VISUALITY AND PICTORIALISM IN FRENCH BAROQUE MUSIC

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Mathieu Marc Leon Langlois
August 2015

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Mathieu Marc Leon Langlois, Ph. D.

Cornell University 2015

Taking character pieces and operatic *symphonies* as its focus, this dissertation proposes that visuality constituted a central mode through which musical readers and listeners experienced music in early eighteenth-century France. It explores Enlightenment fascination with the interaction of the visual and aural, and the bearing this preoccupation had on the question of whether music without words was capable of conveying meaning.

"Depictive" or "pictorial" music in the eighteenth century has traditionally been thought of as having marginal aesthetic status and historical importance. Part I seeks to recuperate a sense of representational music's significance through a close reading of French treatises of the early eighteenth century, especially those of the Abbé Dubos and Charles Batteux. Part II then turns to the musical product itself, situating early eighteenth-century French musical publications within the context of the book and engraved print cultures of the time. These findings are brought to bear on selections from the Baussen reprints of Lully's operatic works, with special

attention to the ways in which the extensive illustrations of these editions relate to the musical content of Lully's operatic *symphonies*.

Based on historical sources, I then extend these ideas into the realm of French character pieces, as another forum in which the musical amateur would regularly have come into contact with depictive music. After exploring the many potential pitfalls of interpreting titled instrumental works, I trace moments of convergence between the character-piece repertory and the development of the rococo frontispiece and title-page. Chapter Four then offers a case-study of the most fruitful of these visual intersections, proposing a spectrum of ways in which the elaborate title-pages to François Dandrieu's *Premier, Second,* and *Troisième livres de pièces de clavecin* relate to their musical contents, while describing a long-term shift in the nature of these relationships from the literal to the metaphorical. Visual culture emerges in these contexts as a critical lens through which the musical consumer made sense of the printed and sonic musical product, particularly in the absence of text or lyrics. The understanding and interpretation of music was thus mediated by multiple levels of visuality, manifest within the composition itself and its physical packaging as a printed product.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in Edmonton, Alberta in 1980, Mat Langlois received his Bachelor of Music in flute performance from the University of Western Ontario in 2002. He went on to complete a Master of Arts in Musicology at the same institution in 2004, under the guidance of Richard Semmens and Sandra Mangsen. In 2008, Langlois earned a Bachelor of Early Music from the Koninklijk Conservatorium Den Haag, after studying baroque and renaissance flutes with Wilbert Hazelzet and Kate Clark. Langlois began doctoral studies at Cornell in 2008, where he worked with Annette Richards, Neal Zaslaw, and Judith Peraino. His research interests include historical performance practices, intersections between music and the visual arts, and the history of indie rock.

For my parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my advisors, each of whom provided invaluable support during my time at Cornell. I owe a great debt of gratitude to the Chair of my Special Committee, Annette Richards, for her critical insights, for encouraging me to connect ideas in creative and adventurous ways, and for guiding me through the many years of this degree. My deep thanks go to Neal Zaslaw, for his support and mentorship in directing the Early Music Ensemble, and to Judith Peraino, for always pushing my own critical faculties. I am extremely grateful to Richard Leppert for the time and energy he has dedicated to my development as a scholar, and for producing the kind of work that initially inspired me to undertake an investigation of this nature. I must also thank Rebecca Harris-Warrick for reading and listening to my work, and for guiding me through the long and complex process of mounting a musical production. And my sincere thanks go to Rick Semmens, for setting me on this path in the first place, and to Sandra Mangsen, for ensuring that I completed it.

I have been fortunate to have had many wonderful peers during this time, among them Ellen Lockhart and Katherine Walker, who offered sure-footed guidance through my early years as a graduate student. My thanks

also go to those who read this material and offered their insights throughout the sometimes arduous writing process, including Evan Cortens, Amanda Lalonde, Adem Birson, and Mike Lee. And special thanks goes to Monica Eason Roundy, who could always be counted on to lend a sympathetic ear and her well-grounded judgment through the most challenging parts of this degree.

Thank you to Pat for her kindness and humanity, and to the community of people on South Hill who turned Ithaca into a home. I am also deeply grateful to my parents and Erin, for their encouragement, generosity, and unending patience.

Finally, thank you to Eva, for teaching me about happiness, and for giving me the strength to complete this project.

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INTRODUCTION

MUSICAL "DEPICTIONS" FRAMED

> The player should perhaps be warned against attaching too much importance to the literal meaning of the various titles. Many a piece by Couperin or any other French composer, were it called simply "Toccata" or "Sonata," for example, might seem to pose fewer problems of interpretation. The music grows immeasurably in stature and significance if it is approached in the first place as absolute music, in essence no different from that of Bach or Handel, although the formal scale—independent of musical content—may be smaller. The practice of ascribing picturesque titles to instrumental pieces must of course be considered in the whole social context of the French baroque style, but it is surely a useless diversion of the performer's energy for him to worry about the identity of this or that obscure personage in the composer's entourage. As in all music, the picturesque or programmatic elements should never be allowed to take precedence over the pure musical values inherent in these works.
>
> —Kenneth Gilbert, introduction to François Couperin's *Pièces de clavecin, Premier livre*[1]

The following study is an exploration of ways in which select types of French baroque music—namely, opera and character pieces—were understood in visual terms in their day. I address a range of kinds of visuality associated with music, the most famous and controversial of which, as the quotation above implies, are "extra-musical"—elements sometimes described as "programmatic," "picturesque," or "pictorial" in nature. But this

1. Kenneth Gilbert, introduction to *Pièces de clavecin, Premier livre* by François Couperin, ed. Kenneth Gilbert (Paris: Heugel, c. 1969-1972), xix.

investigation is not confined simply to baroque "portrait" pieces, titled works, or the widespread practice of tone-painting. In fact, I would reposition the latter as only *one* aspect of a larger complex of ways in which musical sound may be related to visual topics: other significant categories include linguistic metaphors and physical images "packaged" with the musical product. All three, I argue, are symptomatic of a larger mode of thinking about musical sound through the lens of the eye.

As twenty-first century musicologists, we are, however, the inheritors of deeply-engrained modes of discussing the relation between music and visual culture, one of which is a marked tendency to treat allusions to the visual—whether "seen" or "imagined—in eighteenth-century music as of marginal importance. Depictive orchestral movements from French baroque opera, character-pieces, and so-called "characteristic symphonies" (to cite but a few contemporary genres) have generally attracted less attention from scholars than other genres, and, in many cases, would simply not be considered "canonic" musical repertoire. Unless a gesture points toward the recognizably sublime, such as the famous C major chord at the appearance of light in Haydn's *Creation* (*Die Schöpfung*, 1798), music that stoops to pictorialisms tends to be treated as an aesthetically inferior mode of musical expression. (Indeed, as I show in Chapter 1, some argue that the term

"expression" is not applicable at all to this type of music.) Even music by the so-called "masters" that might be interpreted as representing visible things, actions, or phenomena is not above this kind of suspicion. James Webster, for example, has shown how radically opinions of Haydn's *The Seasons* (*Die Jahreszeiten*) changed after a largely successful premier in 1801. In the nineteenth century, the work was perceived as marred by the "lowness" of its topic, and, most of all, by "indefensible" pictorialisms.[2] And even *The Creation* faced what might be termed an "ambivalent" reception in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries on account of its tone-painting.[3] Berlioz, himself a champion of what we today call "programme music," wrote that *The Creation*'s pictorialisms made him "want to murder somebody."[4]

Such attitudes of ambivalence—at times, outright antipathy—toward musical pictorialisms are not ahistorical, even within the context of the eighteenth century. Haydn himself famously referred to the librettist Gottfried van Swieten's croaking frogs in *The Seasons* as "Frenchified trash."[5] Various theorists over the course of the century decried such "painting"

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2. James Webster, "The Sublime and the Pastoral in *The Creation* and *The Seasons*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 152.
3. Ibid.
4. Hector Berlioz, letter of 8 February 1859, trans. Nicholas Temperley in *Haydn: The Creation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 43.
5. Joseph Haydn, letter of 11 December 1801, trans. H. C. Robbins Landon in *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 5:89. Also quoted in Webster, "The Sublime and Pastoral," 152.

within the fabric of a musical composition: some of the most famous examples include Charles Avison (in his *Essay on Musical Expression* of 1753) and Johann Georg Sulzer (in the *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* of 1771-1773).[6] And many other eighteenth-century theorists—including those writing about French music (with which, as the Haydn quotation above implies, tone-painting was often associated)—attempted to place strict limitations on the use of pictorialisms in music.[7]

So it is not without cause that we sometimes have a tendency to treat "visual" music from this era as of dubious value; such attitudes have carried over into even the best of modern discussions of eighteenth-century music. Bellamy Hosler, whose *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany* remains one of the most useful explorations of musical aesthetics, is quick to dismiss the notion that tone-painting played any substantial role in conveying musical meaning during this time. Indeed, she treats such pictorialism almost as a non-issue: since the prevailing view of the day held that music should imitate the "inarticulate utterances of human passion," the practice of imitating visual or physical phenomena in music must therefore have been of little aesthetic import.[8] In her words, "the

6. See my brief summary of these treatise authors in Chapter 1, pp. 83-84.
7. Many of these writers will be featured in the exploration provided in Chapter 1.
8 Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), xiv.

vanquishing of *Tonmalerei* as an important musical function was one of the more insignificant skirmishes of eighteenth-century music criticism."[9] Yet, this kind of reasoning fails to account entirely for the popular success of certain types of music, such as character-pieces and operatic storm scenes, in the eighteenth century. And it overlooks the fact that imitation of things *other* than the passions repeatedly attracted commentary (for better or worse) in eighteenth-century aesthetic writings.

There is, at times, a vaguely perceptible undercurrent of shame in many writings that deal with pictorial music—a subtle fear, perhaps, that music that attempts to connect the aural and visual realms, or offers other kinds of sonic depiction, might just be simplistic and puerile. This underlying embarrassment about musical depiction as a "base" compositional tactic, at best shallow in meaning, is most apparent in twentieth-century writings that predate post-modern approaches to musicological scholarship. The language of Kenneth Gilbert, in the quotation supplied above, is telling. Although his task is to introduce Couperin's *pièces de clavecin*—works famous in their own day for their depictions of characters, persons, and objects—he nevertheless feels compelled to compare them to the so-called "absolute" works of the German tradition (particularly Bach and Handel), as though defensive of

9. Ibid., xv.

their musical value.[10] And although he gestures toward the significance of the social context surrounding these works, Gilbert dismisses any pursuit of their "picturesque or programmatic elements" almost out of hand.[11] The implicit suggestion here is that reliance on the extra-musical to bring meaning to a work, whether by composer, performer, or both, amounts to an inferior strategy.

Of course, tone-painting as a compositional practice and pictorialism in general extend well beyond the eighteenth century, and, in more recent scholarship, are less likely to be so bluntly dismissed. Yet even when discussing the music of other eras we have a general tendency to resort to slightly pejorative terms when discussing pictorial music. Walter Frisch's recent study of German naturalism at the turn of the twentieth century, for example, acknowledges precisely this problem. Pointing to Adorno's snide comment that the tone-painting of Schreker's *Die ferne Klang* lies "somewhere between an oleograph and *Jugendstil*," Frisch neatly articulates the underlying fear: such a compositional strategy might simply be too "garishly explicit," too "anodyne."[12] But Frisch then takes on the tenor of this language, describing Strauss as having occasionally "indulged" in tone-painting in

10. Gilbert, "Introduction," xix. This statement, of course, conveniently overlooks the many famous examples of tone-painting to be found in Handel's operas and oratorios.
11. Ibid.
12. Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 82.

Elektra and *Salome*, a "simple" practice the composer otherwise manages to "transcend" through his music's "naturalistic psychological component."[13] The word "transcend" is particularly revealing here: in our tendency to avoid applying the language of genius to tone-painting, we still subtly question whether the practice really "counts" as a form of expression.

However, eighteenth-century examples of depictive music remain, on the whole, much more problematic for us than Romantic works. Such works fared especially badly under changes that accompanied the birth of Romanticism, both in the nature of musical valuation and thinking on what constitutes "expression." This phenomenon is at least partly explained through Lydia Goehr's articulation of the "work concept." Goehr observes that between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, music was less likely to be understood as a form of imitation (of nature), and more likely to be valued according to its own logic—as having "its own musical and aesthetic end."[14] As understanding came to depend less on "extra-musical" concerns and more on "musical" concerns, "music as an art took on an autonomous… and 'civilized' meaning."[15] In very broad strokes, Romanticism substituted for "the imitation of particulars" a more

13. Ibid., 83 and 85.
14. Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, revised ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 171.
15. Ibid., 122.

"immediate expression and embodiment of the transcendent."[16] Under this ideology, instrumental music could be understood as a direct expression of the ineffable: it was now valued precisely *for* its indeterminacy rather than seen as marginal for its supposed lack of signification. This had a particularly important result: imitations that had formerly been seen as giving music meaning were now more than ever seen as anchors too heavily lodged in the mundane.

As the Gilbert quotation above demonstrates, then, one of the problems of studying "depictive" music of the eighteenth century is the perception that this music lives up to neither the autonomous truth-value of absolute music, nor the inspired genius of fully-fledged Romantic tone-poems. The former is a product of the thinking of nineteenth-century philosophers and critics who valued a kind of musical "purity," in which music was "not subordinated to words (as in song), to drama (as in opera), [or] to some representational meaning (as in programme music)."[17] This system of valuation is that which positioned the nineteenth-century symphony—or, at least, those examples featuring no obvious "external"

16. Ibid., 155.
17. Roger Scruton, "Absolute music," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 25, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00069).

reference—as the pinnacle of musical achievement.[18] Veneration of the symphony as a genre and absolute music in general is preponderant in much nineteenth- and twentieth-century musicological literature. By such criteria, character-pieces and many of the instrumental *symphonies* of French baroque opera would fail the test of canonicity.

It is less straightforward, on the other hand, to see why such eighteenth-century works might fail to fit the definition of programme music, and are thus not traditionally treated as on-par with the iconic works of Berlioz and Liszt. Roger Scruton's excellent article in the *New Grove Dictionary* acknowledges precisely this tension: programme music might generally be seen as music of "a narrative or descriptive kind," but "the term is often extended to all music that attempts to represent extra-musical concepts without resort to sung words."[19] According to Scruton, Liszt, who first introduced the term "programme music," did not think of such music as merely descriptive, but as capable of putting "the listener in the same frame of mind as could the objects themselves."[20] And crucially, many nineteenth-century examples of programme music, such as tone poems,

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18. As Scruton makes clear, there are of course many exceptions to the principle of "absolute" music among nineteenth-century symphonies, the most famous of which is probably Beethoven's "Pastoral Symphony," to which the composer appended the now-famous phrase "more the expression of feeling than painting" ("mehr Ausdruck der Empfindung als Malerey"). Ibid.
19. Roger Scruton, "Programme music," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 25, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22394).
20. Ibid.

offer a sense of narrative, of *change* over time "according to the logic of its subject."[21] Furthermore, Berlioz is often cited as bringing another unique innovation to programme music through works such as the *Symphonie fantastique* (1830) and *Harald en Italie* (1834): that of distinguishing between subject and object—or a protagonist versus his external circumstances as they are described in music. It is on the basis of this kind of conceptual complexity that Scruton can conclude that Liszt "certainly… had more than mere imitation in mind when he introduced the concept of programme music."[22] For this reason, the extension of the word "programme," along with its nineteenth-century sense of prestige, to the character pieces of the French *clavecinistes* remains controversial.

The legacy of Romantic thinking remains influential in musical discourse today insofar as there is still a subtle (and occasionally unsubtle) tendency to read tone-painting as mere sonic novelty—a pictorial crutch for music lacking in meaning in-and-of itself. And I have deliberately begun my discussion of visuality "writ large" with what Gilbert terms "picturesque" music because it represents a contentious intersection of the aural and visual

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21. Ibid. If this is taken as a defining criterion of "programme music," then indeed, many eighteenth-century character-pieces depicting "simple" subjects like a single passion or physical object would be excluded—as would, Scruton notes, some *bataille* works, such as those of Janequin. A work such as Michel Corrette's *Divertissemens pour le clavecin; Contenant Les echos de Boston et La Victoire d'un combat naval* (1781), however, defies such a definition, since it includes a very explicit program with temporal and narrative progression. See my discussion of this work in Chapter 4, pp. 361-366.
22. Ibid.

spheres. However, I want to emphasize that, for the purposes of the present study, I construe tone-painting as just one facet of a larger sonic-visual complex. As part of a broad practice of reading the two senses of sight and hearing in tandem with one another, tone-painting can be seen as a valuable mediator of musical consumption and comprehension. And in that sense, it is just one tool in an array of ways that the visual shapes our conception of sound.

The ubiquity with which music is packaged with pictorial elements in the modern day—whether album covers, music videos, children's song books, or a vast range of other products—means that we are prone to desensitization to such images. In many cases, we simply *expect* a musical product to offer some form of visual gesture. An under-valuation of pictorialism is thus sometimes manifest in our treatment of music in its material forms, both old and new. This treatment (or lack thereof) certainly pertains to the imagery with which eighteenth-century musical products were sometimes packaged. There is a general neglect amongst the scholarly community of engraved frontispiece and title-page artwork in historical music editions. We frequently overlook engraved images associated with music since it is all too easy to assume that such images are stock (or *passe-partouts*), and therefore have no meaningful relation to the music. They are

thus construed at best as beautiful in their own right, but ultimately of little musicological significance. But from the eighteenth-century perspective, a musical product that offered illustrations was far less common than it is in the modern day—and far more likely to noted as significant by its audience.

This is not to assert that reading the significances of pictorial elements in eighteenth-century products is without challenges. This kind of exploration forces us to deal with special questions of authorship, since numerous parties could be involved in the production of any given frontispiece, including (potentially) an image designer, an image engraver, a copper plate printer, the publisher and seller, and of course, the composer him/herself. Thus, discussing some eighteenth-century volumes in terms of "authorial intention" is (at best) a fraught endeavor. But the perspective from which I approach them here is an audience-centric one, loosely based on Roland Barthes's notion that the one place in which the multiplicity of meanings of any text are all located is in the reader.[23] This positions these volumes as constructions of social and cultural cues whose meanings ultimately rest with the one who reads them; meaning is "not merely the totality of utterances emitted" by the image, but "the totality of utterances

23. Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 148.

received."[24] If, as Barthes argues, we can think of the "rhetoric of the image" (or the means by which an image conveys meaning) as constituted by both "non-coded" (denoted) and "coded" (connotative) messages,[25] is it possible to detect a sampling of what the latter may have been for contemporaries?

In the simplest terms, then, this dissertation attempts to imagine the range of meanings a contemporary listener, player, or reader might perceive when contemplating the visual and aural aspects of French baroque opera selections and character pieces; it represents an investigation into how people may have *thought* about music. I attempt to show that depiction, in both material and sonic forms, was not by default vilified nor limited to the shallow—indeed, in some contexts, it enjoyed aesthetic and intellectual justification. Thus, in some contexts, both tone-painting and the engraved imagery offered in musical products were of importance, at times in conjunction with one another, and at times independently. (Although this study does not presume that the subject of a tone-painting gesture, and images made adjunct to sound through physical packaging, are *necessarily* related to one another in any given piece, it will highlight some of the most spectacular instances in which they intersect.) The amateur's understanding

24. Roland Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 47.
25. Ibid., 36.

and interpretation of music could be mediated by multiple levels of visuality, manifest "within" the composition itself, its physical packaging as a printed product, and/or the discourse surrounding it. These forms of visuality were capable of inflecting the musical product's aesthetic register, aligning it with contemporary fashion and social mores, and reflecting important intellectual preoccupations of the day. Visuality thus constituted a central mode by which musical readers and listeners received select types of eighteenth-century music, notwithstanding criticism from certain intellectual quarters both past and present. Indeed, as becomes apparent in Chapters 1 and 2, that criticism itself is worthy of attention. If one of the tasks of musicology is to help us understand how music may have been received and understood in its own time, we deny ourselves the possibility of full understanding by assuming that imagistic leanings in sonic and material form amount to little more than surface ornamentation, empty glittering for the eye (and/or ear). By marginalizing or oversimplifying the visual element associated with these repertories, we risk closing ourselves off to one of the primary modes through which this music was understood by people in its day.

The material that follows is divided into two parts. Part I, which contains Chapters 1 and 2, seeks to recuperate a sense of representational music's aesthetic acceptability through a close reading of French critical

writings from the early eighteenth century, especially those of the Abbé Dubos and Charles Batteux. Together, these writings form the theoretical backdrop against which my subsequent readings of eighteenth-century operatic prints and character pieces may occur. The larger objective of Part I is to offer a tracing of various theories of music and the visual, with particular attention to both the contested ground of tone-painting and the pressing question of whether music without words was capable of conveying meaning. It thus summarizes a variety of viewpoints on how the twin issues of musical depiction and the intelligibility of instrumental music relate to one another. This tracing makes clear that the widely-accepted notion of music as a form of *mimesis* remained very fluid in the early eighteenth century, particularly with respect to the question of exactly how music could imitate the passions or concrete objects and actions.

Part II, which contains Chapters 3, 4, and 5, turns to the musical product itself, situating early eighteenth-century French musical publications within the context of the book and engraved print cultures of the time, and exploring the visual value of musical publications for the contemporary consumer. In Chapter 3, this is brought to bear on selections from the Baussen reprints of Lully's operatic works, with special attention to the ways in which the extensive illustrations of these editions relate to the musical

content of Lully's operatic *symphonies*. With short scenes selected from Baussen's prints of Lully's *Alceste* (1708), *Phaëton* (1709), and *Persée* (1710), I attempt to show that the "visualness" of such lavish illustrations, associated with moments of imitative music in the opera, offered an important avenue through which the meanings of instrumental music could be constituted for the listener and viewer. The visuality of the dramatic scene and its accompanying music were thus mutually reinforcing. This series of reprints of Lully's works attempts to monumentalize him by transferring the operatic scene to the page in great detail, thereby allying it with music-as-notation, just as spectacular stage settings would have been allied to music-as-sound in the minds of audiences familiar with Lully's music.

Chapter 4 extends these ideas into the realm of French character pieces, as another forum in which the musical amateur would regularly have come into contact with depictive music. It thus acts as a theoretical bridge between the operatic case studies of Chapter 3 and the keyboard case studies of Chapter 5. I argue that the commentaries of Dubos and Batteux on French opera have relevance for the keyboard repertory insofar as character pieces often deploy imitative effects for much the same purpose as operatic symphonies: that is, in order to supply a critical "sense," or means of intelligibility, to music without the benefit of accompanying lyrics. I briefly

explore the manifold problems of attempting to define exactly what a "character piece" is (since not all are necessarily "visual" in nature), and then discuss the potential meanings of the term "caractère," arguing that, even in cases in which a title seems to express a passion instead of a concrete object or action, audiences would have been familiar with thinking of "character states" in explicitly visual terms. Chapter 4 closes by tracing moments of important convergence between the character-piece repertory and the development of the rococo frontispiece and title-page, ranging from the *Pièces de Clavessin* of Chambonnières (1670) to those of Pierre-Jean Lambert (1749).

Finally, Chapter 5 offers a case-study of perhaps the most fruitful of these visual intersections, proposing a spectrum of ways in which the elaborate title-pages to Jean-François Dandrieu's *Premier, Second,* and *Troisième livres de pièces de clavecin* (1724, 1728, and 1734) relate to their musical contents. This is prefaced by an overview of Dandrieu's previous engagements with engraving and publishing, in which I show that the visual nature of his products was indeed one of the features appreciated by the music-purchasing public. The chapter also includes a broader consideration of the potential modes of use of the musical title-page, in which I tie Dandrieu's use of ornate imagery to the aesthetic offered by contemporary operatic

volumes (such as those produced by Baussen). Dandrieu's three volumes thus present an opportunity to explore the potential layers of meaning offered to the eighteenth-century user through visual and sonic collaboration. I show that over the course of the three volumes there is a gradual shift in the nature of these visual-sonic relationships from the literal to the metaphorical, reflecting multiple levels of dialogue between visual and musical elements. As a set, then, these volumes provide an important window into the changing strategies of a composer offering character-pieces to a public of social and financial means in the 1720s and 1730s.

