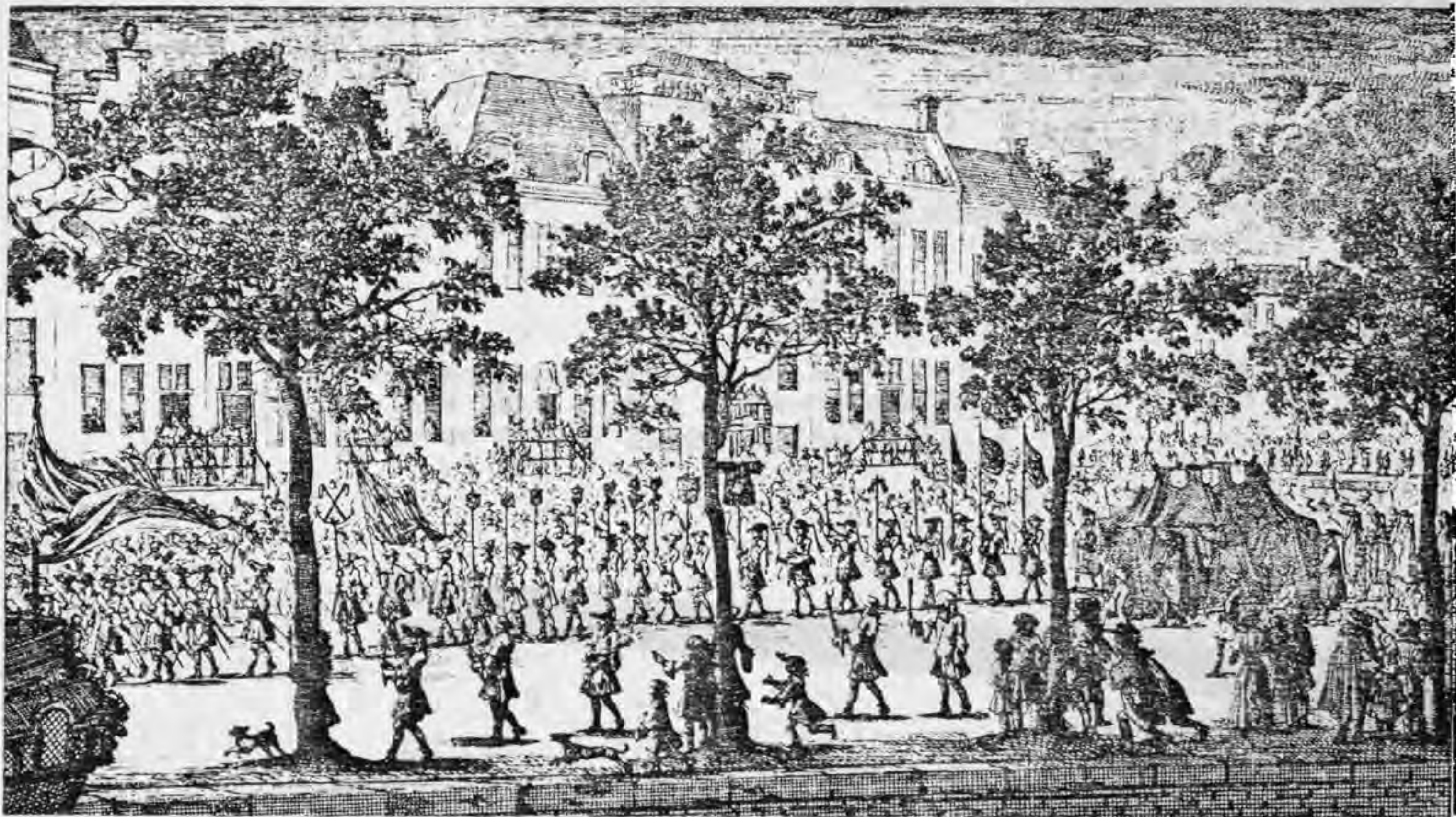

173 Funeral procession in the Netherlands at the end of the seventeenth century.
G Kalff, Huiselÿk leven van Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw, p 70.