Treatments of Visuality in Eighteenth-Century Music

This dissertation draws upon multiple scholarly literatures, ranging from those covering eighteenth-century musical-visual intersections in the broadest possible sense, to important sub-literatures dealing with *mimesis* in instrumental music, publishing practices, and character pieces as a genre. In the following section I survey the most relevant of these; I do not, however, offer an extensive listing of sources on music iconography, or the study of symbolic meanings in depictions of music. This is not because iconography is irrelevant in the following chapters, but because I draw upon this topic only in select circumstances in order to explain details of a frontispiece or

engraved image. In such cases, I turn as much as possible to iconographic handbooks (or "emblem books") from the relevant time period, such as Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (which was first published in 1593, but underwent numerous expansions and many translations over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) or Gravelot and Cochin's *Iconologie par Figures* (1789).[26] The primary purpose of my investigation is to uncover the larger role played by the eye (or, at times, the "mind's eye") in the understanding of music as a cultural phenomenon in eighteenth-century France. Hence, in what follows, I discuss secondary sources that attempt to come to terms with the large-scale cultural resonances of music's "visual-ness," rather than those that offer strictly iconographic readings of individual works or draw upon historical illustrations for performance practice and/or organological purposes.

Broad connections between the worlds of the musical and visual have, since the 1980s, enjoyed increasing attention in monographs. Relatively few of these studies, however, deal with music of the eighteenth century—and even fewer deal with pre-1750 repertoire. Within this small body of literature, the works of Richard Leppert are seminal. In his first book, *Music*

26. The editions I use are as follows: *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-1760 Hertel Edition of Ripa's "Iconologia" with 200 Engraved Illustrations*, ed. Edward Maser (New York: Dover, 1971); and *Personifications & Symbols: An index to H.F. Gravelot and C.N. Cochin's "Iconologie par Figures"*, ed. Ester Lels (Leiden: MarePress, 2011).

and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England, from 1988, Leppert investigated illustrations of music and musical activities, offering readings of their gender- and power-related dynamics.[27] His work amounts to a valorization of the importance of connotative associations in our interpretation of a given historical context. *Music and Image* benefits from an especially lucid introduction that lays out the specifics of the unique way in which Leppert will be treating music within the confines of the monograph. Strongly informed by the notion of "social history," Leppert's primary interest is not in the specifics of musical practice, but in the "*idea* of music in the lives of the English upper classes in the eighteenth century."[28] Put slightly differently (but again, drawing upon his words), Leppert aims to present a "history of an ideology of music."[29] This notion heavily inspires my own thinking on music and visuality in the eighteenth century, insofar as my specific interest in this study lies in presenting a spectrum of plausible ways contemporaries may have *thought* about music in their lives. But while Leppert's target is the musical milieu of eighteenth-century England, my intention is to present a selection of its counterpart in France.

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27. Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
28. Ibid., 1. In fact, Leppert begins with the admission that the book grew out of his specific desire to write a "social history."
29. Ibid., 2.

Leppert's basic contention is that the illustration of music was (and is) never without agenda: the ways in which music was "*made to look*" both reflected and shaped the desires and anxieties of its social context.[30] Thus, his research into images of music-making brings up a host of issues concerning domestic space, familial power, gender identity, and educational agendas. Leppert discusses perceptions and stereotypes of contemporary male amateurs (especially as represented by satirical drawings), and the double-edged role of music in the lives of women as both a mark of femininity and a source of male hegemonic insecurity. He likewise covers the role of music and dance masters as social necessity but ever-present threat to masculinity, and the conventional association of particular instruments with particular gender identities (most notably, the keyboard with femininity, and to a lesser extent, the violin with masculinity). In portraits and caricatures alike, musical associations are exposed as important mediators of masculine and feminine identities.

There are, however, some important distinctions between Leppert's work and my own. The former revolves around interpretive readings of an extraordinarily large corpus of illustrations; my investigation, though concerned with many individual images, is essentially organized by musical

30. Ibid., 4.

genre (or, more precisely, the type of musical print associated with particular musical genres). And while I am, by necessity, concerned with establishing the market for operatic performances and musical prints, Leppert is much more concerned with the interactions within and between broad social strata, and thus offers a more detailed discussion of social levels within English society than I shall attempt of French society in what follows.

Leppert's follow-up book from 1993, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*, broadened the scope of his investigations, focusing (as the title suggests) on the corporeal and the senses.[31] Here Leppert was again interested in music's representation in art, treating it as a means to probe the relationship between "sonority" and the "sight of [music's] productions"[32] His framework, however, is slightly more complex than in his previous book, as he is not merely interested in establishing that music represented to the eyes offers additional layers of meaning to its existence as sound, but in demonstrating that "music's aural and visual presence constitute[s] both a relation to and representation of the body."[33] *The Sight of Sound* attempts to cover a much larger span of time and places than its predecessor. The subject of Leppert's chapters range from the

31. Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
32. Ibid., xxi.
33. Ibid., xx.

Renaissance courts of France, Germany, and the Netherlands, to Britain's imperialist presence in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte* and the ubiquity of the family piano in the nineteenth century. The book focuses on how depictions of musical scenarios within these cultures shape gendered identities and the flow of power between masculinity and femininity. Music *as a whole*—that is, as a socially-embedded concept—is once again treated as a metaphor for other concerns (and one that is often fraught with anxieties). While my concern in this dissertation will be not one of music as "embodied practice" (Leppert's phrase for his treatment of music),[34] *The Sight of Sound* nevertheless offers an important model for exploring music's larger *meanings* beyond the score, and on sensory levels (especially the visual and tactile) beyond the aural. And above all, it represents a landmark in the discipline of musicology for its valorization of the task of "reading" historical texts—that is, the job of interpreting their plausible cultural associations.

Several books of the early 2000s also offer important discussions of large-scale relationships between music and the visual arts. Annette Richards's *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* is interdisciplinary in its approach, drawing upon sources related to eighteenth-century music,

34. Ibid.

engraving and painting, garden culture, and literature.[35] Richards explores the relevance of a frequently-invoked eighteenth-century term that we now associate only with the visual—the picturesque—demonstrating that this "visual mode" constituted an important way that contemporaries appreciated certain types of art in the eighteenth century. As an aesthetic mode, that which is deemed "picturesque" is a balance between the beautiful and the sublime, predicated on irregularity, surprise, and the active engagement of the contemplator.[36] She argues that the fantasia, embodied above all in the works of C. P. E. Bach, may be understood partly through this mode, noting that contemporary German critique of Bach's fantasias framed them in terms of English landscape gardens, which fetishized the picturesque. She moreover traces the German fantasia's contested status as a vehicle of meaning for musical listeners, locating its musical acceptability in the stimulus provided to the imagination through elements of the picturesque. To some extent, this may be seen as rescuing Bach's fantasias from the dismissal that they too-often meet because of their resistance to traditional modes of formal analysis. And one of the features of her visually-inflected musicological study that particularly influences my own is its attempt to engage with actual scores. In general, however, her work focuses on a much

35. Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
36. Ibid., 14.

later repertoire than that with which I am concerned; she also explores the famed "affinity" between Haydn and C. P. E. Bach (often linked by contemporaries for their perceived capriciousness), and Beethoven's "excursions" into the fantastic within instrumental genres other than the "fantasia" itself.

In *Painting the Cannon's Roar*, Thomas Tolley offers yet another take on a study concerned with music and visuality in the eighteenth century, attempting to describe intersections of aural and visual interests in the "public sphere."[37] His contention is that late eighteenth-century responses to listening to music and viewing art suggest both art forms were subject to similar aesthetic concerns.[38] Tolley is very conscious of how little attention this kind of topic has received—indeed, he refers to his thesis as "seemingly implausible" given what he sees as a general scholarly reluctance to "transgress boundaries" between traditional disciplines.[39] For my purposes, one of the most significant tenets of his argument is that meaning is not to be found only in histories of art or music, but in histories of *perception*; scholarly emphasis is thereby placed on historical understandings of the arts, and is not confined to constructing chronologies or simple cause-and-effect

37. Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c.1750 to c.1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).
38. Ibid., ix.
39. Ibid.

paradigms. In addition, I draw to some extent on his definition of pictorialism, in that I use it to imply "the whole range of visual culture, not just 'art,' and how this range was used and perceived in its historical context."[40]

Like most of the other studies described here, Tolley's is concerned with the later eighteenth century; his discussion, though broad, centers primarily on Haydn as the most popular cultural figure of the day. In fact, he argues that Haydn attempted to "ensur[e] that he was in tune with many aspects of popular visual culture as a means of assessing what engaged broad audiences and in order to further his own reputation."[41] To some extent, as I show in Chapter 5, the same argument might pertain Dandrieu, in that he too seems to have been keenly aware of trends in the visual arts and their relationship to his ability to produce "marketable" music. But while Dandrieu can be said to have catered to the Parisian market, Tolley argues that Haydn's global reputation encouraged him to "communicate with a universal audience."[42] Like Handel and C. P. E. Bach before him, Haydn amassed a substantial collection of prints, and frequently kept the company of painters and printmakers.[43] He was, moreover, impressively steeped in

40. Ibid., xiii.
41. Ibid., xvi.
42. Ibid., 15.
43. Ibid., 31.

contemporary literature and other pertinent events. Tolley suggests that the choices Haydn made in creating his collection betray an interest in immersing himself in the tastes of his public.[44]

Richard Will's book, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven*, deals with much the same time period in musical history.[45] But while his work is relevant to this dissertation, he is something of an outlier in this category, insofar as this work is not solely about the "visual." In fact, it might fit equally well in the next category, "Studies of Meaning in Music," since Will is concerned with what he calls "characteristic" symphonies. His focus, thus, is really more on the eighteenth-century terms "character" and "characteristic" as vehicles for bringing sense to instrumental music. Characteristic symphonies, like the character pieces I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, are music that is given, as he calls it, a "subject"—typically one of several common types, such as pastoral topics, hunts, storms, and national or regional qualities. Such subjects, while often evocative, are not solely, or even necessarily, "visual" in nature. From the outset, Will firmly connects depictive or pictorial music, such as storms, battles, and hunts, with the eighteenth-century notion of affect: one of his most important observations is that "there is no subject, however 'objective' it may seem, that does not

44. Ibid., 207.
45. Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

also imply feeling."[46] In fact, he argues this is implicitly acknowledged in passages from Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1792-1794) and Johann Jakob Engel's *Über die musikalische Malerei* (Berlin, 1780). When it comes to music, then, subjective and object were not always easily distinguished from one another. This is a crucial distinction, for it deflates some of the more polemical critiques of the eighteenth century (many of which I explore in Chapters 1 and 2) that claimed that depictive music had no connection with the emotions and was therefore invalid. Storm symphonies, for example, though they "paint" for the ear and attempt to imitate visual events, would not necessarily have been considered devoid of truly affective content. Will's work is also important for the explanation he offers of contemporary terminology, a notoriously thorny area for those who study eighteenth-century critical writings. He attempts to parse the differences between terms such as "characteristic" and "painting" (or *malerei*), the latter of which came to have very negative connotations by the later eighteenth century. In so doing, he provides an important discussion of tone-painting and its perceived failings (from the contemporary perspective). But even more importantly, Will offers an account of the perceived differences between the problematic terms "painting" and "expression,"

46. Ibid., 2.

which are used in idiosyncratic, complexly overlapping ways in many eighteenth-century sources relevant to my study. Will thus addresses the *semantic* component of giving instrumental music meaning—that is, the importance of attaching a title to music in determining its supposed "subject." Words are, in essence, always inextricably related to music and visuality. Indeed, he suggests that frequent criticism that the subject of a piece be recognizable in music without the aid of words is simply "misguided," for "neither the characteristic nor program music ever meant to communicate without the assistance of language."[47]

The focus of the investigations described here has been heavily Germanic and English—in fact, none of them attempt a detailed discussion of French baroque music. Until now, Georgia Cowart's work has best dealt with connections between French music and the visual arts in the eighteenth century. Her article, "Watteau's 'Pilgrimage to Cythera' and the Subversive Utopia of the Opera-Ballet," deals explicitly with the cross-fertilization of ideas from the visual and aural spheres.[48] Cowart investigates the political and cultural resonances of the *fête galante* in both French painted and stage works, and offers a new interpretation of the "Pilgrimage to Cythera" by drawing on associations from contemporary *opéra-ballet*. Contrary to what

47. Ibid., 27.
48. Georgia Cowart, "Watteau's 'Pilgrimage to Cythera' and the Subversive Utopia of the Opera-Ballet," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 3 (Sept. 2001): 461-478.

might be our expectation, she argues that in this context the *fête galante* was not seen as "frivolous" and "degenerate," but potentially subversive.[49] Her argument directly informs my interpretations of Dandrieu's title-pages in Chapter 5.

Cowart's work is particularly unique for the fact that it draws upon the world of music to help us understand a subject matter in painting, rather than the reverse process. Her argument focuses on the very different associations of early eighteenth-century *opéra-ballet* and the *tragédie en musique*, suggesting that the former, "announced an aesthetic of modernism based on a radical freedom from the rules of classicism and traditional heroic themes, along with a celebration of the human body and its capacity for sensuous and virtuosic movement."[50] Such a value-set diverged sharply from the royal associations usually attached to the *tragédie en musique*; the connotations of the *opéra-ballet*, thus, represented a move away from *ancien régime* imperialism and absolutism, toward equality and freedom. She proposes that the *Le triomphe des arts* (1700) by Houdar de La Motte and Michel de La Barre offers the most direct source for Watteau's use of Cythera as subject matter. And she demonstrates that Cythera, in particular, acted as a metaphor for a modernist utopia. In works such as *Le triomphe des arts*, love operated as a

49. Ibid., 461.
50. Ibid., 462.

symbol of political freedom; the theatre then, itself a kind of metaphor for Cythera, was thus a point of embarkation for a libertine realm ruled by love and pleasure.[51] In general, she draws more on ideas *connected* to a musical art form than on the style of the music itself—though she does suggest that this music foreshadows a kind of *galant* sweetness, and thus represented a stylistic valorization of the pastoral over militarism and grandiosity.[52] (Such details of musical style were of course much in tune with the visual tropes deployed by Watteau within *fête galante* scenes.) In Cowart's work, music helps to illuminate a larger ideology underlying surviving visual works; both are treated, in effect, as traces of what was "in the air" in eighteenth-century France.[53]

Treatments of Meaning in Instrumental Music, *Mimesis*, ***and Tone-Painting***

The discussion I provide in Part I of the dissertation draws in important ways on several previous surveys of critical writings from the eighteenth century. One of the earliest of these to appear—and still one of the most relevant—was Maria Rika Maniates's article of 1969, '"Sonate, que me veux-tu?': The Enigma of French Musical Aesthetics in the 18th

51. Ibid., 467.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., 473.

Century."[54] Maniates interrogates the notion that eighteenth-century aesthetics were embodied by two diametrically-opposed poles: "rationalism" and "romanticism." Her work is one of the first really comprehensive overviews of this topic in modern musicology, especially in its interrogation of the relationship between these terms and the notion of "absolute music." Maniates outlines a large-scale historic transition in the eighteenth century from the belief that a passion could be portrayed in music via "rationally stereotyped" "sets and figures,"[55] to conceiving of emotions in music in terms of the reaction of the listener.[56] She argues that this effectively blurred the lines between "the affection objectively presented by the musical figures and the emotions subjectively present in the listener."[57]

One of Maniates's most important contributions is her observation that the definition of "nature" does not remain fixed over the eighteenth century—indeed, writers often deployed the term in subtly different ways. She distills five categories of "nature" based on her reading of these sources, arguing that, depending on the writer, the term could refer variously to empirical reality, an idealized type, a system of "self-evident" truth, an environment perceived through the senses, or that which can be described as

54. Maria Rika Maniates, "'Sonate, que me veux-tu?': The Enigma of French Musical Aesthetics in the 18th Century," *Current Musicology* 0, no. 9 (Jan. 1, 1969): 117-140.
55. Ibid., 118.
56. Ibid., 119.
57. Ibid., 120.

"primitive."[58] She likewise offers one of the first real attempts to parse the problematic eighteenth-century terms, "expression" and "imitation." The emphasis her article places on discerning fine gradations of meaning set the example for subsequent studies, but also pointed up a problematic tendency in musicological literature to gloss over the semantics of some eighteenth-century terms. This is not the only difficulty she has with how other musicologists have treated this subject: she argues that scholarly focus on the intellectual nature of theories of "imitation," which were central to eighteenth-century musical aesthetics, has tended to over-emphasize its "artificial and rational character."[59]

Maniates proposes that, in an attempt to resolve some of the logical problems of interpreting music as an imitation of nature, many baroque writers turned to linguistic principles, fostering a dependence on words and declamation in order to supply music with intelligible meaning.[60] She points to the Abbé Dubos as opening the door for discussion of instrumental music (or simply, music without words) as still capable of moving the listener. From there, she traces a long-term shift in eighteenth-century writings towards a valorizing of the senses and the sensory, culminating in

58. Ibid., 120. I summarize here; Maniates provides more specific sub-types for each of the five categories she lists.
59. Ibid., 122.
60. Ibid., 123.

the works of André Morellet, Michel Paul Gui de Chabanon, and Pascal Boyé. She places these authors on a kind of spectrum, wherein Chabanon and Boyé represent the most extreme late eighteenth-century rejection of imitative theory.

While Maniates's discussion is important for focusing on lesser-known writers such as Morellet, Chabanon, and Boyé, it is problematic insofar as she does not approach her topic in chronological fashion. While this allows her to discuss individual threads of thought in a coherent way, it necessitates a great deal of "jumping" about in time, resulting in something of a fragmented narrative. Her discussion is likewise coloured by anachronistic and sometimes negative assessments of historical systems of thought: she refers, for example, to the theory of musical imitation as an "inflexible system of thought" and (136) "frigid intellectualism,"[61] and claims, moreover, that eighteenth-century writers in France had an "inability" to "conceptualize absolute music as meaningful and significant."[62] Such comments are jarring in an article that otherwise goes to great lengths to validate the exploration of older ways of thinking about music—indeed, they betray a conception of aesthetic development that presupposes a kind of forward-moving "evolution" of thought.

61. Ibid., 136.
62. Ibid., 132.

Just as significant as the work of Maniates is Bellamy Hosler's 1981 book, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany*. Like Maniates, Hosler's exploration of eighteenth-century critical writings stems from an interest in the fate of instrumental music. Her investigation is prompted by the fact that

> during the eighteenth century instrumental music rose from being considered the poor, insignificant sister of vocal music, the "handmaid of poetry," and the ready source of appropriate dance, dinner, and festive fanfare sounds … to be viewed by the early Romantics as the symbol of the multifarious, mysterious stream of man's inner life: the highest and "most romantic of all the arts"…[63]

Her interest, thus, lies in attempting to explain the dramatic changes in thinking about music between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Hosler's work is concerned exclusively with aesthetics and critical writings, not with repertoire or individual composers. But she sees aesthetic changes as having arisen primarily out of attempts to explain *galant* trends in composition. She argues that

> the train of critical thought leading to the Romantics' uniquely high apprisal [sic] of instrumental music in effect concerned itself with the challenge of explaining, or rendering meaningful, a successful

63. Ibid., ix.

> contemporary musical phenomenon: the 'new' Italian instrumental style and its offspring, the 'classical style' itself."[64]

Hosler very usefully distills a number of the foremost complaints about instrumental music from eighteenth-century commentaries. These problems included the debate over intelligibility of instrumental music's affective contrasts, its lack of clear cognitive context, reliance on sheer sensual stimulation, non-referential nature, and at times, compositional complexity.[65] Her analysis begins with the writings of Dubos and Batteux, as French rationalists who "demanded of music an intelligible meaning, reference to the extra-musical world, and most often the imitation of the natural utterances of passion."[66] She identifies Batteux as the "chief bearer of neoclassic doctrine into Germany"—especially in his absolute insistence that all music have a *sens*—and then goes on to discuss a variety of German sources that modified French Enlightenment ideas.[67] One of the greatest strengths of her work is the fact that she devotes more attention to the writings of Baumgarten, Krause, and Forkel than they typically receive even today. And although her study proceeds in roughly chronological fashion,

64. Ibid., x.
65. Ibid., xii.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 62.

she makes clear that the writings she discusses do not represent a single, unproblematic progression of views on music.[68]

The bulk of Hosler's work describes how thinking on music moved from a dependence on imitation and "intelligible" meaning to a Romantic conception wherein music possessed an innate significance of its own (even in the absence of words). She thus deals with a broad and complex field of terminology, arguing that many of the most common words associated with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music, such as Romanticism, Rationalism, expression, and imitation, had overlapping meanings and are thus of limited utility to us. Hosler sees the terms "Rationalism" and "Romanticism" as offering a false dichotomy, since no real agreement on their meaning(s) existed in the eighteenth century, but nevertheless admits to her study's dependence on her own definitions of "Enlightenment" and "Romanticism."[69] The word "Enlightenment" becomes a pole with which she associates negative attitudes toward instrumental music; "Romanticism" a pole with which she associates greater valuation of instrumental music's aesthetic significance. She suggests that most eighteenth-century opinions occupied a spectrum between these poles.[70]

68. Ibid., xxii.
69. Ibid., xx.
70. Ibid.

Hosler also attempts to parse the ever-problematic terms "expression" and "imitation"—an extremely useful discussion for my purposes—as well the term "painting" (in the context of music) and its growing negative connotations in the eighteenth century. She is keen, however, to assert that musical imitation was *not* the same as musical tone-painting—indeed, she calls the latter an "insignificant skirmish" in the context of eighteenth-century debates.[71] This is representative of a larger tendency on her to part to downplay the seriousness of commentary regarding tone-painting. In so doing, however, she overlooks the potential significance(s) of a substantial eighteenth-century repertory in which tone-painting techniques were considered beneficial (such as the world of French baroque opera and character pieces)—a problem that I hope to remedy in part here. In general, she is dismissive of the notion of imitating things and actions in music—yet, by her own admission, the *symphonies* of French operas were thought of as aesthetically valid precisely *because* of their programmatic and representational status.[72] I do not suggest that tone-painting ever surpassed imitation of the passions in aesthetic importance—and Hosler quite rightly argues that the "passionate utterance theory of musical expression" was

71. Ibid., xv.
72. Ibid., 44.

ultimately more influential, especially in Germany[73]—but she distinctly marginalizes commentary on the issue of "painting."

While Hosler's book is central within this musicological literature, there are nevertheless numerous ways in which her work differs from what I offer here. The majority of her monograph is a survey of German sources (French sources are only a starting point), and since her aim is really to trace the birth of Romantic aesthetics, her focus is distinctly later than the time period with which I am concerned. But she uniquely attempts to construe Germany as a battleground in which French Enlightenment theory and Italian instrumental music were ultimately reconciled—and she sees this reconciliation a necessary precursor to the "Romantic view of instrumental music as the highest art."[74] In advocating this position, Hosler manages to position eighteenth-century critical theory as part of a larger historical and stylistic narrative, establishing its relevance far beyond the bounds of eighteenth-century music.

In *The Emancipation of Music from Language*, John Neubauer also perceives a kind of "inversion" between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tastes regarding instrumental music, and sets out to explain how the latter

73. Ibid., 45.
74. Ibid., 33.

forced an "aesthetic revaluation."[75] More than most authors considered here, Neubauer attempts a valorization of studying historical critical writings, which he claims are all-too-often labelled mere "speculations" that are essentially "parasitic" on musical practice.[76] Rather, he argues that theory often precedes or "co-determines" practice in the arts, and must therefore be considered more than just derivative of practice.[77] His position is influential on my own insofar as he sees the aesthetics of music as offering a window into historical cultures; for him, "ideas on music serve as a lifeline between music and the larger artistic, social, and intellectual concerns of a community."[78]

Neubauer has a distinctive take on the nature of the differences between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music: he sees the shift towards acceptance of instrumental music as part of a larger battle about "nonrepresentational" art.[79] He interprets nineteenth-century music as having "no direct representational content" comparable to the way that eighteenth-century music had been thought to directly "imitate" the passions.[80] He argues that the Romantic revival of Pythagoreanism offered a

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75. John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 2.
76. Ibid., 3.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid., 4.
79. Ibid., 2.
80. Ibid., 7.

way of explaining the new music, and he sketches a history of Pythagorean theories which he then contrasts with the "verbal" paradigm of eighteenth-century music (that is, music understood through vehicles such as rhetoric, *mimesis*, and affect theory). He thus attempts to chart an eighteenth-century struggle between mathematics and verbal theories, primarily through the arguments of Rameau and the *philosophes*. Unfortunately, Neubauer's dual-paradigm is somewhat restrictive for my purposes: although I certainly argue that a semantic component was fundamental to most eighteenth-century justifications of music, Neubauer is not interested in other sensory components of that understanding. Thus, *mimesis* is essentially "verbal" in his construction, and his focus on numerical and mathematical rationalizations tends to overshadow the gradual acceptance of music's sensual nature over the course of the eighteenth century in favor of what he terms "internalization" and "psychologization."[81] By the 1780s, Neubauer sees the kind of imitation valorized in essays such as Engel's *Über die musikalische Malerei* as essentially "internalized," insofar as its most valid form was the imitation of "the impression which the object usually makes upon the soul."[82] Such internalization, he argues, essentially amounted to a

81. Ibid., 74.
82. Ibid.

reinforcement of affect theory, in which music is thought to imitate or represent the passions.

Neubauer includes a useful chapter on "Problems in Musical Imitation," in which he offers a summary introduction to the ideas of Dubos and Batteux. He moreover outlines a variety of categories of eighteenth-century imitation, including "(1) purely musical imitations, (2) imitations of the ancients and of other models, (3) imitations of verbal intonation, (4) imitation of affects, and (5) imitations of sounds, movements, and physical objects."[83] This usefully organizes the wide valence of meanings the word "imitation" possessed historically, but it is not without complications: the first category, for example, is, by Neubauer's own admission, not representational in nature, and is little-addressed by any eighteenth-century sources. However, Neubauer does offer serious consideration to his fifth category (tone-painting), chronicling attacks against this kind of imitation through selected quotations of Quantz, Burney, Gottsched, Batteux, Krause, and Sulzer. His focus is heavily on German writers (and to a lesser extent, English writers), rather than French ones, and he does not attempt to counterbalance these various critiques with more

83. Ibid., 70.

positive opinions of the practice of tone-painting. I aim to address some of these gaps in the material comprising Part I of this dissertation.

Georgia Cowart is also one of the main contributors to this literature. As editor of *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, a collection of essays by various musicologists addressing baroque aesthetics, Cowart offers both a useful introduction to the work of others and an essay of her own. Her introduction draws attention to the perceived incompatibility of *mimesis* with the sensual (and, to a lesser extent, *galanterie*).[84] She notes that this time period in France has special importance in that it represented the beginnings of thinking about art as speaking directly to the emotions, rather than solely to the intellect.

Cowart's closing article, "Inventing the Arts: Changing Critical Language in the *Ancien Régime*," is particularly useful for my discussion because it addresses the role of semantics in the valuation of music.[85] Cowart's unique take is to look at ways French critical writings treat the arts as "sign systems"; she is thus interested in determining "signifiers" and "signified" in the world of music.[86] Mimetic theory, in her interpretation, fundamentally privileges the signified over the signifier—that is, the message

84. Georgia Cowart, "Introduction," in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 3.
85. Georgia Cowart, "Inventing the Arts: Changing Critical Language in the *Ancien Régime*," in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 211-238.
86. Ibid., 211-212.

over the medium.[87] Thus, she reads the eighteenth-century battle between French and Italian musical styles as a struggle over the importance of artistic signifier (sound itself) versus its signified (the meaning it conveys); the Italian style valorized the former, while the French perspective favored the latter. She also offers one of the most important musicological discussions of Lecerf de la Viéville's *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise* (1704-1706), which, for its time, endorsed a relatively conservative view of what art should mean. However, she points out a number of significant tensions in this work: the rationalism he espouses, for example, seems undercut by his own emphasis on *sentiment*.[88] And she perceives in his writings, and in French writings in general up through the time of the Encyclopedists, a "conflict between a 'message' that praises imitation, or transparent discourse, and a 'medium' [music] that flaunts it."[89]

The same volume contains several other significant essays, among them Charles Dill's "Music, Beauty, and the Paradox of Rationalism," which provides an important discussion of Jean-Pierre de Crousaz's *Traité du beau* (1715).[90] Dill highlights one of the central tensions in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French aesthetics: the rationalism of Descartes, so

87. Ibid., 213.
88. Ibid., 232.
89. Ibid., 233.
90. Charles Dill, "Music, Beauty, and the Paradox of Rationalism," in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 197-210.

broadly accepted amongst French critics of this time, offered little room for the notion of "beauty" in music. Dill then reads Crousaz's work as attempting to reconcile beauty and rationalism. (Unfortunately, however, Crousaz offers little in the way of specific commentary on imitation or depiction, so he is not a focus in Part I of this study.)

More significant for my discussion (particularly in Chapter 4) is Jane Stevens's contribution to the volume, "The Meanings and Uses of *Caractère* in Eighteenth-Century France."[91] The word "caractère" is pervasive in French writings on music (as well as the other arts) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—indeed, it gives its name to an entire musical genre: the *pièce de caractère*. But, as Stevens demonstrates, the contemporary meanings of the term differ somewhat from the modern sense of our word "character." In fact, the valence of the word *caractère* was quite large: by the beginning of the eighteenth century it could denote symbolic marks of various kinds, a literary genre of "characters" or personas (exemplified most of all by Jean de la Bruyère's *Les Caractères de Théophraste traduits du grec, avec les Caractères ou les Moeurs de ce siècle* of 1688), and finally as outward signs of an individual's inner nature.[92] And over the course of the eighteenth century, it came also to refer to the habitual disposition of the soul, or non-rational

91. Jane Stevens, "The Meanings and Uses of *Caractère* in Eighteenth-Century France," in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 23-52.
92. Ibid., 27.

part of the mind—what might be defined as a "mixture of sentiments and tendencies toward particular passions," or simply as *l'esprit*.[93] Interpreting eighteenth-century use of the word *caractère* with respect to music, then, is far from straightforward for us. Stevens traces several long-standing debates in sources from the time that are concerned with questions such as how *caractère* may or may not relate to musical style, whether or not it is inherent in music itself, and whether indeed it is possible for *caractère* to constitute the very object of imitative music—offering, in essence, a kind of peek at the inner nature of something (or some*one*) through "expression" in music.

Published slightly more recently, David Schulenberg's article, "Musical Allegory" Reconsidered: Representation and Imagination in the Baroque," provides an alternate appraisal of the issues surrounding imitation and depiction in instrumental music.[94] Schulenberg is one of the few modern authors to seriously address the practice of tone-painting, under the rubric of "allegory." He is also one of the few modern authors to interrogate the use of the word "representation" (and, it should be noted, he in no way suggests that musical representation is confined to the visual). His central question comes as a response to the emphasis on hermeneutics in musicology of the 1980s and '90s (and, in particular, the scholarly

93. Ibid., 29-30.
94. David Schulenberg, "'Musical Allegory' Reconsidered: Representation and Imagination in the Baroque," *The Journal of Musicology* 13, no. 2 (Spring, 1995): 203-239.

interpretations of various musical works by musicologists such as Eric Chafe and Susan McClary). He asks, "How can we [as musicologists] convincingly argue for particular interpretations without falling into equivocal speculation?"[95] This discussion naturally leads to a questioning of the use of the word "allegory" in musicological writings to describe a musical work's capacity to convey a given meaning. Schulenberg traces the phrase "allegory in music" to an article of that title by Manfred Bukofzer, arguing that Bukofzer was attempting to persuade art historians of Baroque music's "readability," much like "iconology" in the world of painting. Thus, "allegory" in this usage would seem to refer more to musical symbols than representation *per se*. Because "allegory" in this context is not denotative, he proposes that a more appropriate use of the term would be as a verb describing the listener's *hearing* of the music, since it is perhaps there, and not in the supposed intention of the author or the work itself, that meaning is located.

Although he questions the true nature of musical "representation," Schulenberg ultimately still refers to tone-painting as a "relatively mundane" function and "naïve musical pictorialism," suggesting (like so many others)

95. Ibid., 207.

that the practice occupies the lowest rung of the aesthetic ladder.[96] He notes that musical "painting," even in the most obvious of circumstances, still relies on the knowledge of conventions of a select initiated audience, and might better be replaced by a word such as "pointing." Tone-painting, he argues, is really a "complex system of associations" rather than a denotative "language of tones."[97] It is clear that Schulenberg's primary interest lies in questioning music's capacity to convey ideas more complex than tone-painting. He takes issue mainly with attempts to read meanings into the formal structures and large-scale tonal designs of Baroque composers, citing in particular Chafe's theological readings of Bach and Kuhnau.[98] Thus, although his article offers useful commentary on the issues of "painting" and "allegory," Schulenberg's work is primarily about the questioning the validity of musical hermeneutics in the present day, and not about the mechanism of musical representation in its most literal forms.

I mention two other sources here primarily for their importance as repositories of writings on musical aesthetics in English translation. They remain some of the most important reference works in the field. Peter Le Huray and James Day's *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1981) contains translated excerpts of music criticism from both

96. Ibid., 213.
97. Ibid., 218.
98. Ibid., 214.

well-known and relatively obscure historical authors; more than thirty of these date date from before the turn of the nineteenth century.[99] These sources are almost exclusively English, French, and German in origin. The volume has proven immensely useful for my own work, both in directing me to lesser-known historical works (nearly all of which, with the advent of the internet, are now viewable as scanned facsimiles), and in supplying alternate translations where useful (cited in my own text as necessary). Le Huray and Day also offer a short introduction, which acts as a kind of overview of musical-aesthetic trends during their chosen time period; it remains valuable primarily as an entry-point for those unfamiliar with the literature, making sense of what might otherwise seem like a lengthy tangle of critical opinions. Each of the sources they excerpt is also provided with a very brief introduction, and many of these supply useful biographical details about the original author (some of whom remain quite challenging to research).

Edward A. Lippman's *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader* (1986) is similarly useful for this project.[100] Lippman also excerpts and translates a variety of historical writings, but as his chronological scope is much wider (spanning Antiquity to the twentieth century), his selection of sources is less

99. Peter Le Huray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
100. Edward A. Lippman, ed., *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader*, vol. I, *From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986).

compendious for each musical era. While Le Huray and Day supply what is in essence a chronological list of historical writings, Lippman arranges his selections nationally and by topic; thus, he offers chapters containing two to three excerpts, such as "Musical Poetics in Germany," "English Views of Imitation and Expression," and "The French Polemic Against Imitation." In certain cases, this results in duplication of passages supplied by Le Huray and Day (such as Batteux's *Les beaux arts reduits* and Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues*). However, Lippman does provide translated excerpts from three late eighteenth-century French authors not cited by Le Huray and Day: André Morellet, Pascal Boyé, and Michel Paul de Chabanon. The combined projects of Le Huray and Day and that of Lippman thus offer a relatively comprehensive survey of the most important French music criticism of the eighteenth century (though, again, they supply only excerpts of the original sources).

Other Sub-Literatures

Because this dissertation touches on the visual arts, publishing practices, and multiple musical repertories, there are several smaller literatures for which the most important sources bear mention. Part II of the dissertation discusses in detail a variety of engraved images included with the

published musical score. There is, unfortunately, little secondary literature on this subject. While isolated illustrations in musical scores from other musical eras have attracted some attention, works from the eighteenth century have rarely been the subject of such studies.

Musical frontispieces or title-pages (which, unless otherwise noted, I use interchangeably within this dissertation[101]) constitute the most common type of imagery to be included in published scores. They are perhaps the most overlooked genre of musical illustration—no doubt because they are so readily taken to be merely stock imagery, purely decorative filigree, or advertisement. But none of these categories is completely void of semiotic potential; indeed, as I hope to show, they may tell us much about the culture of which that music is a part. However, to this point, the literature dedicated solely to musical frontispieces and title-pages has amounted mainly to collections of illustrations selected for their particularly beautiful or unusually ornate quality.

101. The seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century definition of the word "frontispiece" offered by the *Oxford English Dictionary* makes clear that at this time its meaning seems to have been interchangeable with "title-page" or "first page of a book or pamphlet." Modern sense of the word "frontispiece," however, defines it as the "illustration *facing* the title-page of a book." My emphasis. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "frontispiece," accessed October 6, 2013, http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/view/Entry/74941?rskey=kyTeBP&result=1#eid.

The most recent of these collections is Gottfried S. Fraenkel's *Decorative Musical Title Pages* of 1968.[102] Fraenkel draws together 201 examples from musical editions between Petrucci's *Odhecaton* of 1501 and the early nineteenth century. They are presented as plates, back-to-back, with a sentence or two of commentary describing the illustration's provenance and, at times, a brief summary of the original volume's contents. Fraenkel does offer a very useful introductory essay, in which he supplies a broad outline of the trajectory of musical publishing over the course of many centuries. By necessity, of course, such a discussion is short, giving most attention to places and historic persons in the musical publishing industry, and the artists themselves. Notably absent, however, is scholarly commentary on the musical contents of these many publications; for the most part, these frontispieces are presented as though divorced from the content of the works in which they occur. Fraenkel's volume is primarily a repository of images; it is not a work that attempts to draw and/or analyze connections between the illustrations and music.

Two substantially older collections of this type also exist. Walter Von zur Westen's *Musiktitel aus vier Jahrhunderten* of 1921 is presented as an overview of title-page publishing practices from the sixteenth to nineteenth

102. Gottfried S. Fraenkel, *Decorative Music Title Pages: 201 Examples from 1500 to 1800* (New York: Dover, 1968).

centuries.[103] Illustrations, many in spectacularly large format, are interspersed throughout the prose, but again, attention is given primarily to illustrative techniques, visual style, the artists themselves, and the listing of various other volumes in which illustrations may be found. In essence, music title-pages are presented here as a tiny slice of visual art history; they are not integrated into a music-focused social history.

When it comes to the latter, however, John Grand-Carteret's collection of 1904, entitled *Les titres illustrés et l'image au service de la Musique*, seems particularly forward-looking.[104] As his title implies, Grand-Carteret is concerned not just with the lineage of musical illustrations, but with their function with respect to music. While he admits that illustrations in the musical volume have secondary importance to the success of the music, he nevertheless argues that such images should be seen as intellectual productions, indicative of historical styles and usages.[105] This is much how I will attempt to look at the images, and musical publications as a whole, in later chapters: as indicators of the broader conventions, usage patterns, and values of their time. Grand-Carteret does not attempt to offer readings of

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103. Walter Von zur Westen, *Musiktitel aus vier Jahrhunderten*: *Festschrift anlässlich des 75. Järigen bestehens der Firma C.G. Röder G.M.B.H. Leipzig* (Leipzig: C.G. Röder G.M.B.H., [1921]).
104. John Grand-Carteret, *Les titres illustrés et l'image au service de la Musique* (Turin: Bocca Frères, 1904).
105. Ibid., 3-4. "Qu'une partition, qu'un recueil "d'airs à danser ou à chanter" soient bien ou mal imprimés et se présentent au public sous une couverture élégante ou sans le concours d'aucun ornement, assurément cela n'a qu'une importance secondaire pour la valeur et le succès de l'oeuvre musicale elle-même. Mais il en est des productions intellectuelles comme des choses, comme des êtres humains: elle subissent, en leurs formes, l'influence de certaines modes, elles se conforment a certains usages, elles suivent certains goûts."

specific musical works, but he does demonstrate an interest in how the illustrations in musical volumes distinguished them from publications on other topics, and how illustrations within editions of certain types of music (such as sacred works) suggested broader patterns of production and use. And, in addition to describing the more conventional details of artistic production, his work remains valuable for his interpretations of the iconographic significance of various frontispieces.

Grand-Carteret is the only of these authors to consider not just frontispieces, but also imagery contained within musical volumes in the form of engraved vignettes interspersed between the acts of opera. He is, to my knowledge, the first to describe the visual spectacle of Baussen's editions of Lully's operas—indeed, I am indebted to him insofar as his work was the trigger-point for my own investigation of these volumes.[106] Grand-Carteret associates the "majesty" and "pomp" of these images with the brilliant reputation of Lully during and after the reign of Louis XIV.[107] He is the first modern scholar to interpret these editions as self-conscious "monuments" to

106. Although he includes a reproduction of only one of these images, Grand-Carteret provides a list of nine of Lully's operas published with such engravings, along with the stage directions included underneath each image and the names of the artists responsible for its engraving.
107. Ibid., 40-41.

a cultural past, a kind of "consecration to genius in the form that responded best to the taste of the day."[108]

Andrea Cawelti's article, "It's Good to Be the King: Head-Pieces in Ballard Folio Scores," picks up where Grand-Carteret left off, considering illustrations spread throughout the Baussen volumes.[109] Cawelti details the shift from the late seventeenth-century practice of including generic, wood-cut vignettes in operatic volumes to the eighteenth-century practice of inserting highly specific, commissioned engravings. While I disagree with some of her smaller points (see my extended discussion in Chapter 3), her work is important in that it identifies the source of inspiration for such a change in published libretti of the day, and in that she points to the staging illustrations of Jean Bérain as a possible source for the content of specific images. Beyond the work of Cawelti, there is little other discussion of the Baussen editions to be found. The basic circumstances leading to their production, however, can be pieced together from scholarly work of Patricia Ranum (namely, her 1987 article entitled "'Mr de Lully en trio': Etienne Loulié, the Foucaults, and the Transcription of the Works of Jean-Baptiste

108. Ibid., 48. "C'était, en quelque sorte, la consécration du génie, sous la forme qui répondait le mieux au goût du jour. … Un monument élevé par la grauvure a celui qui avait charmé la Cour du grand Roi." All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.
109. Andrea Cawelti, "It's Good to Be the King: Head-Pieces in Ballard Folio Scores," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 84, no. 2 (April 2014): 209-218.

Lully (1673-1702)")[110] and Jérôme de La Gorce (particularly his 1992 book, *L'Opéra à Paris au temps de Louis XIV: Histoire d'un théâtre*).[111]

My discussion of musical volumes has required engaging with the literature on music publishing practices in eighteenth-century Paris. General guides to these practices can be found in two modern books: Hans Lennenberg's *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music, 1500-1850*,[112] and a set of essays collected and edited by Rudolf Rasch entitled *Music Publishing in Europe, 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues*.[113] As their titles imply, both volumes survey large expanses of time, and therefore devote only a portion of their attention to the early eighteenth century. The latter book is useful for its level of detail. My discussion in Chapter 3 draws in particular on the contributions of Anik Devriès-Lesure (Chapter 3: "Technological Aspects"), Laurent Guillo (Chapter 5: "Legal Aspects"), and Rasch himself (Chapter 8: "Publishing and Publishers"). Lennenberg's book takes a different approach: where the Rasch volume is broken up by topic, Lennenberg supplies a chronological narrative of publishing, moving as necessary from place to

110. Patricia Ranum, "'Mr de Lully en trio': Etienne Loulié, the Foucaults, and the Transcription of the Works of Jean-Baptiste Lully (1673-1702)," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque Saint-Germain-en-Laye—Heidelberg 1987*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 309-330.
111. Jérôme de La Gorce, *L'Opéra à Paris au temps de Louis XIV: Histoire d'un théâtre* (Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 1992).
112. Hans Lennenberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music, 1500-1850* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2003).
113. Rudolf Rasch, ed., *Music Publishing in Europe, 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues* (Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag GmbH, 2005).

place depending on the era. His chapter on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is useful insofar as it provides a coherent overview of the development of the publishing industry. Unfortunately, the portion of the chapter dealing with Paris during the time period with which I am concerned occupies only slightly more than a page and quotes mainly from the work of Anik Devriès (whom I discuss below).[114]

Information on the history of musical volumes beyond the technical means of production may be found in Catherine Massip's *Le livre de musique* of 2007.[115] Massip focuses on the sources available in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, tracing traditions of musical notation from the earliest medieval manuscripts to printed editions. Her work is unique (and invaluable to those interested in a history of musical books) in that it discusses the conventions of different "genres" of musical publications as they developed over time.

Most central to this literature, however, is Anik Devriès's book *Édition et commerce de la musique gravée à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle*.[116] Although it dates from the 1970s, Devriès supplies what is still the most comprehensive study on the publishing and distribution of music in the

114. Lennenberg, *Publishing and Dissemination of Music*, 64-65.
115. Catherine Massip, *Le livre de musique,* Conférences Léopold Delisle ([Paris]: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2007).
116. Anik Devriès, *Édition et commerce de la musique gravée à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1976).

eighteenth century. She focuses in particular on the practices of two of the most important French publishing houses of the time, the Boivin and Leclerc families, offering a history of their respective music stores and a comparison of their musical catalogues. But Devriès also provides an extraordinary amount of context, including sections on nearly every person and process involved in the creation of a musical publication, from financiers to potential purchasers. Unfortunately, however, the book does not document the business relationships between composers and the actual engravers of imagery. This remains one of the largest gaps in the literature, and certainly calls out for further investigation.

Because her focus is mainly on the Boivins and LeClercs, Devriès does not supply great detail about the practices of the Ballard family and Henri de Baussen. While the latter figure remains little-investigated, I rely here primarily on the work of Pascal Denécheau for the most specific details of Ballard's editions of Lully's music.[117] Denécheau's excellent article, "Autour des partitions d'opéras de J.B. Lully conservées à la Bibliothèque musicale François-Lang," is freely available scholarly work, and is especially useful in that it is supplemented liberally with images of the original Ballard publications.

117. Pascal Denécheau, "Autour des partitions d'opéras de J.B. Lully conservées à la Bibliothèque musicale François-Lang," *HAL archives-ouvertes*, 22 September 2010, halshs-00520182 (https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00520182).

Chapter 5 of the dissertation negotiates literature on Jean-François Dandrieu and the character piece as a genre. Dandrieu remains a composer who receives relatively little scholarly attention. The single-most important secondary source on him is Brigitte François-Sappey's *Jean-François Dandrieu, 1682-1738: Organiste du Roy*, published in 1982. [118] François-Sappey is amazingly comprehensive, offering not just an account of Dandrieu's life and that of his forebears, but a detailed description of his entire output, including critical commentary on each of his many harpsichord suites, and analysis of his works for organ. She furthermore includes physical descriptions of the original editions of his works that reside in the Bibliothèque nationale, which was extremely valuable for my investigation of the frontispieces within these publications.