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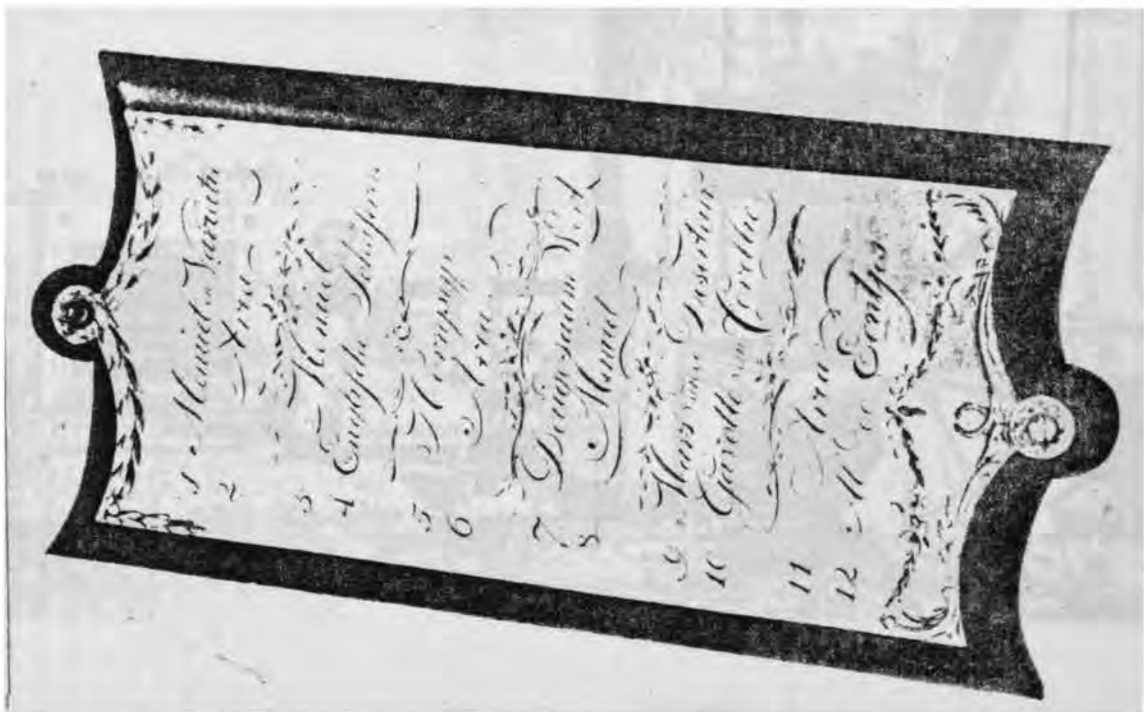
174 Anonymous drawing of Bergvliet Farm, 1821, showing a slave band on the right-hand side.
A Gordon-Brown, Pictorial Africana, p 54.