Finally, the work of David Fuller on eighteenth-century French keyboardists and their works was crucial for the discussion I offer in Chapters 4 and 5. Fuller's many articles in the *New Grove Dictionary*, including those on the "Suite," "Notes inégales," "Michel Corrette," the Couperin and Dandrieu families, and nearly every French *claveciniste* between Chambonnières and Duphly, constitute foundational English-language reading on French baroque music. Together with Bruce Gustafson, he has

118. Brigitte François-Sappey, *Jean-François Dandrieu, 1682-1738: Organiste du Roy* (Paris: Picard, 1982).

also authored *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699-1780*, a source that was essential to my search for volumes of character pieces with illustrated title-pages.[119]

Fuller's work on the character piece in particular has proven very influential. His 1997 article, "Of Portraits, 'Sapho' and Couperin: Titles and Characters in French Instrumental Music of the High Baroque," is almost certainly the most widely-cited secondary source on the genre.[120] Fuller locates the cultural inspiration for eighteenth-century musical character pieces in the literary portraits that were madly in vogue in seventeenth-century Paris. He suggests this offers us a glimpse into the attitudes and values of the fashionable upper-class who constituted the audience for character pieces (both literary and musical), and then illuminates a rich series of connotations surrounding such works (associations that go well beyond the score itself). This provides the context for a brief history of the rise of the character piece in French keyboard composition, a lengthy discussion on the problems with musical titles and the nature of musical depiction, and ultimately a consideration of François Couperin's musical "portrait" pieces. Along the way, Fuller offers comparisons with the character pieces of many

119. Bruce Gustafson and David Fuller, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699-1780* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1990).
120. David Fuller, "Of Portraits, 'Sapho' and Couperin: Titles and Characters in French Instrumental Music of the High Baroque," *Music & Letters* 78, no. 2 (May, 1997): 149-174.

of Couperin's contemporaries, including those of Dandrieu. As one of the most expansive sources on this musical genre, as well as on the lives of *clavencinistes* themselves and the nature of musical depiction, Fuller's article acts as a central guide for my own investigation.

Disciplinary Intersections

I make no claim here to have produced here a study that stretches the boundaries of what might be termed "musicology," but this work does intentionally draw upon, and attempt to speak to, a variety of other scholarly disciplines. Given its focus on visual culture, it relies in obvious ways on the work of art historians, particularly for the details it provides on eighteenth-century French engravers and Nicolas Lancret. But the dissertation also helps illuminate a small corner of the engraver's profession that risks being overlooked in favor of their more famous work reproducing self-standing works of art: that is, the provision of illustrations for books on all manner of topics. This subject is not a primary focus within the dissertation, but it suggests that a great deal more art-historical work might be done on the role of engravers who produced elements other than notation in musical volumes. And this study attempts to offer a more detailed explanation of the role of Lancret's frontispieces in their published context than may be found

elsewhere, though many questions remain as to their provenance and how they came to be in Dandrieu's *Second* and *Troisième livres* (see my discussion in Chapter 5). I draw in particular on work by art historians William B. MacGregor and Antony Griffiths for my contextualization of music volumes relative to engraving traditions.[121] I also argue that some historical writings that are usually considered most relevant for the visual arts, such as Roger de Piles's *Abregé de la vie des peintres* (1699), can be useful in our consideration of select musical volumes (see my discussion in Chapter 3).[122]

The work this dissertation includes on the Baussen volumes and Dandrieu's publications is also relevant to History of the Book studies, insofar as it is concerned with the production and transmission of physical volumes. I attempt to highlight the relationship between musical scores and books as objects, arguing that they are closely allied both through patterns of ownership and valuation as objects. Musical scores, then, need not be treated by scholars solely as functional "instruction-sheets" designed for the enacting of music as sound, but can be seen as playing a distinct role in the long-term development of books as symbols of intellectual authority, social

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121. William B. MacGregor, "The Authority of Prints: an early modern perspective," *Art History* 22, no. 3 (Sept. 1999), 389-420; Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Print-Making: An introduction to the history and techniques* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); and Antony Griffiths, *Prints for Books: Book Illustration in France, 1760-1800*, The Panizzi Lectures 2003 (London: The British Library, 2004).
122. Roger de Piles, "De l'utilité des Estampes, & de leur usage," Chapter XXVII in *Abregé de la vie des peintres*… (Paris: François Muguet, 1699); repr. as "Of the Usefulness and Use of Prints," Chapter XXVII in *The Art of Painting, with the Lives and Characters of above 300 of the Most Eminent Painters…,* trans. John Savage, 2nd ed. (London: Charles Marsh, 1744).

prestige, and physical connections to a cultural past. Again, my consideration of musical scores through the lens of this discipline is necessarily limited here, but for a very basic contextualization, I draw primarily on David Finkelstein and Alister McCleery's *Introduction to Book History* and Barbara Benedict's work on practices of book collecting in the eighteenth century.[123]

Finally, this dissertation addresses itself to some extent to Material Studies and work on "Thing" Theory. The former field, which proposes that objects, as physical evidence of a culture, are telling of the relationship between people and their things, is well-established in archaeology and anthropology, and is increasingly a perspective adopted by art historians.[124] The latter, first articulated by Bill Brown in his seminal article "Thing Theory" (2001), distinguishes between "objects" and "things" depending on whether or not they are subject to "codes by which our interpretive attention makes them meaningful."[125] Consideration of "things" is thus telling of changes in the human subject-object relationship.[126] My work implicitly proposes that these theoretical perspectives have something to offer

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123. See David Finkelstein and Alister McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005); and Barbara M. Benedict, "Reading Collections: The Literary Discourse of Eighteenth-Century Libraries," in *Bookish Histories: Books, Literature, and Commercial Modernity, 1700-1900*, ed. Ina Ferris and Paul Keen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 169-195.
124. For an excellent introduction to the very broad field of Material Studies, see the set of collected essays entitled *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*, ed. W. David Kingsley (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).
125. Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (Autumn, 2001): 4.
126. Ibid.

musicology: in particular, musical scores have the potential to act as the basis of our own object-based music histories—or even, as in the case of the Baussen editions and the retrospective image of Lully they construct, object-based *historiographies.*[127] My concern is really the "materiality" of the musical publication: scores, as physical objects, are intimately connected with human activities and values.[128] I thus attempt to use them as windows to develop inferences about past ways of thinking about music not just as a social practice, but also as a larger concept. This is in no way to diminish the importance of music's role as sound, on which the discipline of musicology is heavily focused, but rather to suggest "music" has other meaningful existences both in the form of physical objects and the ideologies that they reveal.

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127. I borrow the latter phrase from Bill Brown's much more extended disquisition on "Thing" Theory in his monograph, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 5.

128. I use "materiality" here in its loosest sense: the use of objects as a means of understanding ourselves. See Daniel Miller, "Materiality: An Introduction," in *Materiality*, ed. Daniel Miller (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 2. It should be noted, however, that over the course of the next fifty pages Miller proposes much more nuanced definitions of the word "materiality" that question the status of things as mere artifacts (with or without agency), and the divide between materiality and immateriality.

PART I

VISUALITY AND THE CHALLENGES OF IMITATION;

OR,

"PUTTING THE EYE IN THE EAR"

CHAPTER 1

THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

> "Painting… only paints those objects that are subject to sight. Music would seem to have the same limits with respect to the ear; however, it portrays everything, even the visible; by an almost inconceivable magic trick it seems to put the eye in the ear…"[129]
>
> —Rousseau, "Imitation," in *Dictionnaire de musique* (1767)

Any discussion of the relationships between music and visuality in the early eighteenth century must necessarily be grounded in the extensive contemporary discourse on *mimesis*, which grew out of seventeenth-century understanding of the writings of Aristotle. In both the *Politics* and *Poetics*, Aristotle maintained that music was fundamentally an imitation of nature. He moreover claimed that music supplied a direct imitation of characters and dispositions.[130] Such "images" of character could then be "received" by a listener, and had the power to effect a change of the affections within the

129. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "IMITATION," s.v. *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: chez la Veuve Duchesne, 1768), 253. "La Peinture, qui n'offre point ses tableaux à l'imagination, mais au sens & à un seul sens, ne peint que les objets soumis à la vue. La Musique sembleroit avoir les mêmes bornes par rapport à l'ouïe; cependant elle peint tout, même les objets que ne sont que visibles: par un prestige presque inconcevable, elle semble mettre l'oeil dans l'oreille, & la plus grande merveille d'un Art qui n'agit que par le mouvement, est d'en pouvoir former jusqu'à l'image du repose."

130. Göran Sörbum, "Aristotle on Music as Representation," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 52, no. 1 (Winter, 1994): 43. Sörbum offers an excellent summary of Aristotle's thoughts on *mimesis*, and in particular, music's relationship to imitations and images.

listener him/herself.[131] The notion that art could imitate human nature found wide acceptance in the seventeenth century; indeed, Aristotle's teachings formed the basis of the Jesuit educational system, in which the French philosopher René Descartes was trained.[132] Descartes's concern with the nature of perception would come to offer a logical extension of Aristotelian thought. His *Traité des passions de l'âme* (1649) proposed a rational system for the understanding and portrayal of the very passions art was thought to imitate. *Mimesis* as a basis for understanding the workings of music would thus thrive under Cartesian Rationalism, embodied later in the writings of Le Cerf de la Viéville and others.[133]

It is thus almost a truism to say that the arts—music, painting, poetry, and dance—were thought to be based upon imitations of "nature" in the eighteenth century, but this basic premise remained anything but static over the course of the century. The idea that music was based on *mimesis*, and the paradigmatic influence of Descartes, brought about certain intellectual problems. First, Descartes was dismissive of the notion that music might

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131. Aristotle, "Book VIII" of *Politics*, in vol. 2 of *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, trans. B. Jowett (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 1340b20-1340b32 p. 2126 (accessed at http://pm.nlx.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/xtf/view?docId=aristotle/aristotle.02.xml;chunk.id=div.aristotle.v2.99;toc.depth=1;toc.id=div.aristotle.v2.91;brand=default). Also cited in Sörbum, "Aristotle on Music," 37.
132. Dennis des Chene, "Aristotelian Natural Philosophy: Body, Cause, Nature," in *A Companion to Descartes*, ed. Janet Broughton and John Carriero (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 17.
133. Georgia Cowart, "Introduction," in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 1-2.

bring about sensory pleasure; French Rationalists of the eighteenth century thus found it a challenge to explain music as an imitative art form with respect to the listener's perception of beauty.[134] Second (and more directly relevant for my discussion), the act of conceiving of music as an imitation of nature was problematic because of what Georgia Cowart calls "the elusive nature of the musical signified."[135] Music with text could be understood as imitative relatively easily since it clearly conveyed meaning, but, as Cowart succinctly points out, why not then discuss music simply as a literary genre?[136] More problematic still, how could music *without* text be explained as imitative? The twin issues of exactly *what* and *how* the artistic object actually imitated were thus subject to endless reconfiguration and refinement in contemporary aesthetic writings.

This chapter attempts to map the topography of these debates in early eighteenth-century France, paying special attention to theoretical discussions in which visuality, most often accompanied by terms such as "imitate" and "represent," seems to mediate understanding of the sonic. I caution, this is *not* to assert that all French baroque music necessarily entailed some kind of visual element, nor even that all types of "imitation" are necessarily visual.

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134. Charles Dill, "Music, Beauty, and the Paradox of Rationalism," in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 197.
135. Georgia Cowart, "Inventing the Arts: Changing Critical Language in the Ancien Régime," in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 215.
136. Ibid.

My objective here is only to provide a framework for thinking about music that was performed alongside, or clearly associated with, a specific visual referent. However, while the following covers the most influential and interesting of sources to deal with musical imitation and representation, it should not be taken to be a comprehensive list of all important French aesthetic writings. Certain works, such as Jean-Pierre Crousaz's *Traité du beau* of 1715, for example, do not make an appearance in the summary below. Crousaz certainly follows in the intellectual tradition of Descartes, and offers important revisions to the notion of taste, but his discussion does not attempt to tackle the issue of imitation or the notion of depiction.[137] The following summary is, moreover, limited chronologically to discussion of sources between 1700 and 1780. Thus, later developments in thinking about music as an imitative or depictive art form, particularly those of the late 1790s, will feature here in only general terms. Discussion of these sources from the perspective of imitation, depiction, and/or visuality will have to wait for detailed elucidation in another study.

In most eighteenth-century discussions, *music* and *image* actually comprise just two parts of a conceptual triumvirate: "imitation" in the broad sense involved not just sound and sight, but also semantics. *Words* play a

137. An excellent discussion of Crousaz's work with respect to that of Descartes may be found in Dill, "Music, Beauty, and the Paradox of Rationalism," 202-203.

crucial role in linking music and image; language is often—though not always—relied upon to create meaning for the one who experiences music, rendering it more than a mere barrage of sensory input. The nature of these linkages between music, image, and words could vary, depending on whether or not the associated visual and lyrical elements remained dynamic over the duration of the music's performance. In performance contexts involving continuous lyrics and action, such as operatic music, all three elements interact fluidly for the duration of a piece. Elsewhere, as in illustrated song collections, music and lyrics, while rendered continuously over time, might be linked to a single static image. And still elsewhere, as in some character piece collections, the music in its temporal dimension might merely be linked to an evocative title and an engraved image. (And the latter context, it must be noted, is dependent on either the performer's or listener's awareness of the title and accompanying image.)

In exploring the conjunction of sound, word, and image, this chapter navigates a terminological rat's nest. Eighteenth-century sources use a variety of verbs to describe what music can do: "imitate," "paint," "depict," and most problematic of all, "express." Unfortunately, each author, whether of a full-scale treatise on musical aesthetics or simply an article in the *Mercure de France*, employs these terms semi-idiosyncratically. Thus, establishing a

conventional valence of meaning for each of the terms critical to this discussion (not to mention their hierarchy!) is difficult, and yet necessary in order to continue.

I am certainly not the first to have to come to grips with this terminological problem. Two of the most detailed attempts to clarify the issue are by Bellamy Hosler and Richard Will. As Hosler outlines in *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany*, words such as "imitation" and "expression" had ever-shifting usages in the eighteenth century.[138] But, according to her, if general conventions can be ascertained, Charles Batteux and those he influenced generally used "imitation" to refer to the "representation of the tones of passionate utterance," with "depiction" and "painting" as close synonyms.[139] However, as "imitation" and "painting" gradually gained negative connotations, they were generally replaced by the term "expression."[140] Insofar as "imitation" and "expression" could both refer to the representation of passionate utterances, their meanings were the same. Much confusion arises, however, out of the

138. Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), xvi.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid.

fact that the term "expression" came to used in diametric opposition to "painting," which itself was recognized as a form of "imitation."[141]

For the purposes of this discussion, I prefer to see "expression" and "painting" as two distinct sub-types of "imitation" in its most general sense (*mimesis*). This is roughly in keeping with Richard Will's summary of this topic, which is guided by the simple observation that aesthetic theorists of the eighteenth century generally treat imitation in music as occurring in two modes: "expression" and/or "painting."[142] "Expression," meant to imitate emotions, and was nearly always considered the higher of the two modes; the discourse surrounding the term emphasizes this kind of music's capacity to be affective, to move the listener, or to represent passionate utterances.[143] "Painting," on the other hand, meant to imitate concrete actions, motions, objects, or animals, and was usually subject to varying degrees of censure in aesthetic writings. While its less vociferous opponents allowed that painting might be capable of affording the listener pleasure, the vast majority of critics looked upon it as a mode of imitation fundamentally empty of meaning, and therefore of lower status.

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141. Ibid. Hosler is somewhat unclear on this, in that she states both that "painting" was a synonym for the *early* usage of "imitation," but that later theorists also "*began* to label" tone-painting "imitation" (my emphasis).
142. Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 130. Will quite rightly calls the latter "tone-painting"; I use "painting" here only because it is the actual word conventionally employed in these eighteenth-century writings. See my discussion below.
143. Ibid.

A Beginner's Guide to "Painting": Techniques of Musical Depiction

By far the most controversial type of musical imitation for eighteenth-century commentators across Europe was the practice of what we would call "tone-painting," "*Tonmalerei*," or, when lyrics are involved, "word-painting." Nearly all eighteenth-century authors actually use the verbs "to paint," "peintre," or "malen" when discussing this topic. And since my own discussion is intended to encompass this kind of imitation as it is deployed in multiple musical genres, both with and without the presence of "words" (i.e., lyrics), I prefer simply to use the general term "painting." The fact that this was the conventional term of the time is significant inasmuch as it suggests a desire to associate sound with a visual element—and in that sense, we can indeed call this practice a "pictorial" one. But in many cases it might be more accurate to define "painting," as *New Grove* author Tim Carter does, as the reflection of the literal or figurative meaning of a word, phrase—or, I would add, even an abstract concept—through musical gesture.[144] The stereotype of pairing an ascending musical line or a high note with the words "rise" or "heaven," strictly speaking, involves no visual element other than the implication of motion. Neither, for that matter, do onomatopoeic

144. Tim Carter, "Word-painting," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 25 July 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30568).

attempts to mimic the sounds of birds or battle. The alleged pictorialism of these techniques lies, in the strictest sense, in the power of suggestion—in their ability to represent to the imagination. This kind of visuality is encouragement for us to "see" something internally. The term "painting" thus represents, at least in part, our tendency to seek recourse to the visual in an attempt to describe a musical process that is fundamentally intangible. This process involves provoking of associative thought patterns in order to render a related concept more vivid.[145]

It is clear from the verbs I cite in the paragraph above that painting was a topic of general concern in multiple nations at this time. But what exactly *is* musical painting? How is it constituted? Defining what *kinds* of musical gestures were thought to comprise some form of painting in music is not always simple, since the practice was in part dependent upon word associations (which, in turn, could be contingent upon a given cultural context). A wide variety of compositional techniques could be involved in producing the effect of painting, a basic sample of which I provide below. The theme common to many eighteenth-century commentaries on the topic—not just from France, but also England and Germany—was that the practice of composing music with "painting" was worthy only of mockery.

145. For an extended discussion of the manifold complexities of the process of "association," see my discussion of David Schulenberg's article, "'Musical Allegory' Reconsidered: Representation and Imagination in the Baroque," in the literature review included in the Introduction to this dissertation.

And in that pan-European ridicule (some of which is, admittedly, quite humorous) we can find a useful spectrum of offending musical gestures.

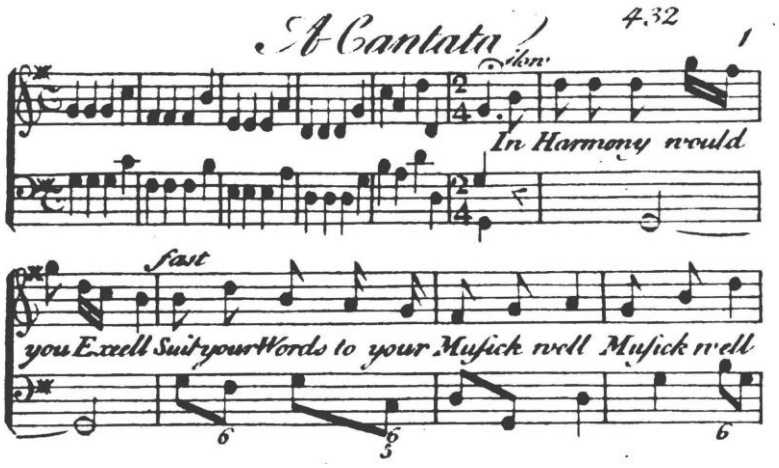
The pervasiveness of musical painting did not escape the caustic wit of Jonathan Swift, one of the eighteenth-century's most famous satirists. And although Swift was Irish, he lampoons musical practices that were ubiquitous in both English and French opera of the previous seventy years (the gestures he mocks, as I show in Chapter 3, were pervasive in Lullian opera from the 1680s onward, and were a contentious feature of Handelian opera and oratorios of the 1720s, '30s, and '40s). His little-known poem, "A Cantata," first appeared in 1746, set to music by his compatriot John Echlin **(see Ex. 1.1, below, or the full score presented at the end of this section, Ex. 1.8)**.[146] It purports to educate the reader (or listener) in the art of "set[ting] your Words to your Musick well"[147]—though, given how closely the music mimics the lyrics, one suspects that the actual process of composing "A Cantata" in fact involved the reverse tactic. Indeed, the music exists here to

146. Jonathan Swift, "A Cantata," in *The Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London: Davis, Hitch, Hawes, Hodges, Bathurst, Dodsley, and Bowyer, 1754), VII: 432-435. Although I use the copies printed in Swift's widely-dispersed collected works, Paul DeGategno and R. Jay Stubblefield place the very first appearance of this work in print in 1746. See *Critical Companion to Jonathan Swift: A Literary Reference to His Life and Works* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2006), 44.

147. According to English professor Nora Crow Jaffe, Swift intends to critique the "valuing of music over sense," which results ultimately in the nonsense "bo peep bo peep bo peep" of the final lines of the poem. She reads this as a pointed commentary on the music of Georg Friedrich Handel and poetry of Ambrose Philips. See *The Poet Swift* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1977), 53-54.

do little else other than illustrate the words; it offers us, in essence, a catalogue of eighteenth-century depictive devices.

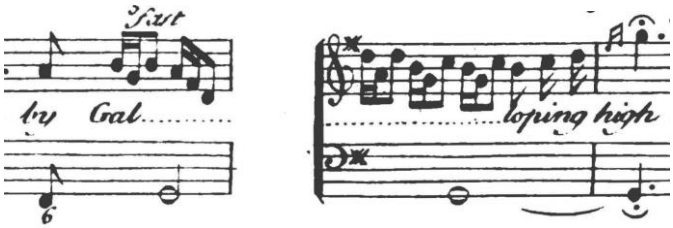
Example 1.1: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata" (1746), mm. 1-11[148]



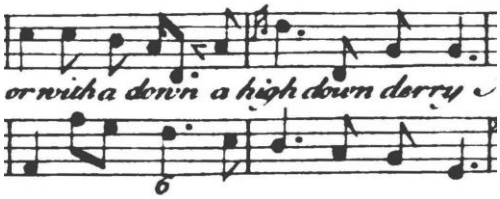
A favourite—and altogether stereotypical—strategy in this piece is the illustration of direction or relative position by means of registral shifts, such as the setting of the word "high" to a prominent high G (m. 23), or the farcical, back-to-back words "down," "high," and "down" set to oscillations between high and middle D (mm. 26-27) **(see Ex. 1.2a & 1.2b)**.

148. All musical examples from this piece are drawn from the freely-available pdf facsimile of the 1754 edition of *The Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, vol. 7, available at https://books.google.com/books?id=cTAJAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Example 1.2a: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata," mm. 21-23



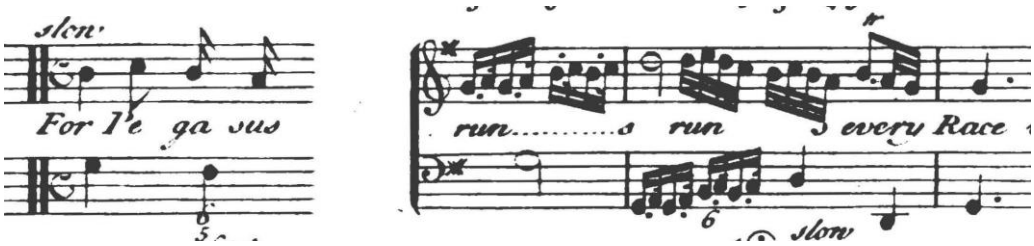
Example 1.2b: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata," mm. 26-27



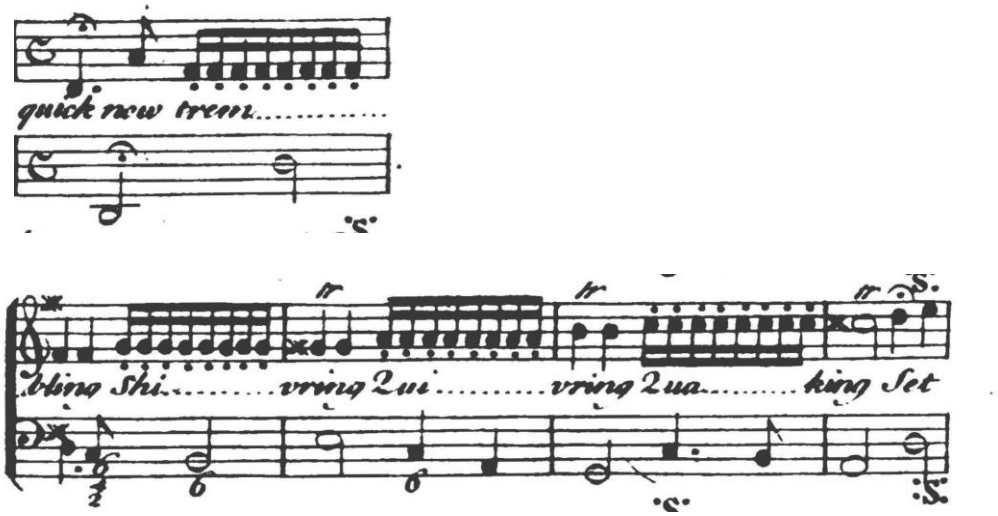
Also typical is the setting of lyrics that suggest motion to rhythmic patterns that literally illustrate the semantic sense of the word. An unambiguous example is the phrase "Pegasus runs," which is set first to dotted sixteenths and thirty-second notes (m. 19) and then a "run" of thirty-second notes (m. 20) **(see Ex. 1.3a)**. And much of the humour of the piece lies in the over-abundance of similar examples: the phrase "Now slowly move your Fiddle" is set to long note values such as whole and half notes (mm. 58-61); the word "Rambling" is accompanied by a melody that gets lost in sequential figuration (mm. 81-82); and each word in the list of

synonyms, "trembling, Shivring, Quivring, [and] Quaking," is set to rapid staccato repetitions of the same pitch, while the melodic phrase as a whole edges chromatically upward from F-sharp to a high D (mm. 69-73) **(see Ex. 1.3b)**.