175 Copper-engraved dance program from the eighteenth century, the Cape.
V de Kock, Our three centuries, p 95.

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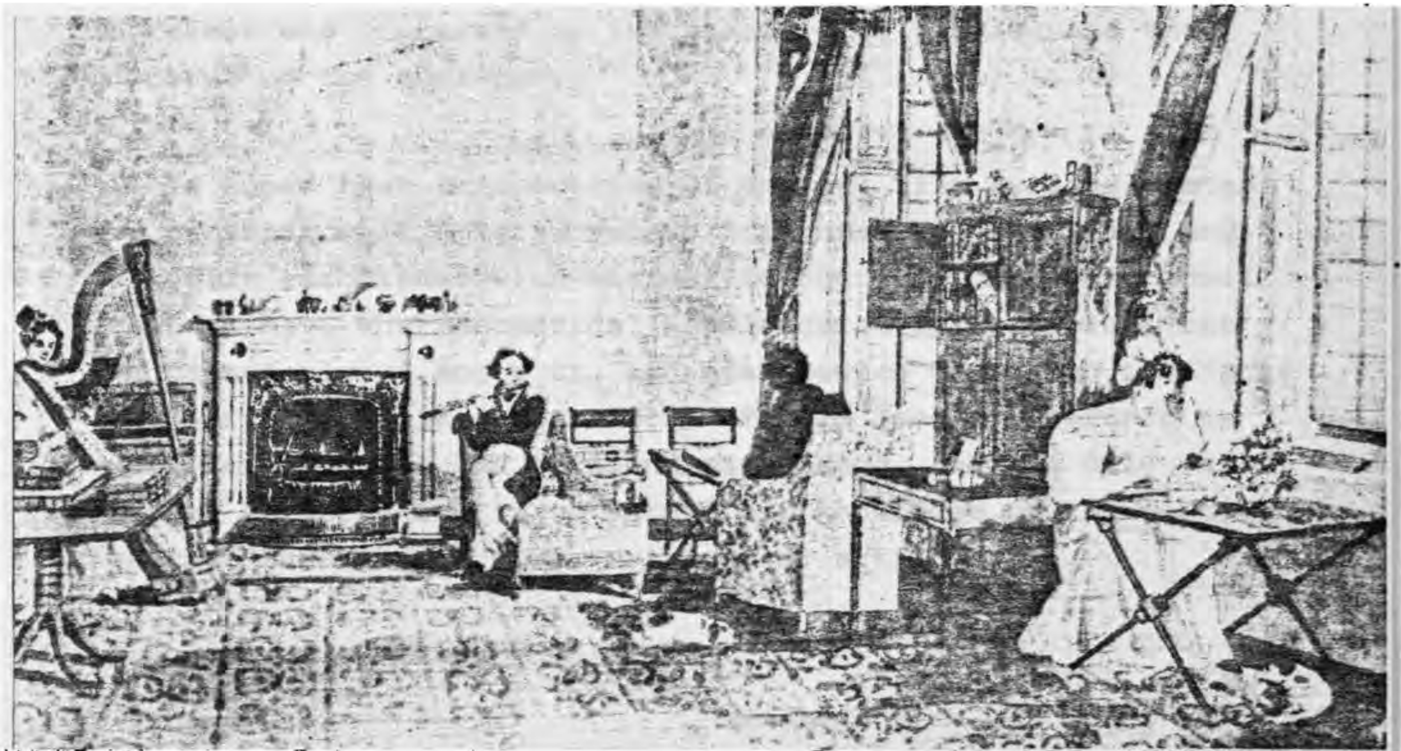
176 Lieut-Colonel Charles C Michell: caricature of a dancing lesson, En Avant Deux.
R F Kennedy, Catalogue of pictures in the Africana Museuem, Johannesburg, vol. 4, p 19.



177 Sir Charles D'Oyly: Interior of a living room, showing home entertainment.
A F Hattersley, An illustrated social history of South Africa, plate 6.

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from about 1832 (fig. 177) depicts the home entertainment of the genteel at the Cape, and here we see a lady at the harp and a gentleman flautist. It is interesting that the harp and piano, which were only revived in Europe during the course of the eighteenth century were popular at the Cape, but vogue instruments such as the hurdy-gurdy do not seem to have appeared at all.

The tempo of musical development was increasing towards the end of the eighteenth century, and in 1794/5 the first subscription concerts were held, which reflects the arrival of an increasing number of music and dancing masters at the Cape.[133] The first theatre was erected in 1799 at the instigation of Governor Sir George Young, and was opened in October 1800 (fig. 178). Though primarily intended for theatrical performances, concerts were occasionally held there, as recorded by William Burchell on the eighth of December, 1810.[134] The program was instrumental (including a violin and a harp concerto), and Burchell was impressed by the standard of playing and the decorum of the audience.

It is hoped that this outline of musical life as illustrated by pictures will have served to indicate the potentials and pitfalls associated with musical iconography. We must admit that we have the theoretical knowledge at our disposal, but we cannot always apply it, and must beware of making the facts fit our preconceived framework. For as long as research is undertaken, facts and opinions may change, and the only valid reason for research is to extend our knowledge of the past, whether through pictures, writings or artifacts.

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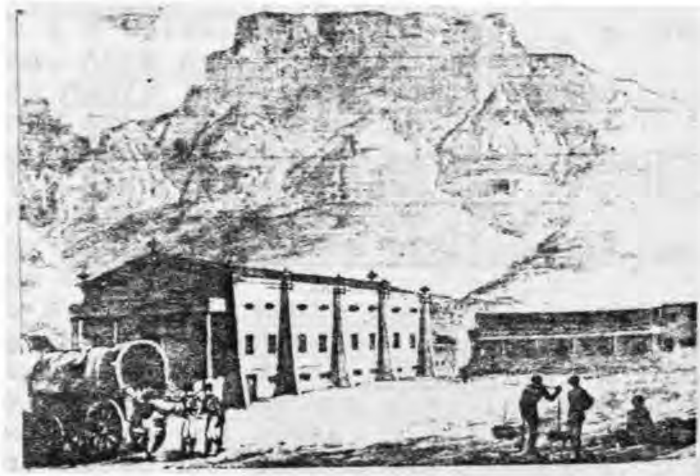

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