Example 1.3a: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata," mm. 18-21

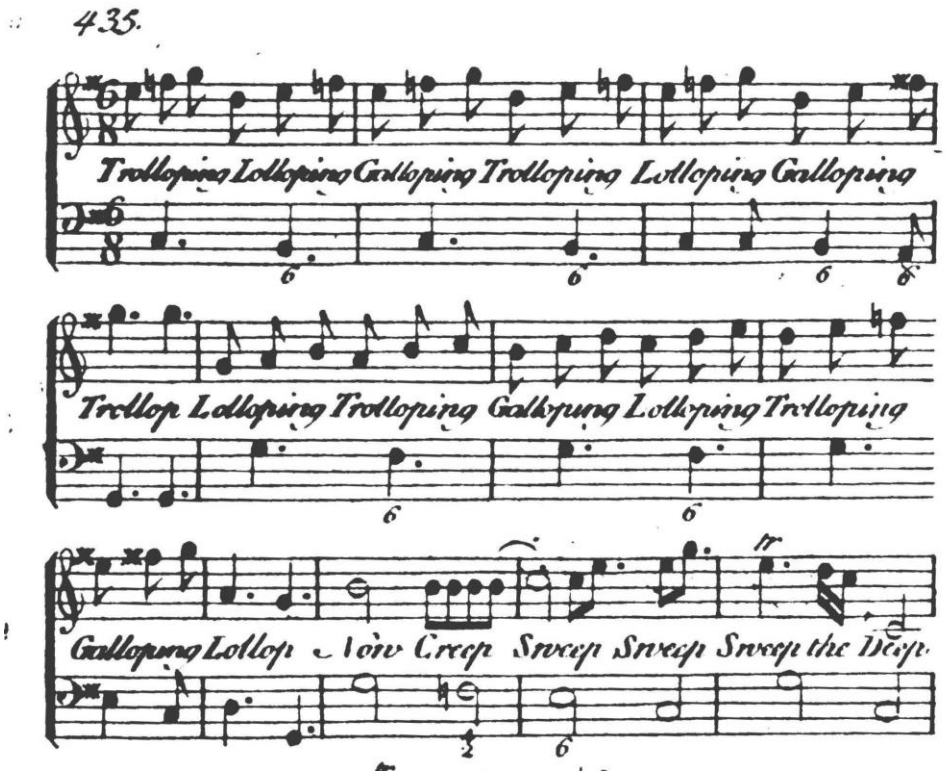


Example 1.3b: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata," mm. 69-73



But while these types of musical depiction capitalize on the literal meaning of words, others depend upon onomatopoeic effects. At times, rhythm is deployed with the aim of imitating sounds from the natural world, such as the setting of the word "Galloping" to a string of double sixteenth-/eighth-note figures marked "fast" **(see again Ex. 1.2a)**. Other moments are less strictly onomatopoeic in nature, in that they seem only loosely based on a "real-world" sound, but favour instead a kind of rhythmic play that heightens the "feel" of how certain words are pronounced. An extended example occurs between mm. 87 and 94, in which the words "Trolloping, Lolloping, Galloping" are set over and over to triplets, a pattern that first plays obsessively with the pitches E and D, and then outlines an ascending octave from middle to high G—only to flop comically down the octave on the final iteration of "Lollop." **(see Ex. 1.4)**. These examples are interesting too for the fact that the word "Gallop" is set to more than one distinctive rhythm during the piece, suggesting that, more than anything, its musical "depiction" lies in the act of drawing the listener's attention to rhythm itself.

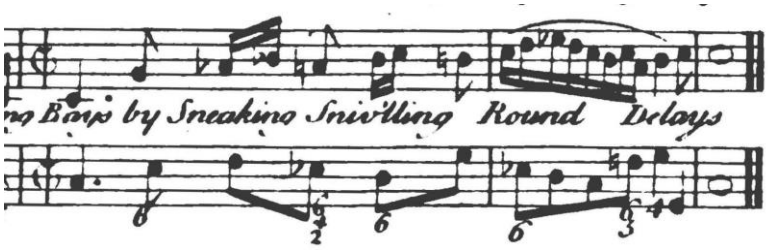
Example 1.4: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata," mm. 87-97



One can also identify here a category of depictive musical devices reliant less upon literal meaning and sounds, and more on the listener's associative thought process. At times, musical gestures "draw" aural analogues to decidedly visual shapes, as when Echlin sets the word "Round" (short for "around") to an ornamental melodic turn (m. 56) **(see Ex. 1.5)**. And the painting of word connotations through tonal and chromatic shifts (an extremely common technique throughout the eighteenth century) is still one step further divorced from the literal, insofar as the process requires the

listener to "read" and interpret positive and negative cultural associations of a word beyond its strict definition. The word "Round," for example, is immediately preceded by the verbs "Sneaking Snivilling…," whose pejorative connotations are suggested by a sudden turn to C minor and a slinky, chromatic ascent in the melody from G to high C (mm. 55-56) **(see again Ex. 1.5)**.

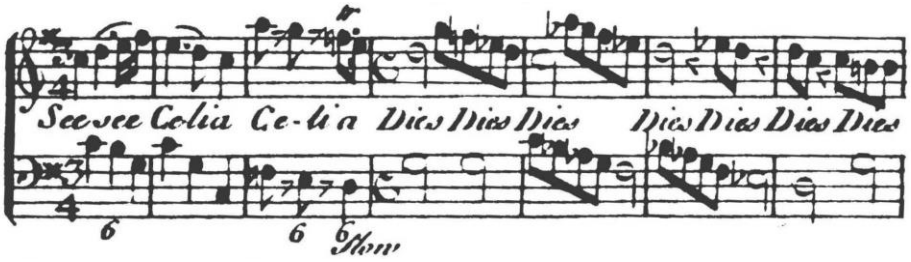
Example 1.5: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata," mm. 55-57



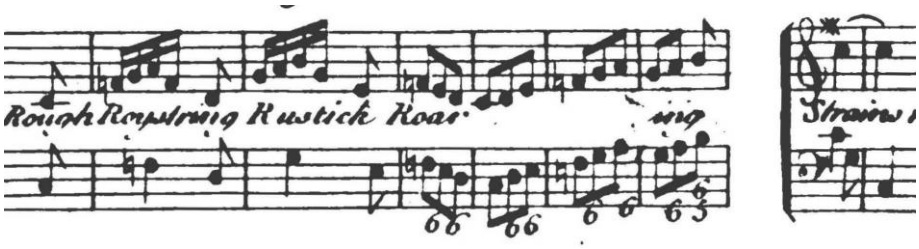
Likewise, the word "Dies" is accompanied by a move to the minor mode and repetition of descending melodic units (mm. 101-105), an utterly conventional eighteenth-century signal of lament—only here the nearly-automatic signification of the motive is rendered comical by an added literalism, in which the melodic line actually "dies" out through the careful interspersion of eighth-note rests **(see Ex. 1.6)**. And finally, at times, the connection between a word and an illustrative musical device may be almost abstract in nature: the setting of "Roaring Strains" to a sweeping run of

triplets in parallel octaves (mm. 41-45) is, strictly-speaking, neither literal nor a matter of eighteenth-century convention, yet the gesture no less strikingly connotes an impassioned, reverberant stream of sound **(See Ex. 1.7)**.

Example 1.6: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata," mm. 98-105



Example 1.7: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata," mm. 39-46



Swift's "Cantata" thus offers, in one fell swoop, a spectrum of ways in which music "paints," from the absurdly literal to the very-nearly abstract. And most importantly, it emphasizes that the verb "painting," when employed in a musical context, actually referred to a whole repertory of

devices, not solely the translation of something visual into sonic terms. In this respect, it serves as a useful example. But the levity of Swift's "Cantata" should not obscure the fact that musical painting was in fact considered, across much of Europe, a mere step away from buffoonery. By the mid- to late-eighteenth century, statements to that effect were common in some of the best-known writings from a variety of countries. Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* (1753), produced only a few years after Swift's "Cantata," sharply divides "painting" from musical "expression," treating the former as an inferior mode of composition. According to Avison,

> … the gradual rising or falling of the Notes in a long Succession, is often used to denote Ascent or Descent, broken Intervals, to denote an interrupted Motion, a Number of quick Divisions, to describe Swiftness or Flying, Sounds resembling Laughter, to describe Laughter; with a Number of other Contrivances of a parallel kind, which it is needless here to mention. Now all these I should chuse to stile Imitation, rather than Expression; because, it seems to me, that their Tendency is rather to fix the Hearers [*sic*] Attention on the Similitude between the Sounds and the Things which they describe, and thereby to excite a reflex Act of the Understanding, than to affect the Heart and raise the Passions of the Soul.[149]

And Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1771-1774), a virtual compendium of eighteenth-century aesthetic critique, addresses painting in a number of articles, including "Gemähld (Musik)" and

149. Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1753); reprinted in *Charles Avison's "Essay on Musical Expression" with Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison*, transcr. Pierre Dubois (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 24.

"Mahlerey (Musik)." Sulzer objects to the practice no less emphatically than Avison, claiming that painting "violates the true spirit of music, which ought to express the sentiments of feeling, not convey ideas of inanimate objects."[150] His advice to composers is unequivocal:

> It is imprudent if, at other opportunities, the composer also paints physical objects [for] us which have no association at all with the the passions [Empfindungen]… The composer must utterly abstain [from] puerility of that kind, unless he really must be comical; he must consider that music works neither for the mind, nor for the imagination, but for the heart.[151]

Such outright condemnation is no doubt what leads Bellamy Hosler to conclude flatly that "the vanquishing of *Tonmalerei* as an important musical function was one of the more insignificant skirmishes of eighteenth-century music criticism."[152] She thus positions musical "expression" (as opposed to "painting") as the more significant aesthetic battleground of the era. But an over-riding focus on expression means that her study necessarily omits any discussion of painting's wider social and cultural functions for

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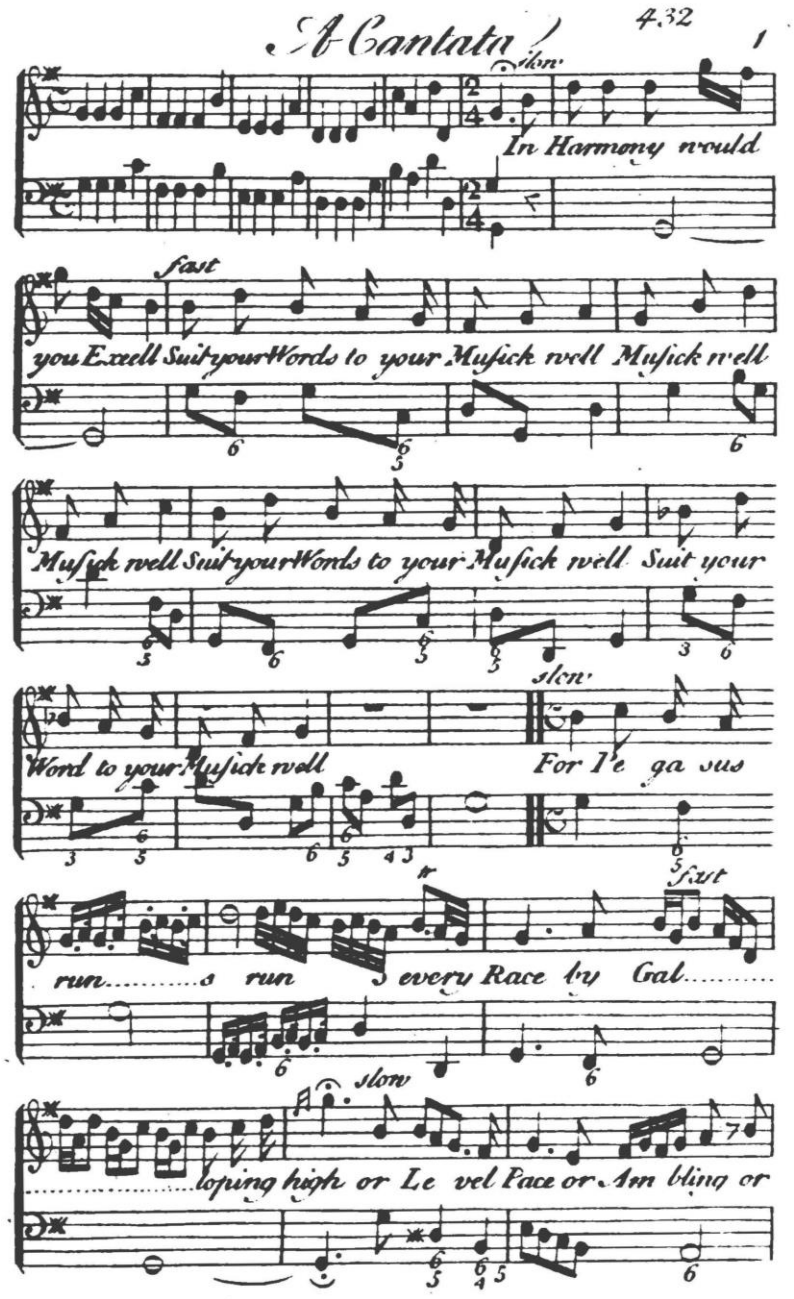
150. Johann Georg Sulzer, "Gemähld (Musik)," in *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, enlarged ed. (Leipzig: M. G. Wiedmanns Erben und Reich, 1786), 2:285. "Aber diese Mahlereyen sind dem wahren Geist der Musik entgegen, die nicht Begriffe von leblosen Dingen geben, sondern Empfindungen des Gemüths ausdruken soll." I use here the translation supplied by Richard Will in *The Characteristic Symphony*, 131.
151. Johann Georg Sulzer, "Mahlerey (Redende Künste; Musik)," in *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3:286-287. "Eben so unbesonnen ist es, wenn auch bey andern Gelegenheiten der Tonsetzer uns körperliche Gegenstände mahlt, die mit den Empfindungen gar keine Gemeinschaft haben… Der Tonsetzer muß sich schlechterdings dergleichen Kindereyen enthalten, es sey denn, da wo er würklich poßirlich seyn muß; er muß bedenken daß die Musik weder für den Verstand, noch für die Einbildungskraft, sondern blos für das Herz arbeitet."
152. Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, xv.

contemporaries. And far from negating the significance of painting, the oddly vigorous objections of Avison, Sulzer, and others actually raise a number of questions for modern readers and listeners. Why did so many eighteenth-century theorists feel the need to defeat the notion of musical painting? What was at stake for them? And, if the "baseness" of this kind of pictorialism was impossible to condone or overlook, why is so much eighteenth-century music—from opera, to chamber music, orchestral music, and song from places as diverse as France, Germany, Italy, and England—rife with these techniques?

In the following section, I hope to address some of these questions, as I turn to notions of imitation and visuality in specifically French aesthetic writings of the eighteenth century. What becomes clear is that, for all the strength of some critical objections to musical painting, the practice was far from universally outlawed—indeed, it enjoyed a special home in select aesthetic contexts.

Example 1.8: Swift/Echlin, "A Cantata" (1746), full score



Sweet Canterbury or with a down a high down derry No no

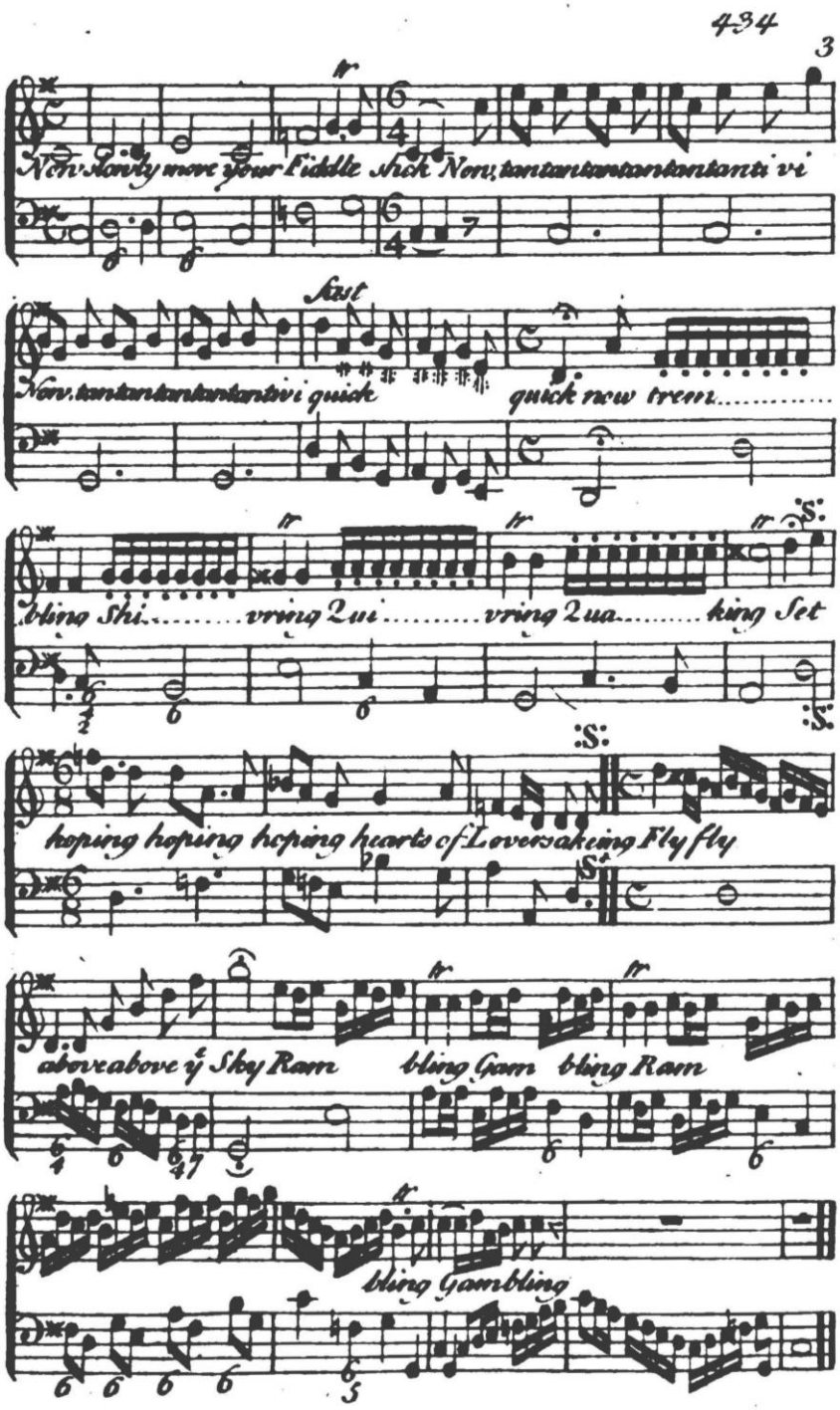
Victory Victory he overget by Jog ling Jog ling

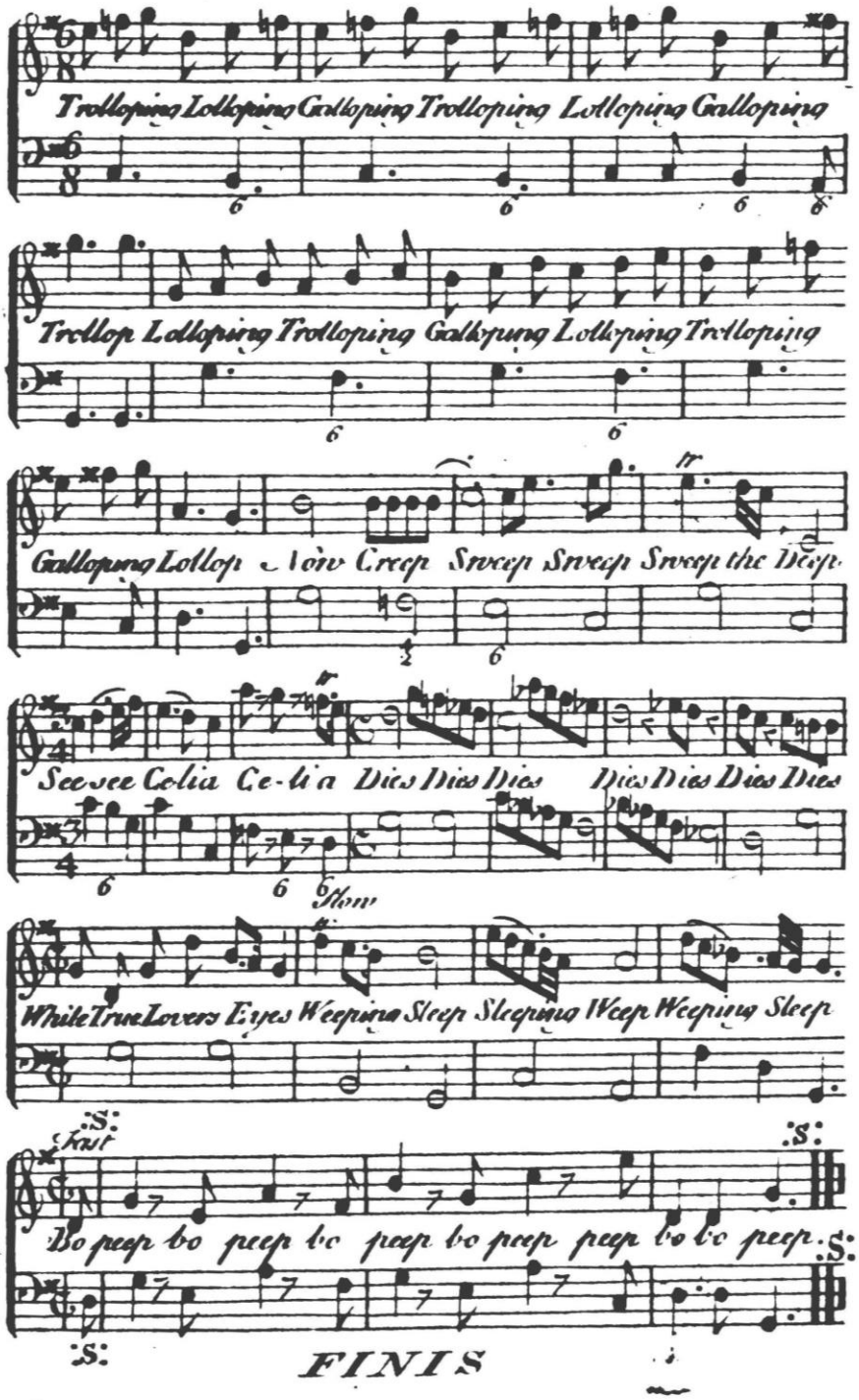
Jog ling trot No Muse har monious

Enter tains Rough Rapstring Rustick Roar ing

Strains nor shall you twin . . . . . e the Crack . . . . . ling

Crackling Baps by Sneaking Snivling Round Delays


434
3
Now Slowly move your Fiddle stick Now; tantantantantantanti vi
fast
Now; tantantantantantivi quick quick now trem............
bling Shi.........vring Qui.........vring Qua.........king Set
hoping hoping hoping hearts of Lovers aking Fly fly
above above yᵉ Sky Ram bling Gam bling Ram
bling Gambling


Trolloping Lolloping Galloping Trolloping Lolloping Galloping
Trollop Lolloping Trolloping Galloping Lolloping Trolloping
Galloping Lollop Now Creep Sweep Sweep Sweep the Deep
See see Celia Ce-li a Dies Dies Dies Dies Dies Dies Dies
Slow
While True Lovers Eyes Weeping Sleep Sleeping Weep Weeping Sleep
Fast
Bo peep bo peep bo peep bo peep peep bo bo peep
FINIS

Imitation in French Musical Writings: 1700-1720

The natural starting point for a discussion of eighteenth-century French musical aesthetics is François Raguenet's *Paralele des italiens et des françois en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra* (1702). Raguenet aims to offer a comparison between French and Italian musical styles, and while he does accord French opera some praise, his tract distinctly favors the Italian style. For Raguenet, like most of his contemporaries, the most effective music was that which portrayed the passions vividly; since, in his view, the Italians were more "sensitive to the passions," it was natural that emotional states would be more convincingly expressed in Italian music. [153]

Rather than condemning the practice of musical "painting," Raguenet attempts to demonstrate the Italians' superior sensitivity to the passions, not through the expression of lyrics in their music, but through their instrumental music, their "symphonies."[154] He cites examples of commonly

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153. François Raguenet, *Paralele des italiens et des françois en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra* (Paris: Chez Jean Moreau, 1702), 42. "Comme les Italiens sont beaucoup plus vifs que les François, ils sont bien plus sensible qu'eux aux passions, & les expriment aussi bien plus vivement dans toutes leur productions."
154. The term "symphonie" in France at this time referred not just to opera overtures, but more generally to musical numbers with predominantly instrumental textures found throughout the context of an opera. Later writers, such as Dubos and Rousseau, use "symphonie" in much the same way: as a broad category rather than any one specific genre. In his *Dictionnaire de musique*, Rousseau outlines the use of "symphonie" not only as a general term for instrumental music, but as a designation for certain types of scoring in music for the *Chapelle du Roi*, churches, and opera. Moreover, Rousseau states that the word applies to "all instrumental music," which, by his definition, includes music intended *only* for instruments, as well as music in which the instruments "are mixed with voices," such as "our operas." If the latter is the case, however, it must involve more than just voices and the *basse continue*: in order to be called a "symphonie" the piece must at least be scored for *dessus* instruments (such as violins, flutes, or oboes). Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "SYMPHONIE," in *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: chez la Veuve Duchesne, 1768), 467.

found mimetic music of the time as the most convincingly expressive of the passions. Rather than constituting empty sonic imitation, musical portrayals of the tempest, for example, succeed in his view precisely because they sweep the listener up in the "reality" of the event:

> If a symphony must be created that expresses the storm, [or] rage, [the Italians] imprint the character so well in their airs that, often, reality could not act more strongly upon the soul; everything here is so lively, acute, piercing, impetuous, and stirring that the imagination, the sense, the soul, and the body itself are led into a common transport; one cannot defend oneself from following the rapidity of these movements… [155]

Raguenet thus favors an intensely pictorial representation of musical events; this compositional technique is valid for him insofar as it demonstrates the depth and overwhelming nature of the passions being expressed. So intense are the passions portrayed by instrumental music under these circumstances that he figures this music as capable of overwhelming both player and listener—of removing the body's agency through its sheer sensory power:

> The violinist who executes this music cannot help but be transported and in [agony], he contorts his violin, his body, he is no longer master

155. Ibid., 42-43. "…s'il faut faire une symphonie que exprime [43] la tempête, la fureur, ils en impriment si bien le caractére [sic] dans leurs Airs, que souvent la réalité n'agit pas plus fortement sur l'ame; tout y est si vif, si aigu, si perçant, si impétueux & si remuant, que l'imagination, les sens, l'ame, & le corps même en sont entraînez d'un commun transport; on ne peut se défendre de suivre la rapidité de ces mouvemens…"

> of himself, he acts like one possessed, he does not know how to do otherwise. [156]

This kind of musical expression remains powerful, argues Raguenet, even under circumstances in which the passions expressed are not inflammatory or exciting—indeed, if desired, such music can have a calculated soporific effect:

> If the *symphonie* must express calm and repose, even though this demands the complete opposite character, [the Italians] execute it with no less success; [here] are the notes that descend so low that they draw the soul into the abyss with their depth; [here] are the bow strokes of infinite length, drawing out a dying sound that weakens constantly until it expires entirely. The *symphonies* of their *sommeils* so rob the soul from the senses, and suspend the faculties and action of the body, that, entirely preoccupied by the harmony that possesses and enchants it, [the body] pays no attention to all its powers, being bound by a real sleep. [157]

Such vividly-expressed preferences ought to be understood in conjunction with Raguenet's taste for spectacle—indeed, he can scarcely offer enough praise for the staging of Italian opera, with its machines, visual

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156. Ibid., 44. "…Le Joüeur de violon que l'éxécute ne peut s'emphêcher d'en être transporté & d'en prendre la fureur, il troumente son violon, son corps, il n'est plus maître de lui-même, il s'agite comme un possédé, il ne sauroit faire autrement." I borrow the idiomatic translation of "prendre la fureur" as "agony" from the William Lewis translation of 1709. See François Raguenet, *A Comparison between the French and Italian musick and opera's* (London: William Lewis, 1709), 21.

157. Raguenet, *Paralele*, 44-46. "Si la Symphonie doit exprimer le calme & le repos, quoi qu'elle demande un [45] caractére tout opposé, ils ne l'éxécutent pas avec moins de succès; ce sont des tons qui descendent si bas, qu'ils abiment l'ame avec eux dans leur profondeur; ce sont des coups d'archet d'une longueur infinie, traïnez d'un son mourant qui s'affoiblit toûjours jusqu'à ce qu'il expire entiérement. Les Symphonies de leurs sommeils enlévent tellement l'ame [46] aux sens & au corps suspendent tellement ses facultez & son action, que toute occupée de l'harmonie qui la posséde & qui l'enchante, elle n'a non plus d'attention à toutes ses puissances étoient liées par un sommeil réel."

effects, and decorations.[158] It is hardly surprising, then, that when he offers a paradigmatic example of the "conformity" of music to the "sense of the words," his example is *explicitly* visual in nature: he cites an air on the words *mille saette* ("[a] thousand arrows") he claims to have heard in Rome in 1697. Although the depiction of arrows is very common in seventeenth- and eighteenth century music—indeed, it verges on the stereotypical—Raguenet reports being powerfully moved by the passage:

> It was an Air in which the notes were dotted in the manner of gigues; the character of the Air imprinted the idea of arrows so vividly in the soul; and the force of this idea so seduced the imagination, that each violin appeared to be a bow; and all the bows so many shooting arrows from which the points seemed to dart from all parts of the Symphonie; one has never [heard] something more ingenious and [so] well-expressed. [159]

In fact, Raguenet responds so strongly to this air that he conflates the visuality of the performance itself (the shape and movement of the violins and their bows) with the rhythms of the music (pointé) and the sense of the two words (*mille saette*). In essence, Raguenet demonstrates a listening practice that involves connecting aural, visual, and semantic prompts, reading

158. Ibid., 114-115.
159. Ibid., 47-48. "C'étoit un Air dont les Notes étoient pointées à la maniére des Gigues; le caractére [sic] de cet Air imprimoit si vivement dans l'ame l'idée de fléche; & la force de cette idée séduisoit tellement [48] l'imagination, que chaque violon paroissoit être un arc; & tous les Archets, autant flêches décochées dont les pointes sembloient darder la Symphonie de toutes parts; on ne sauroit entendre rien de plus ingénieux & de plus heureureusement [sic] exprimé."

them collectively as imprinting an idea in the minds of the audience members.

Given Raguenet's enthusiastic tone, and the fact that this "painting" was of a type often maligned for its cheapness or obviousness, we might reasonably wonder whether he was simply an isolated proponent. In fact, a polemical response to Raguenet would come almost immediately in the form of Le Cerf de La Viéville's *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise*, which first appeared between 1704 and 1706.[160] Le Cerf's viewpoints are represented in the *Comparaison* through a series of dialogues by the voice of a character called the "Chevalier," who takes issue with many of the points made in a recent pamphlet published by one "Mr. L'Abbé R." (the name Le Cerf uses to refer to Raguenet). Le Cerf, who is typically thought of today as one of the most thorough describers of musical aesthetics in the late seventeenth century, argues on behalf of the compositions of Lully, attempting to rebut Raguenet's claims in loquacious detail. [161] In essence, the Chevalier acts as a kind of defender of French music in the *Comparaison*, arguing against the Italian style. And just like

160. Jean-Laurent Le Cerf de La Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise* (Brussels: François Foppens, 1704).
161. The authors of the *New Grove* article, for example, suggest Le Cerf may be taken as representative of late seventeenth-century musical aesthetics. See Julie Ann Sadie and Albert Cohen, "Le Cerf de la Viéville, Jean Laurent, Seigneur de Freneuse," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed December 29, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16216).

Raguenet, Le Cerf offers important commentary on the status of musical painting.

For all his polemics, Le Cerf does not disagree with the notion that mimetic instrumental music might have expressive power—indeed, he takes this fact for granted. Instead, he disagrees with the view that the Italians are better at this kind of expression than the French. And while the Chevalier is willing to concede that, *in general*, the Italians prevail over the French in *symphonies*, he nevertheless disputes Raguenet's claim that "Italian *symphonies* are infinitely above ours at representing tempest[s], fury, calm, [and] repose."[162] He chides Mr. L'Abbé for neglecting to take into account the *ouvertures* of Lully, compositions that he says are almost unknown in Italy, against which the works of the best Italian masters look as if composed by "little boys." [163] The Chevalier praises Lully's overtures for their beauty and originality (though he is not specific about the nature of that originality), and then, citing the storm numbers in Lully's *Persée* and Colasse's *Thétis & Pélée*, proceeds to announce that the representation of storms, fury, calm, and repose are, "frankly, no big deal" for French composers.[164]

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162. Le Cerf, *Comparaison*, 56. "Selon Mr. L'Abbé, les symphonies Italiennes sont infiniment au dessus des notres pour representer la tempête, la fureur, le calme, le repos."
163. Ibid. "Nous avons d'abord les ouvertures de Lulli, genre de symphonie presque inconnu aux Italiens, & en quoi leurs meilleurs Maîtres ne seroient auprés de lui que de bien petits garçons."
164. Ibid., 57. "…pour nos symphonies *de tempête, de fureur, de calme & de repos*, franchement ce n'est pas grand chose." Emphasis original.

For Le Cerf, the *symphonies* of the Italian composers (he cites Carissimi and Corelli) are very pleasurable, but he believes that those examples with the *fewest* perceived Italianisms, such as fugues, passage-work, and pedal tones ("tenuës")[165]—musical devices that are generally *non*-pictorial—are most beautiful.[166] Worse still, their marches and war-like *symphonies* are animated less by "a certain noble and martial fire" than merely an "ardent and furious" one.[167] Although Le Cerf dislikes the excesses of the Italian musical style, it is clear here (and elsewhere in the *Comparaison*) that he values visual spectacle and depictive instrumental music, believing both to be integral parts of the definition of "opera." That such *symphonies*, whether in French or Italian opera, must convincingly paint events like tempests and battles is simply not in question.

In the second edition, Le Cerf invokes a common metaphor for understanding vocal music as an art form in the eighteenth century: if poetry may be understood as a kind of "painting," then music offers that painting

165. Rousseau defines the "Tenue" as a "sound sustained by one part for two or more measures, while the other parts [play many notes and Diminutions]." See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Tenue," in *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris: chez la veuve Duchesne, 1768), 508. "Son soutenu par une Partie durant deux ou plusieurs Mesures, tandis que d'autres Parties travaillent." See also Rousseau, "Travailler," in *Dictionnaire*, 522.
166. Le Cerf, *Comparaison*, 58. "J'en ai entendu un grand nombre dans *Luigi*, dans *Carissimi*, dans les Opera [sic] vôtre divin *Arcangelo Corelli*, dans *Baßanni,* &c., qui m'ont fait un extrême plaisir: mais celles qui étoient les moins riches, si l'on peut parler ainsi, en fugues, en passages, en tenuës, &c. n'étoient pas, ce me semble, les moins vives & les moins gracieuses."
167. Ibid., 59. "Ils n'en font gueres de ce genre, & celles qu'ils font sont moins animées d'un certain feu noble & martial, que fougueuses & furieuses."

greater profundity by "retouching" it and "reinforcing the colors."[168] For eighteenth-century commentators, however, establishing a metaphorical relationship between painting and music is not the same as condoning musical depiction.[169] So, unsurprisingly, while Le Cerf's "Chevalier" argues that music is critically important for its capacity to nuance the meaning of a sung text, he imposes restrictions upon the circumstances in which it is acceptable for a composer to use tone-painting gestures.

Although we tend to think of Lully's operatic music as frequently highlighting important words with melodic decoration (a practice that may or may not constitute "painting," depending on the sense of the word), the Chevalier argues that his music is admirable for *reducing* the frequency of such ornamentation. As the Chevalier would have it, when Lully began to produce "public" operas, the extent to which he included *diminutions* and *roulades* (which, according to the Chevalier was already less than his predecessors' tendencies) was merely an acquiescence to the prevailing taste of the time for ornamentation. In his view (and one presumes, Le Cerf's), when Lully composed for himself or the king, he actually "rejected the least

168. Jean-Laurent Le Cerf de La Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise*, *Seconde Edition* (Bruxelles: François Foppens 1705), 2: 197. "Les tons de [Lulli] sont plus sensibles que les paroles de [Quinault]; & c'est là retoucher la peinture de la Poësie, c'est là en renforcer les couleurs."
169. Charles Avison, for example, one of the age's harshest critics of tone-painting, spends an entire chapter on the parallels between painting and music, arguing that as art forms they share many of the same conceptual parameters—but he is nevertheless adamant that the two should not be synaesthetically confused with one another. See *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: C. Davis, 1753), Part I, Section II.

appearance of *agrémens* and *roulades*."[170] Lully's inclusion of "two or three" *roulades* in an opera was begrudging at best, if the Chevalier is to be believed.

It is not clear at first whether the Chevalier distinguishes between ornaments that "paint" and those that simply highlight through attention-grabbing elaboration, but he follows this by asserting that all *roulemens* founded only on the convenience of a vowel sound, and not the sense of the word itself, are "irremissible."[171] In fact, such melodic decoration is allowable only on certain words which "make an impression": *chaîne*, *foudre*, *décendre*, *voter*, etc. Challenged as to why these particular words should be exceptions to the rule, the Countess comes to the Chevalier's aid, stating that "poetry is a painting requiring expression"; thus

> …a run [lit.: rolling/rumbling motive] on the word *chain* represents the links of a chain; on the word *lightening*, the brilliance and strike of the lightening; on the word *fly*, the movement of flight; on the word *descend*, the levels of a descent, etc., and this representation of the material object is more or less necessary depending on the case; but [it] is always justifiable, it is always an image.[172]

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170. Le Cerf, *Comparaison*, 2nd ed., 2:200. "Lulli composant pour lui-même, rejettoit la moindre appearance d'agrémens & de roulades… Lulli composant pour le Roi, n'en souffroit pas davantage…" Le Cerf cites Bacilly and Lully's father-in-law Lambert as predecessors who favored a more elaborate style of ornamentation.

171. Ibid., 202. "Oui, Mademoiselle, irremissible. Tant roulement qui n'est fondé que sur la commodité d'un belle *a* ou d'un bel *o*, que sur la commodité d'un lettre, & non sur le sens du mot, ne se sçauroit excuser."

172. Ibid., 203. "…un roulement sur le mot *chaîne*, represente les anneaux d'une chaîne; sur le mot *foudre*, l'éclat & la chute de la foudre; sur le mot *voler*, le mouvement d'un vol; sur le mot *décendre*, les degrez d'une décente, &c. & cette representation de l'objet materiel est plus ou moins nécessaire selon l'occasion; mais est toûjours supportable, c'est toûjours une image." The Countess, who is called here the Chevalier's "Protectrice," offers this argument as representative of what the Chevalier (and, again, we presume, Le Cerf) would say in response to Mademoiselle M.'s objection. By implication, then, these practices would seem to embody what the Chevalier has just referred to as "le bon sens."

This is a remarkable passage. While Le Cerf sees poetry (set here as vocal music) as an art form parallel to painting in the abstract sense, he has gone one subtle step further. In fact, he argues that musical representation of the "material object" must always be considered valid precisely *because* it presents an image. This is an inversion of our orthodox musicological understanding of tone- and word-painting, which, as I have described above, has traditionally followed later eighteenth-century sources in censuring the practice. But the fact that Le Cerf could "always" consider such pictorial techniques legitimate suggests that, far from relegating tone-painting to the realm of the trivial, superficial, or even puerile, he considered such anchoring of meaning in the visual a basic means of "reading" the sonic (perhaps one among many). In essence, Le Cerf positions "representation of the material object"—or at least common examples based on motion or suddenness—as the most fundamental means by which music can express. (I hasten to add here, the word "fundamental" should *not* be taken to imply the "only," or even "superior," means by which music was thought to express—merely, an essential, if basic, strategy through which music could be understood as signifying.)

In 1715, Le Cerf's *Comparaison* was republished by Pierre Bourdelot and Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot as the third and fourth volumes of the ambitiously-

named *Histoire de la musique et de ses effets, Depuis son origine jusqu'à présent: & en quoi consiste sa beauté*. The Bourdelots lay out one further critical piece of French discussions of imitation: their introduction attributes the use of music for "representations" to the Greeks, thereby anchoring such pictorial practices in the veneration of Antiquity.[173] The Bourdelots, like so many others of their time, attribute great power to the expressiveness of Greek music and poetry, arguing that, beyond affects such as joy and sorrow, the Ancients knew how to express "the noise of floods, the whistling of the winds, the effects of all the Elements, and many similar things."[174] So broad was their musical knowledge, they "lacked nothing for expressing the passions and touching the heart of the spectators."[175] The Bourdelots thus position representation—not just of the passions, but also of physical objects and events—as a central component of music's ability to move the listener, imbuing pictorialism with all the authority typically associated with Classical Greece.

The Bourdelots also offer us a sense of the broad taste for the visual that operated as an integral element of the consumption of music at this

173. Pierre Bourdelot and Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot, *Histoire de la musique et de ses effets, Depuis son origine jusqu'à présent: & en quoi consiste sa beauté* (Paris: C. Cochart, 1715), 1:31.
174. Ibid. "Ainsi ils eurent des Vers & des Chants pour la plainte, pour la douleur, pour la joye, comme pour les choses serieuses & comiques; ils sçavoient aussi exprimer le bruit des flots, le siflement des vents, les effets de tous les Elemens, & plusieurs choses semblables:…"
175. Ibid. "…enfin rien ne leur manquoit pour exprimer les passions, & pour toucher le coeur de Spectateurs."

time in France. Like Raguenet and Le Cerf before them, they describe an aesthetic that heavily privileges spectacle. The Bourdelots are particularly concerned with demonstrating how the interrelationship of music and the visual reflects social and political hierarchy. This is above all evident in their recounting of the reign of Louis XIV, which is treated in exalted terms.[176] While the Bourdelots' unabashed goal is to establish the musical perfection of the Lullian age, their terminology here is by no means restricted to the sonic—indeed, visual presentation is positioned as equally and inextricably responsible for this musical superiority.

It is not the sound of music that is centre-stage in the Bourdelots' recounting of the Sun King's various ballets, operas, and *fêtes*; instead, the *look* of the music (whether the musicians, the venues, the decor, the lighting, the costumes, or the special effects) and its role in establishing political prestige occupies their attention. Thus, Louis's "perfect" knowledge of music demands visual rendering in the form of his dancing body.[177] His ballets are said to have made use of visual effects more surprising and magnificent than was even possible to imagine from the Venetian opera.[178] And in the Bourdelots' telling, the first French opera (*Pomone,* 1671) was

176. The Bourdelots spare no superlatives here: they report, for example, that Louis's entrance into Paris in 1660 was "the most superb and magnificent in the world," the King's knowledge of music was "perfect," and that the musicians of his *Chapelle* and *Chambre* were the most accomplished among all the courts in Europe. Ibid., 225, 227, 228.
177. Ibid., 227.
178. Ibid.

planned for the explicit purpose of showing off the Marquis de Sourdeac's incredible stage machinery—the music (composed by Robert Cambert) and the quality of the musicians employed (the "most famous of the time") are, at least initially, accessory to the prestige of the opera's visual presentation.[179]

The musical scenarios described in this section are of course operatic—or at least theatrical—in nature. And the expectation that stage music must always cater to both visual and aural senses is made even more explicit in their later comparison of French and Italian opera. Here they list the elements that must accompany the music of an opera:

> It is therefore necessary, in order to introduce these musical actions [i.e., operas], to give them all the ornaments of other theatrical works, the choice of a beautiful subject, an agreeable disposition of beautiful verses, tender sentiments, surprising decorations, changing scenes, excellent voices, the harmonies of diverse instruments & ballet scenes, to fill the imagination to the furthest extent, to satisfy entirely the sight and the ears.[180]

It is little surprise then that, in addition to a poet and a musician, the Bourdelots list a painter as a critical figure in the creation of any "perfect" opera (as well, for that matter, as a mathematician and dance master)—each

179. Ibid., 233.
180. Ibid., 310-311. "Il a donc fallu, pour introduire ces actions de Musique, leur donner tous les ornemens des autres Piéces de Théâtre, le choix d'un beau sujet, une agréable disposition de beaux Vers, des sentimens tendres, des décorations surprenantes, des changemens de Scènes, des voix excellentes, des accords de divers Instrumens & des entrées de Balet, pour remplir l'imagination la plus étendue, & pour satisfaire entiérement la vue & les oreilles."

of whom must surpass all others in their respective fields.[181] Naturally, they consider the operas of Lully supreme examples of this kind of collaboration. The lavish spectacle of these productions is, for the Bourdelots, a direct reflection of national and political prestige—musical events, by definition, must be designed to "respond to the grandeur of the most magnificent king of all kings" through multiple senses at once.[182]

The Abbé Dubos

Thus far we have traced at least four broad, but related, ways in which the notion of "representation" has entered in some fashion in French discussions of musical aesthetics: as word-painting (i.e., a direct sonic translation of a singer's lyrics), as tone-painting (in instrumental music in the operatic context which depicts some idea but not necessarily lyrics), as a general taste for visual spectacle in the experience of stage music (which placed as much importance on the eyes as the ears), and as a metaphor for music as a whole (with the same imitative aims as the arts of painting and poetry). But Raguenet, Le Cerf, and the Bourdelots offer relatively brief mentions of these kinds of representation. No discussion of the early

181. Ibid., 311. "…ainsi pour composer un Opera parfait, il faut du moins un Poëte, un Musicien, un Mathematicien, un Maître de Danse, un Peintre, qui excellent tous dans leur Art…"
182. Ibid., 316. "…[ces grand Operas qui a été faite par le Roi] paroissoit [à Versailles] avec toute la somptuosité imaginable, de sorte que ces spectacles ne laissoient rien à desirer: enfin tout répondoit à la grandeur du plus magnifique Roi de tous les Rois."

eighteenth century treats the topics of imitation and representation in quite as much detail as the Abbé Jean-Baptiste Dubos's *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* of 1719.[183]

Dubos's treatise achieved a much greater degree of circulation and influence than most other volumes discussed in this chapter (with the possible exception of that of Charles Batteux, which will be discussed further below). Produced initially for his election to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in 1720, the *Réflexions critiques* went through nine French editions and multiple translations in the fifty years following its initial production.[184] Frederick the Great is reported to have read the *Réflexions critiques*,[185] and the section of the treatise on languages and music (added in the second edition of 1713) was influential in the production of Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues*.[186] Dubos possessed considerable stature as a man of arts and letters in his day: he was trained in archaeology and theology at the Sorbonne, was a well-travelled diplomat, and, by 1723, had risen to secretary of the *Académie française*. He was also extremely well-educated in the world of contemporary opera: in the 1690s, Dubos was part of a tight-knit

183. [Abbé Jean-Baptiste Dubos], *Reflexions critiques sur la poesie et sur la peinture*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jean Mariette, 1719).
184. Peter Le Huray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 17.
185. Ibid.
186. Robert Erich Wolf and Philippe Vendrix, "Dubos, Abbé Jean-Baptiste," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 9 January 2015), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08233).

group of bourgeois connoisseurs of the genre who mingled amongst the composers and artists of the Opéra and attended rehearsals.[187] In fact, Dubos even assisted with rehearsals held in the private homes of a local banker and composers themselves, keeping abreast of details such as the composition of choruses, stage decor, and costumes, and offering his counsel.[188] He wrote extensively on both new operas and those long-established in the repertory, and his lengthy critiques, in the form of letters rather than published articles, were passed regularly amongst his circle of fellow intellectual connoisseurs.[189] Dubos's treatise was thus imbued with an authoritative weight unmatched by most other eighteenth-century sources on musical aesthetics, and was no doubt informed by the extent of his personal involvement with the artists, compositions, and libretti of the Opéra.

Like his contemporaries, Dubos saw various art forms as imitative of nature, and his discussion of mimesis is one of the most extensive of the time—indeed, along with Charles Batteux and Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, John Neubauer identifies Dubos as one of the persons most responsible for instituting "imitation" as a central theoretical concept in the

187. Dubos's familiarity with opera is mentioned by Le Huray and Day, as well as the authors of the *New Grove* article, but one must look to earlier sources to obtain more specific details about his personal involvement with the genre. See Alfred Lombard, *L'Abbé Du Bos: Un initiateur de la pensée moderne* (Paris: Hachette, 1913), 45.
188. Ibid., 46-47.
189. Ibid., 47.

eighteenth century.[190] In Dubos's reasoning, man is compelled by instinct to pursue that which is capable of exciting the passions, since both the body and soul constantly need to shake off the "ennui" of "inaction."[191] Our need to occupy the mind can be satisfied in one of two ways: we may experience "sensible impressions" (which is when "the soul is affected by external objects"), or we may "reflect or meditate" (which is when the soul speculates on "useful or curious subjects").[192] Dubos thus distinguishes between internal and external "impressions," and it is upon the latter—things we are capable of perceiving with the senses from the world around us—that he builds his argument that poetry, painting, and music are imitative of nature.

The fact that the arts are thought of as imitations of nature, however, is not without qualification. First, for Dubos, the imitation cannot make as profound an impression as the real-life event or object; in fact, for him, even the "most perfect imitation has only an artificial existence, or a borrowed life; whereas the force and activity of nature are found in the object [being] imitated."[193] Thus, painters, poets, and (presumably) composers must always

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190. John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Languauge: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 60.
191. Dubos, *Reflexions critiques*, 1:6. "Ennui," it should be noted, means more than simply "boredom" in this context; the contemporary English edition of the *Critical Reflections* translates this word as "heaviness." See Abbé [Jean-Baptiste] Dubos, *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting, and Music with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Theatrical Entertainment of the Ancients*, trans. Thomas Nugent (London: John Nourse, 1748), 1:5.
192. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:5.
193. The translation I supply here and in all footnotes below, unless otherwise noted, is a modification of that provided in the 1748 Nugent translation, referenced against the French editions of the *Reflexions critiques* of 1719 and 1733. See Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:26.

attempt to choose the most engaging subject possible[194]—and not all subjects are created equal. Dubos distinguishes between subjects that merely amuse us—he lists the "fête de village," the *divertissements* of a group of soldiers, and country landscapes[195]—and those capable of truly moving us. In Dubos's view, inferior topics, or those incapable of moving us in real life, cannot provide the basis for an imitation with any profound effect.

While Dubos then devotes a great deal of space to painting and poetry, these essential points provide the foundation for his later discussion of music (which does not arrive until Chapter 46). Although Dubos does treat music as one of the imitative arts, he nevertheless begins by positioning it as secondary: in his view, it is fundamentally a means by which to strengthen poetry.[196] In order to explain how sonic elements might be used to create this kind of musical imitation, Dubos turns to the language of painting:

> As the painter imitates the strokes and colours of nature, the musician likewise imitates the tones, accents, sighs, and inflections of the voice; in short, all those sounds by which nature expresses her sentiments and passions.[197]

194. Ibid., 1:43. In fact, this is precisely the title of one of Dubos's chapters: "De la nature des sujets que les Peintres & les Poètes traitent. Qu'ils ne scauroient les choisir trop interressants par eux-mêmes."
195. Ibid., 1:44.
196. Ibid., 1:361.
197. Ibid., 1:360-361. Nugent translates "les traits" as the word "strokes." See Dubos, *Reflexions critiques*, 1:634.

The value of music lies, thus, in the imitation of natural sounds—sounds that are more affective than words alone, which Dubos recognizes as only "arbitrary signs of passions," contingent upon the context (and language) of a given country.[198] Dubos breaks music into three component elements—rhythm, harmony, and what he calls the "chant continu" or "subject" (which might be translated loosely as "melody").[199] These elements, according to Dubos, are the basic tools by which music is capable of imitating natural sounds; indeed, the manner of their deployment is directly responsible for transforming an imitation of natural sounds into something pleasing and moving. Once more, Dubos leverages visual metaphor in order to explain a somewhat intangible concept: he tells us these elements—melody, harmony, and rhythm—can be understood as equivalent to strokes, chiaroscuro, and the colours in painting.[200]

What the "natural sounds" being imitated by music actually *are*, by Dubos's logic, is somewhat harder to define. They are clearly more than

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198. Dubos, *Réflexions critiques*, 1:635. "[…] les mots articulez ne sont que des signes arbitraires des passions. Les mots articulez ne tirent leur signification & leur valeur que de l'institution des hommes qui n'ont pû leur donner cours que dans un certain pays."
199. Nourse translates "chant continu" as the "continued modulation or singing." It is perhaps also possible that his intention was to print "the continued modulation OF singing." In either case, the implication is that this element is analogous to a melody with a fundamentally vocal quality. See Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:361. Rousseau's *Dictionnaire* of 1767 offers several senses for the word "chant," one of which is "the melodic part, that which results from the duration and succession of notes, that on which all the expression depends and to which all the rest is subordinate." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "CHANT" in *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: Chez la Veuve Duchesne, 1768), 83. "*Chant*, appliqué plus particulièrement à notre Musique, en est la partie mélodieuse, celle qui résulte de la durée & de la succession des Sons, celle d'où dépend toute l'expression, & à laquelle tout le reste est subordonné."
200. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:362.

words alone: here the literal meaning of an arbitrary word is thought of as distinct from the sonic elements that project, carry, and intensify that meaning. These "natural signs of the passions"[201] are defined in his discussion of recitative as the "tones, accents, sighs, and sounds" proper to the "sentiment" of the words.[202] They form, in short, "the inarticulate language of man," or sounds we "make use of by instinct" (a concept Rousseau would famously expand upon later in the century).[203]

For much of Dubos's discussion, the "inarticulate language" definition of music suffices, since his primary concern is vocal music, in which words define the underlying "sentiment." His comments on pictorial imitation in this context are relatively limited. His primary complaint is that too many composers fail to fit their melody to the true affect of the words, but are satisfied to merely offer a "transient expression of some of the words of the recitative."[204] In other words, Dubos ranks expression of the passions in vocal music well above the pictorial representation of individual words, a practice he associates with mere "agreeableness."[205] He offers an example of these objectionable techniques:

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201. Ibid.
202. Ibid., 1:363. "Sounds," of course, is somewhat less helpfully specific than the other members of this list. Nourse's translation of this passage is literal; the original French is "des tons, des accents, des soûpirs & des sons naturellement aux sentiments contenus dans les paroles." See Dubos, *Reflexions critiques*, 1:638.
203. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:363.
204. Ibid., 1:373.
205. Ibid.

> If [composers] set to music for example, the verse of the psalm *The Lord said unto my Lord*, which begins with these words, *he shall drink of the brook in the way*, they dwell intirely [sic] upon the expression of the rapidity of the brook in its course, without attending to the sense of the verse, which contains a prophecy on the passion of Christ.[206]

The "brook" described in this text is of course a classic invitation for word-painting. But in Dubos's opinion, the expression of the literal sense of a single word must remain secondary to the larger affect of the passage. This is not to entirely outlaw the practice of word-painting, but instead to assert that "if a musician pays some regard to the expression of a word, he ought to do it without losing sight of the general purpose of the phrase which he has set to music"—to succumb to the latter is akin to letting a handmaid "make herself mistress of the house."[207]

Not all of Dubos's discussion, however, concerns vocal music. He argues that music is not *confined* to the imitation of "inarticulate language." According to Dubos, music "has also attempted to form imitations of all the other natural sounds capable of making an impression on us."[208] Such inarticulate natural sounds—by which one presumes he means common topics such as the sound of thunder or a babbling brook—differ from "inarticulate language," and thus must be imitated through the vehicle of

206. Ibid.
207. Ibid., 1:374.
208. Ibid.

instrumental music.[209] Like Raguenet and Le Cerf, Dubos's term for these instrumental imitations is *symphonies*.[210] But this presents Dubos with a logical problem: if, in order to be moved, we depend upon music to offer an imitation of sounds that are carriers of meaning (i.e., "inarticulate language"; "tones, accents, sighs, and sounds that are proper to the sentiment of the words"), then is it possible to be moved by instrumental music? And if so, how?

As it turns out, Dubos believes unequivocally that instrumental imitations of "inarticulate sounds" can move the listener, and he turns to Classical sources in an attempt to reinforce his position. Drawing on Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, he asserts that the sound of instruments, even without the accompaniment of words, can "inspire sentiments" in the listener;[211] indeed, the fact that "tones" alone are capable of moving us is a "law of nature."[212] There are, according to this explanation, two rough

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209. Ibid. Nugent draws attention to the dichotomy between the phrases "inarticulate language" and "inarticulate sounds" by using them successively within the same paragraph, but this duality is more obvious in the English translation. The French edition of 1719 reads "langage inarticulé" and "ces bruits dans lesquelles il n'y a rien d'articulé." Dubos, *Réflexions critiques*, 1:638.
210. Dubos, *Réflexions critiques*, 1:638. Unlike Raguenet and Le Cerf, however, Dubos makes more explicit the fact that the term *symphonie* refers at this time not just to overtures, but to instrumental passages in general within an opera, for he refers to *symphonies* occurring "in the scenes of a dramatic piece" ("dans les scenes d'une piece Dramatique").
211. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 3:32. The phrase Dubos cites is *Cum organis quibus sermo exprimi non potest, affici animas in diversum habitum sentiamus* from Book 1, Ch. 10 of the *Institutio Oratoria*. It should be noted that I supply here, and in all subsequent Latin and Greek quotations, Nugent's English translation of Dubos's text.
212. Ibid. The passage cited by Dubos here, from Book 9, Ch. 4 of the *Institutio Oratoria*, reads as follows: *Natura ducimur ad modos, neque aliter enim eveniret ut illi quoque organorum soni, quamquam verba non exprimunt, in alios tamen atque alios motus ducerent auditorem. In certaminibus sacris non eadem ratione concitant animos ac remittunt: nec*

categories of music: that which animates the listener, and that which calms—and instrumental music is capable of doing either. Dubos expands upon this point by quoting Macrobius:

> Symphonies inflame us, divert us, disturb us, and even lull us to sleep. They likewise calm our minds, and afford us comfort under our bodily afflictions and disorders.[213]

In this construction, instrumental music possesses a mysterious kind of power over the human body. At times, Dubos's exegesis of Classical sources almost takes on an insidious tone, as though instrumental music might even be capable of moving us unwillingly, depriving the listener of his/her faculties. The excerpt of Longinus's *On the Sublime* quoted by Dubos, though a trope of Greek theory, sounds almost alarmist in this context:

> Do not we observe that the sound of wind-instruments moves the souls of those that hear them, throws them into an ecstasy, and hurries them sometimes into a kind of fury? Do not we see that it obliges them to conform the motions of their body to that of the measure, and that it frequently forces them into involuntary gestures? Instrumental music influences us therefore in a sensible manner, since we perceive it produces the effect intended by the composer.[214]

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eosdem modes adhibent cum bellicum est canendum, aut posito genu supplicandum; nec idem signorum concentus est procedente ad praelium exercitu, idem receptui canente.

213. Ibid., 36. The passage cited by Dubos comes from Book 2, Ch. 2 of the *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*. It reads: *Ita denique omnis habitus animae cantibus gubernatur, ut & ad bellum progressui, & item receptui canatur cantu, & excitante, & rursus sedante virtutem. Dat somnos adimitque, nec-non curas immittit & retrahit, iram suggerit, clementiam suadet. Corporum quoque morbis medetur.*

214. Ibid., 35. Dubos tells us only that this quotation is taken from Chapter 32 (whereas the Nugent translation attributes it to Chapter 34) of the *Traité du sublime*. Dubos's translation of the original Greek (which he does not provide) reads as follows: "Et de vrai ne voyons-nous pas que le son des Instrumens à vent remuë l'ame de ceux qui les entendent, qu'il les transport hors d'eux-mêmes, & qu'il les fait entrer

As far as *how* instrumental music might be capable of moving the listener, Dubos's answer is two-fold. First, these instrumental passages are "true" (*veritable*) imitations of nature. Second, and perhaps more importantly, they occur within the dramatic context of a staged work.[215] Loosely quoting Longinus, Dubos explains that these two principles are responsible for the fact that some instrumental music can move us, even though these sounds are "nothing but simple imitations of an inarticulate noise—sounds that have only half of their being, a half-life."[216] Meaning, for instrumental music, is fundamentally contingent upon context—context provided both by a discernible object of imitation and a dramatic setting. Detached from this

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quelquefois en une espece de fureur? Ne voyons-nous pas qu'il les contraint de conformer les mouvemens de leur corps au mouvement de la mesure, & qu'il leur arrache souvent des démonstrations involontaires? La Musique Instrumentale agit donc sensiblement sur nous, puisque nous lui voyons fair l'effet que le Compositeur à voulu qu'elle produisît."

215. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:363. "…tho' this kind of music be instrumental, yet it contains a true imitation of nature. In the next place, there are several sounds in nature capable of producing a great effect upon us, when we hear them seasonably ["à propos"] in the scenes of a dramatic piece."

216. Dubos, *Réflexions critiques*, 1:640. "Il n'est donc pas surprenant que les symphonies nous touchent beaucoup, quoique leurs sons, comme le dit Longrin [sic], *Ne soient que de simples imitations d'un bruit inarticulé, & s'il faut parler ainsi, des sons qui n'ont que la moitié de leur être* [sic]*, & une demi vie.*" Emphasis original. Again, Dubos says only that this passage comes from Chapter 32 of the *Traité du Sublime*. Dubos's translation differs substantially from Boileau's of 1674, which reads "…ne sont que des images et de simples imitations de la voix, qui ne disent et ne persuadent rien, n'estant, s'il faut parler ainsi, que des sons bastards, et non point, comme j'ai dit, des effets de la nature de l'homme." Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours*, in *Oeuvres diverses Du Sieur D*** (Paris: Chez la Veuve de la Coste, 1674), 80. The fact that Dubos replaces the word "voice" with "bruit inarticulé" is in keeping with his assertion that instrumental music only forms imitations of "inarticulate sounds," as opposed to "inarticulate language." Nugent, it should be noted, does not adhere to Dubos in this part of his translation; here he follows Boileau instead, stating that symphonies are "only images and simple imitations of the voice, which really express nothing, being, as it were, mere bastard sounds, and not the genuine effects of human nature." Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:365.

parent context, instrumental music risks meaninglessness: it becomes, quite literally, "mere bastard sounds."[217]

The first of the two principles above necessitates some qualification, for how is one to know what determines a "true" imitation? Dubos's answer is significant for our discussion of pictorialism insofar as he argues that such instrumental passages derive their value based on verisimilitude. In other words, "the truth in the imitation of a *symphonie* lies in its resemblance to the sound that it attempts to imitate."[218] According to Dubos, the emotional response one has to this music is dependent upon its ability to activate the emotions one would feel if presented with the "real" thing.[219] This is an important step in his argumentation—but it is a belief that was nevertheless implicit in Raguenet and Le Cerf's writings, wherein it was simply assumed that representational *symphonies* have value. But Dubos must articulate this point explicitly based on how he has defined music as an art form. In his aesthetic construction, music is theorized as comparable with poetry and painting because, like the latter two, it operates based on *mimesis*. (In fact, one might say that it is this basic assumption that makes music even relevant in a book entitled simply *Réflexions critiques sur la poesie et sur la peinture*.) The result

217. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 365. Here I use the phrase "mere bastard sounds" from the Nugent translation, which supplies the original Greek and uses the phrase contained in the Boileau translation of 1674: "des sons bâtards." See fn. above.
218. Dubos, *Réflexions critiques*, 1:638-639. "La verité de l'imitation d'une symphonie consiste dans la ressemblance de cette symphonie avec le bruit qu'elle prétend imiter." Translation my own.
219. Ibid., 1:639. Dubos's example is a tempest-type *symphonie*. See my discussion below.

is that, in this hierarchy, music with clearly representational or depictive intentions—music that *imitates* concrete phenomena—is by definition valid.

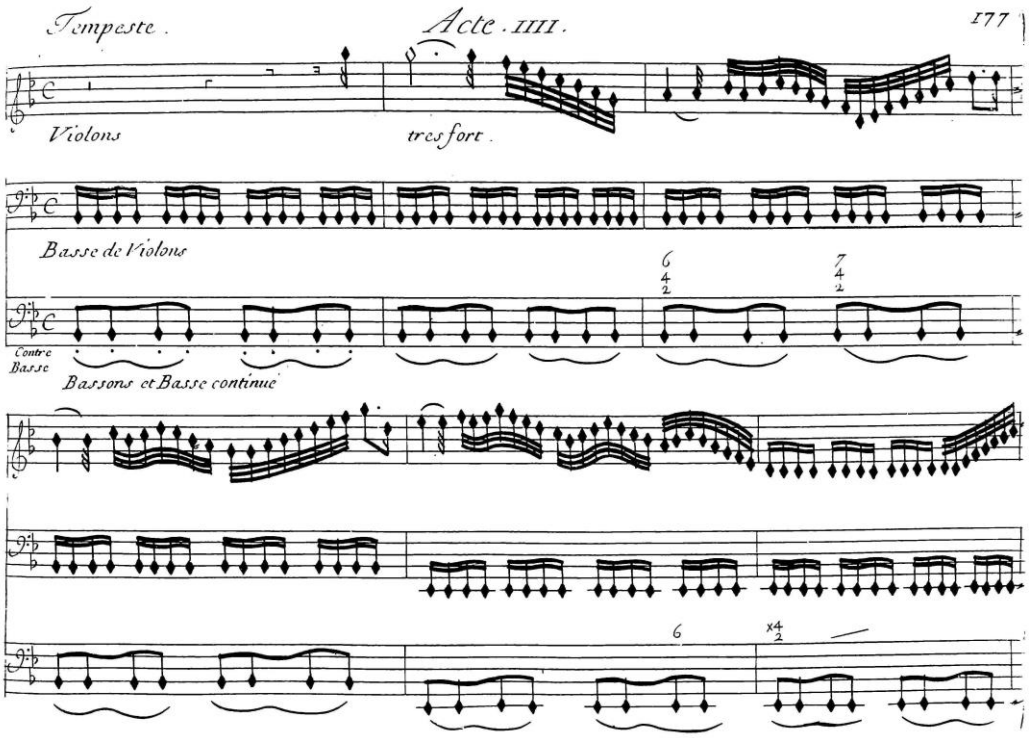
This may seem surprising to some in the modern day, given tone-painting's long association with the superficial or "gimmicky," and its commonly-assumed subordinate status to "absolute" instrumental music (a nineteenth-century concept). But under an aesthetic that privileges opera above all else (not surprising, given the author's predisposition towards the genre) this is a rational extension of Dubos's attempt to explain music's capacity to move the listener. (One might certainly debate, however, whether Dubos's intention was to propose a rational theory to which future composers should adhere, or to validate the kind of Lullian opera on which his personal tastes had been formulated, or both.)

For Dubos, as for many of his contemporaries, the archetypal example of this imitative music was the tempest piece, a regular feature of French operas since the establishment of the *tragédie lyrique* by Jean-Baptiste Lully. Here instrumental music's "truth" value was at its utmost for Dubos, who cites the still-famous storm scene from Marin Marais's *Alcyone* as a particularly successful example **(see Ex. 1.9)**.[220] Dubos claims that the

220. In fact, the fame of the opera as a whole is often largely attributed to its instrumental passages. See Jérôme de La Gorce, "Alcyone," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 27 January 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O900076).

combination of the three elements of melody,[221] harmony, and rhythm in this piece "made" the audience hear sounds like the din of the wind and the roaring of the waves as they crashed against the rocks. By extension, the audience could have felt the very real fear they would experience were they or someone they loved imperiled by this storm in real life.[222]

Example 1.9: Marin Marais, *Alcyone* (1706), Act IV, scene iv, mm. 1-6[223]

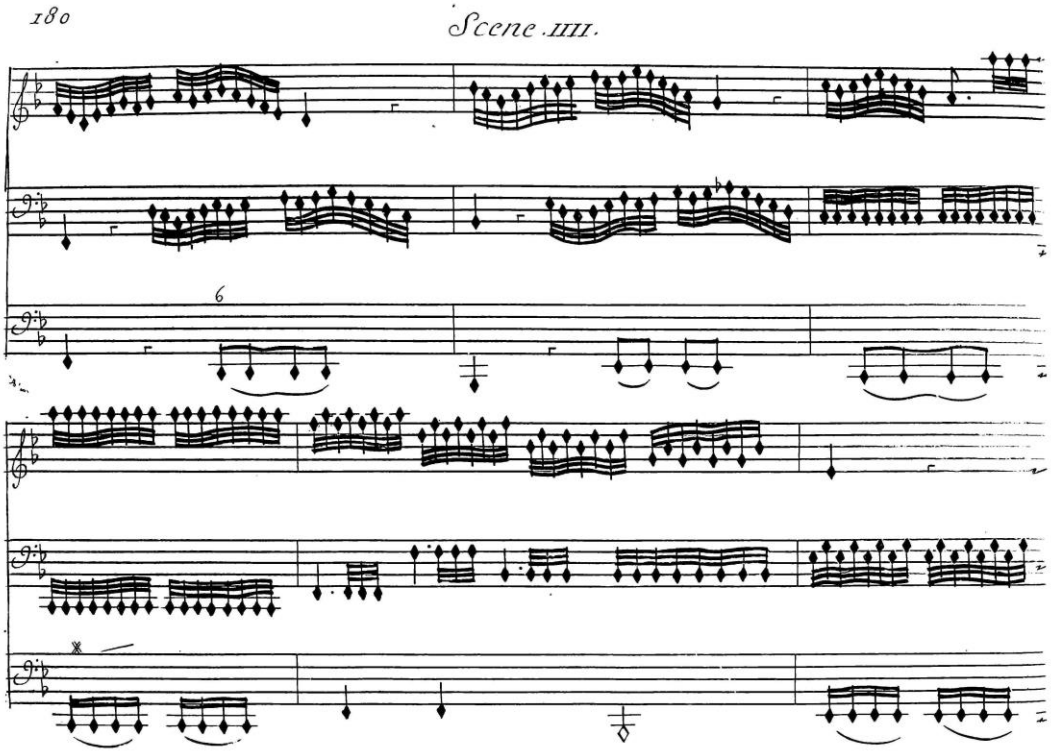


221. See discussion of Dubos's use of "chant" above, p. 108, fn. 199.
222. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:364. "For instance, the imitation of the noise of a tempest, which is just going to sink a personage in whose favor the poet has deeply engaged us, affects us exactly as we should be moved with the blustering of a tempest just ready to plunge into the waves a person for whom we had a sincere affection, were this a real tempest, and we near enough to hear it."
223 Examples from this work are drawn from freely-available (public domain) facsimile pdf of the 1706 edition of *Alcyone* provided by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* through the *Gallica bibliothèque numerique* online repository (gallica.bnf.fr).

Given that Dubos offers this as an ideal model for imitative instrumental music, it is worth momentarily noting its musical features (though tempest scenes have been covered in detail elsewhere).[224] It may seem obvious, but if the melody, harmony, and rhythm of this piece are indeed responsible for creating this piece's "truth" value (i.e., a sense of verisimilitude with an actual storm), then one would expect the nature of its component elements to distinguish it from the musical rhetoric employed in other instrumental forms popular at the time, such as the familiar French dances. That is manifestly the case here, and Marais's writing could easily be taken as the paradigm for any other storm scene in contemporary French opera. Melody, such as it exists here, functions above all to suggest a sense of motion; its contours, though not disjunct, trace dramatic swoops from upper to lower registers, while incessant turn figures suggest a swirling, non-goal-oriented circularity **(see Ex. 1.9, mm. 3-5)**. And such runs are not confined to the top part: the *basse de violons* also participates in this wild motion, at times in dialogue with the violins—no doubt a remarkable effect in such a low register **(see Ex. 1.10, stave 2)**.

224. See especially Caroline Wood, "Orchestra and Spectacle in the *tragédie en musique*, 1673–1715: oracle, *sommeil* and *tempête*," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 108 (1981–1982): 25–46; and Michele Cabrini, "Breaking Form through Sound: Instrumental Aesthetics, *Tempête* , and Temporality in the French Baroque Cantata," *The Journal of Musicology* 26, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 327-378.

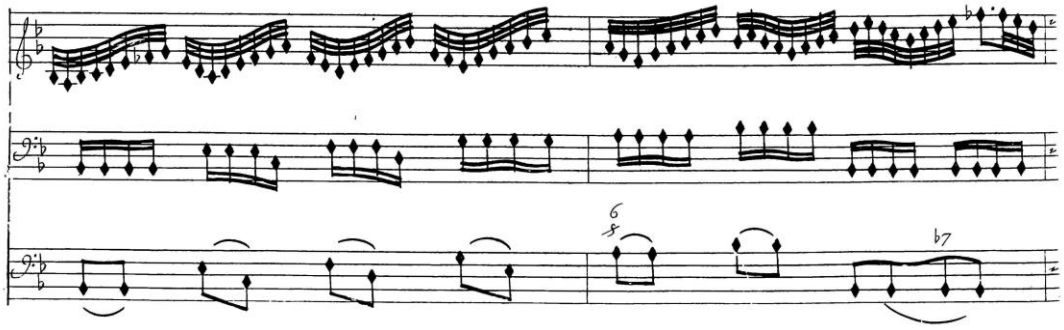
Example 1.10: Marin Marais, *Alcyone*, Act IV, scene iv, mm. 16-20



Rhythm is also a focal point in this excerpt, not because it varies in particularly complex ways, but because so much of the *violons* and *basse de violons* parts are written as rapid-fire thirty-second notes, a continuous rhythmic frenzy. On the other hand, harmony here is by no means unconventional: most sonorities in the movement consist of simple triads and seventh chords. Nevertheless, compared to the rate of harmonic change in much of the rest of the opera, these sonorities move relatively slowly, over a "hammer" bass **(see again Ex. 1.9)**. The fact that harmonies are

often sustained for several beats at a time (instead of changing on every quarter note) only serves to draw further attention to the extreme mobility of the upper parts. And when the harmony does change rapidly, it does so with the calculated objective of ratcheting up tension, the bass creeping upward from scale-degrees 4 to 1 in order to support an interminable stream of ascending melodic figuration **(see Ex. 1.11)**.

Example 1.11: Marin Marais, *Alcyone*, **Act IV, scene iv, mm. 9-10**



As Titon du Tillet testifies, this *tempête* scene remained popular amongst French musical connoisseurs in particular for the strength of its verisimilitude to an actual storm.[225] But according to him, some of its value may have lain in performed sonic elements not notated in the published score, suggesting that the "truth" of its imitation was established by more

225. Évrard Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard Fils, 1732), 626. Titon du Tillet tells us the tempest *symphonie* was "greatly praised by all the connoisseurs" ("tant vantée par tous les Connoisseurs").

than just the elements of melody, rhythm, and harmony cited by Dubos. Tillet tells us that Marais used continuously-rolled drums (with skins not stretched too tightly, resulting in a destabilization of both pitch and rhythm) to enhance the effect of the piece.[226] This, combined with the "piercing" tones of the high violins and oboes made one feel "all the fury and all the horror of an agitated sea and of a furious wind that groans and whistles—in short, of a real and effective tempest."[227]

One might choose to debate whether to call these techniques "visual," in the strict sense, or merely "evocative." But Tillet's comments inform us that this music gained a life independent of its visible staging at the Opéra; further, he suggests it was understood as *more* than just music when he tells us that this combination of instruments created a "dull and lugubrious noise."[228] As with many of the tone-painting examples in the Swift/Echlin "Cantata" above, the connotative power of musical timbres and gestures here is a stand-in for the sense of sight—in the end, this music may be called "visual" insofar as the audience is intended to imagine, or "feel," the nominal subject matter of the piece.

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226. Ibid. Tillet's exact phrase is "des Tambours peu tendus." See fn. below for the full passage.
227. Ibid. "Marais imagina de faire exécuter la basse de sa tempête, non-seulement sur les Bassons & les Basses de Violon à l'ordinaire, mais encore sur des Tambours peu tendus, qui roulant continuellement, forment un bruit sourd & lugubre lequel joint à des tons aigus & perçans pris sur le haut de la chanterelle des Violons & sur les Haut-bois font sentir ensemble toute la fureur & tout l'horreur d'une mer agitée & d'un vent furieux qui gronde & qui siffle, enfin d'une tempête réelle & effective."
228. Ibid. "…un bruit sourd & lugubre…"

Thus, Dubos argues that *symphonies* are perfectly valid within the context of opera, since their realism "engage[s] us to the dramatic action."[229] And, as is clear from the discussion above, he sees them as more than just neutral imitations of objects and events, but as music with true affective potential for the audience. Dubos repeatedly cites those of Lully as particularly effective, not only in *tempête* scenes, but in a range of other expressive circumstances, such as *sommeil* scenes. And not all the instrumental pieces he cites are, strictly-speaking, direct imitations. Indeed, in the case of the *sommeil* in Lully's *Atys*, Dubos refers to a series of discrete numbers within the scene, each evincing its own "character," as convincing:

> The fiction which lays Atys asleep, and presents him with such diversified objects during his slumber, is rendered more probable and moving, by the impression we receive from the symphonies of different characters which precede his sleep, and from the proper succession of airs whilst it continues.[230]

Challenging the reader, he demands, "Do we not perceive that these symphonies inflame us, calm us, soften us, and, in short, operate upon us as effectively almost as Corneille's or Racine's verses?"[231] But Dubos is still careful to distinguish these valid imitations from the objects (or events)

229. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:364.
230. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:368.
231. Ibid., 1:366.

being imitated, in effect, acknowledging that no matter how evocative the *symphonie*, it has limited power over the listener. Thus, he repeats,

> …the impression of the symphony cannot be so strong as that which is made by a real tempest; for I have several times observed already, the the impression arising from an imitation, is much weaker than that of the thing imitated.[232]

Notwithstanding some of the limitations he imposes, Dubos does attempt to push his theory one unexpected step further. Although he has emphasized repeatedly that musical imitation depends on a degree of "truth" value, Dubos also argues that sounds the listener has never heard in real life—even those that "never perhaps existed in nature"—can form the basis of valid instrumental imitations.[233] This statement, on the face of it, seems to be an outright contradiction of his own argument. But in fact, Dubos *must* claim this in order to explain the convincingness of one of the defining characteristics of French baroque opera: the *merveilleux*. The mythical and fantastical elements pervading Lullian opera were controversial even in their own day, but Dubos is firmly in their favour. The topics that he suggests a *symphonie* may imitate include "the bellowing of the earth when Pluto rushes forth from hell; the whistling of the air when Apollo inspires

232. Ibid., 1:364.
233. Ibid., 1:370.

Pythia; the noise which a ghost makes coming out of its tomb; and the trembling of the leaves of the oaks of Dodona."[234] The kind of truth such imitations possess is classified by Dubos as a "truth of agreement (*convenance*)"—that is, a truth we perceive when *symphonies* "produce an effect similar to that which *would* naturally arise from the sounds they imitate, and when they seem conformable to sounds unheard."[235] And while Dubos's intent here is to valorize this type of imitation within individual instrumental numbers, it is clear from his tone that he feels the *symphonie* plays a special role in establishing the larger persuasiveness of supernatural events within the opera's plot. This persuasiveness is generated explicitly by the cross-coordination of visual and aural sensory information:

> For example, the funeral accents of the symphony which Lulli has inserted in the scene of the opera of Amadis (Act 3), where the ghost of Ardan comes out of his tomb, make as great an impression upon our ear, as the show and representation have upon our eyes. Our imagination attacked at one and the same time by the organs of sight and hearing, is much more moved with the apparition of the ghost, than if only our eyes were deluded.[236]

Thus, not only the natural, but also the *super*natural, may constitute a valid object of imitation for instrumental music.

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234. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 1:370-371.
235. Ibid., 1:371. My emphasis. Nugent translates the phrase "sons inoüys" as "sounds unheard," but another possibility would be "extraordinary sounds."
236. Ibid.

It is important, however, to note that Dubos is not talking about *all* instrumental music; in fact, his attitude toward other kinds of instrumental music (which he scarcely mentions) is conflicted at best. His support for the *symphonie*, and his permissive stance toward the nature of their "imitation," does not extend to instrumental works beyond the operatic context. Dubos claims,

> These musical pieces, which make so sensible an impression upon us when they constitute a part of the theatrical action, would afford but very little pleasure if they were to be heard as sonatas, or as detached scraps of symphonies, by a person who never heard them at the opera, and who would consequently pass judgment on them, without being acquainted with their greatest merit; that is, with the relation they have to the action, in which they play, as it were, their part.[237]

The inclusion of the word "sonatas" (*sonates*) here is perhaps telling of the kind of repertoire Dubos has in mind, particularly given that he was writing in the decade following the tremendous success of Corelli's violin works in Paris. For Dubos, instrumental music detached from a plot, or without a clear imitative topic, is fundamentally hobbled by its lack of clear meaning. However, his attitude toward instrumental music from outside the dramatic context but which still offered imitation of concrete phenomena (as was the case with many French character pieces) is not explicitly stated—not

237. Ibid., 372.

surprising, perhaps, given that in 1719 the fashionable rage for character pieces, which erupted in the wake of the publication of Couperin's collections of *pièces de clavecin*, was only just underway.

CHAPTER 2

THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The 1720s and '30s

A number of important French sources on music exist from between the time of Dubos and that of the next treatise this chapter examines in detail, Yves-Marie André's *Essai sur le beau* of 1741, but for various reasons they each have less significance in this discussion. The 1730s left us with a particularly rich record of musical happenings in France, perhaps most famously the publication of the Parfaict brothers' *Histoire du théâtre françois depuis son origine jusqu'à présent* in 1734 (a comprehensive listing of French operatic works) and Évrard Titon du Tillet's *Le Parnasse françois* in 1732 (including biographical descriptions of many important contemporary composers).[238] But more explicitly theoretical in tone was Nicolas Grandval's *Essai sur le bon goust en musique* of 1732. Despite its promising title, Grandval's work is in the main a plagiarism (and simplification) of Le Cerf de la Viéville. Grandval does, however, offer one of the earliest French contributions to the burgeoning field of aesthetics insofar as his pirated

238. Neither of these is an aesthetic treatise *per se*. In the latter case, Tillet's objective was ostensibly to put forward plans for a monument to French poets and musicians of the Louis XIV era; in doing so, he offers much on his personal tastes in music and important clues as to the reception of contemporary artists. His statements on Jean-François Dandrieu are particularly useful for the present project, a topic to which I turn in Chapter 5, pp. 381-382.

edition played an important role in spreading Le Cerf's ideas to both Germany and England.[239] Further, it offers a usefully concise definition of the word "taste": "natural sentiment purified by rules."[240] But Grandval offers very little discussion of how imitation, or anything resembling visual representation, might be connected to meaning in music. He simply reasons (circularly) that instrumental music must "express" *something*: "I call expressive an Air [in] which the tones are perfectly suited to the words, and a *symphonie* that expresses that which it means to express."[241] Most notable in this formulation is the underlying assumption that music—both vocal and instrumental—may have an intended object of expression. Unfortunately, Grandval does not tell us exactly *how* tones can suit themselves to words, nor how a *symphonie* might actually convey something; he only offers that "music that has no suitable relationship to that which it represents, is not expressive at all."[242]

Although he is not a primary focus in this study, special mention must be made here of the physicist-mathematician Louis-Bertrand Castel. His pet

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239. Some of these chains of transmission are traced by Katherine Walker in "'Er Hat Geschmack': Shifting Connotations of Taste in the Discourse Surrounding W.A. Mozart," (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2014), 22.
240. [Nicolas Racot de] Grandval, *Essai sur le bon goust en musique* (Paris: Pierre Prault, 1732), 7. "Ainsi donc, le bon Goût est le Sentiment naturel purifié par les Régles; il consiste à sçavoir estimer les choses ce qu'elles valent, & à s'y attacher à proportion qu'elles sont estimables."
241. Ibid., 19. "J'apelle expressif un Air dont les Tons conviennent parfaitement aux Paroles, & une Symphonie qui exprime ce qu'elle veut exprimer."
242. Ibid., 20. "…qu'une Musique qui n'a jamais un juste raport [sic] à ce qu'elle répresente, n'est point expressive…"

project during the 1720s and 1730s, the *clavecin oculaire*, is relevant insofar as Castel's explicit goal was to connect the aural experience of music with the visual. That said, his work was neither about "imitation" nor "representation" in the strict sense, but was something different altogether: an experiment in the coordination of pure sensory inputs. A Jesuit mathematician and theorist, Castel was a lively participant in dialogues with the *philosophes* and other important figures of the French Enlightenment. Inspired by Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), and building on his familiarity with the work of Isaac Newton, Castel argued that since both light and sound were the products of vibration, colour and musical pitches could be thought of as analogous. He thus attempted to connect the twelve chromatic tones with specific colours.[243]

In 1725, Castel published an article entitled "Clavecin pour les yeux avec l'art de peindre les sons et toutes sortes de pièces de musique" in the *Mercure de France*. In it, he speculates on musical "painting" of a completely different type than conventional word- and tone-painting. Castel proposes a musical instrument capable of producing both sounds and colours at the

243. Thomas L. Hankins, "The Ocular Harpsichord of Louis-Bertrand Castel; Or, The Instrument That Wasn't," *Osiris*, 2nd series, vol. 9: *Instruments* (1994): 143.

same time. His aim, he says, is to quite literally "paint sound."[244] By "making sound visible," Castel ambitiously proclaims that the eyes will become "confidants of all the pleasure that music can give to the ears," such that even someone deaf (*sourd*) will be able to appreciate music.[245] His logic is somewhat convoluted, but in essence, he argues that colours operate primarily in the realm of space, which by definition is fixed, while sounds operate over time, which by definition is fleeting. While the ocular harpsichord would not render sound more permanent, it would be able to transpose colour into transitory dimension of time.[246] This would result in a series of "couleurs volages" or "couleurs fugitives" being produced as the harpsichord was played.[247] Following his analogy, successively produced colours could offer the "same charms" as a succession of tones: a melody.[248]

Strangely, Castel's is at once the most direct expression of desire to coordinate the sonic and visual of any of the theorists discussed in this chapter, but he is an outlier amongst the list. The critical distinction is that his project was at no point about "representation" or conveying concrete *meanings*. Castel is interested in offering two parallel streams of sensory

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244. Bertrand-Louis Castel, "Clavecin pour les yeux avec l'art de peindre les sons et toutes sortes de pièces de musique," *Mercure de France* (Nov., 1725): 2553. "…peindre ce son et toute la musique dont il est capable."
245. Ibid. "Car peut-on en fait d'art imaginer de plus curieux que de rendre visible le son, & de faire les yeux confidents de tous les plaisirs que la Musique peut donner aux oreilles?"
246. Ibid., 2564.
247. Ibid., 2565.
248. Ibid., 2571.

input, one for the eyes and one for the ears, but he addresses neither of these as carriers of specific information. He is not concerned with questioning the mechanism by which these stimuli arouse the passions; it is simply assumed that to receive stimuli with both senses will result in the soul being moved. If useful meanings were to be produced by his instrument, they lay in what the underlying order of music—intervals and their ratios—might possibly teach us about the hypothetical order of colours. Thus, while his machine is never intended to produce "images" in the specific sense, Castel does *not* argue that colours thrown haphazardly on a wall are acceptable, but that his instrument would bring colours regularity, uncovering their "ordre superieur."[249] This, he tells us, would prove instructional for painters themselves, and would offer the listener-viewer a pleasure "full of intelligence and the wisest, most profound instruction for the spirit."[250] Thus, the *clavecin oculaire* could reveal a kind of hidden, primordial mathematics of colour and sound combinations in a way that would allow one to see painting through the lens of music, and not necessarily the reverse. Indeed, so heavily does he emphasize this particular perspective that he proposes the term "mute music" (*musique muette*) as a

249. Ibid., 2574.
250. Ibid., 2573. "…je vous parle ici d'un plaisir… qui sera plein d'intelligence & d'instruction pour l'esprit le plus sçavant & le plus profond."

more apt name for painting.[251] Where other theorists in my exploration are interested in ascertaining the meanings of art, Castel is interested in what synaesthesic connections might uncover about large-scale systems of order in nature. In fact, his use of the word "music" (audible or mute) seems in part to refer to a harmonious order of the natural world founded in numerical proportions, and in that sense it hearkens back to a kind of Pythagorean "harmony of the spheres."

From the beginning, Castel was aware of two important factors: first, that someone other than he, with skills in making instruments, would have to be responsible for devising a means of actually producing an ocular harpsichord[252]; and second, that not everyone would accept his analogical theorizing.[253] And, as expected, his writings triggered a vigorous exchange in the *Mercure* during the 1720s and 1730s. His second article, printed in March 1726, responds directly to eight problems with, or challenges to, the notion of an ocular harpsichord (and one has the sense that these are questions that have been posed to Castel in the time since the printing of his previous letter). The first of these problems asks simply why he has not made an ocular harpsichord, if it is in fact possible? His response is snappish:

251. Ibid., 2576.
252. Ibid., 2561.
253. Ibid., 2555.

> It is to instrument-makers (*luthiers*) that one must ask why they do not make it. It is even to those who amuse themselves with creating such difficulties that one must ask why they do not make it, since they are so curious about it. I am a geometrician, a philosopher if you like, but I am not of a mind to make myself a mason in order to prove myself an architect; therefore, to whom do you ask why is it not made?[254]

Castel was unapologetically an "idea man"—he considered his work to be the theorizing of the senses. And when goaded into pushing his ideas further, Castel would not back down. Challenged as to whether one is now obliged make harpsichords for *all* the senses, he replies feistily that "it is not me who evades the problems."[255] He goes on to propose harpsichords appealing to smell, taste, and touch, each featuring "forty or so" objects appealing to the appropriate sense (such as baking dishes with diverse smells).[256]It is not entirely clear whether Castel is being facetious here, but he offers no indication that he might not be serious. In either case, his examples make absolutely clear that he did not rely upon coordinating sensory inputs as a means to represent specific *things*; his interest lies in combining *sensations*.

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254. Bertrand-Louis Castel, "Difficultés sur le clavecin oculaire avec leurs réponses," *Mercure de France* (March 1726): 455. "C'est aux Luthiers qu'il faut demander pourquoi ils n'en font pas. C'est même à ceux qui s'amusent à faire de pareilles difficultez, qu'il faut demander pourquoi ils n'en font point faire, puisqu'ils en sont si curieux. Je suis Geometre, je suis Philosophe tant qu'on voudra, mais je ne suis pas d'avis de me faire Maçon pour faire mes preuves d'Architecte; & puis, qui vois a dit qu'on n'en fait pas?"
255. Ibid., 459. "Ce n'est pas moi qui élude les difficultez."
256. Ibid., 459. "1°. Mettez de suite une quarantaine de cassoletes pleines de divers parfums, couvrez-les de soupapes, & faites ensorte que le mouvement des touches ouvre ces soupapes; voilà pour le nez. 2°. Sur une planche, rangez tout de suite, avec une certaine distribution des corps capables de faire diverses impressions sur la main, & puis faites-la couler uniment sur ces corps: voilà pour le toucher. 3°. Rangez de même des corps agréables au goût, entremêlez de quelque amertume."

Castel's theories on which pitches corresponded with which specific colours were subject to constant revision over the course of the 1720s and '30s. Lodged in his understanding of Newton and Rameau, the specific logic of each iteration of his theories is beyond the scope of this chapter; they have been traced in detail elsewhere by Françoise Roy-Gerboud.[257] But a brief summary offers some notion of just how fluid his ideas were. Initially, in a published letter to Monsieur de la Roque of 1726,[258] Castel proposed that the seven notes of the diatonic major scale should correspond to the spectrum as follows:

C	violet
D	indigo
E	blue
F	green
G	yellow
A	orange
B	red
C	crimson[259]

This initial list was radically transformed in an article published in 1735. By this point, Castel had decided to align his theories with Rameau's *basse*

257. See Françoise Roy-Gerboud, *Le piano des Lumières: Le Grand Oeuvre de Louis-Bertrand Castel* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012). A brief summary of one of Castel's charts connecting the colours of the spectrum to specific pitches can be found in Albert Cohen and Philippe Vendrix, "Castel, Louis-Bertrand," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed February 16, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05118). The latter article cites Castel's revision of 1735.
258. Bertrand-Louis Castel, "Lettre du P. Castel, jésuite, à M. de la Roque, écrite Paris le 9 juin 172[6]," *Mercure de France* (July 1726): 1537-1543. The letter is actually dated "1725" in the published version, but this appears to have been a misprint. See Roy-Gerboud, *Le piano des Lumières*, 138, n. 46.
259. Roy-Gerboud, *Le piano des Lumières*, 61.

fondamentale.[260] He argued that blue, as one of the primary colours, was the "couleur tonique et fondamentale de la nature et de l'art," and attempted to form a kind of "triad" of colours above it.[261] These he also assigned primary colours in the order they appeared in the spectrum above blue; red was thereby the equivalent of the dominant and yellow the third. His new diatonic colour "scale" thus came to be as follows:

C blue
D green
E yellow
F orange
G red
A violet
B indigo
C blue[262]

This was further refined as Castel attempted to associate the interposing chromatic tones with subtle shades, yielding:

C blue
C# "céladon" (a blue- or greyish-green)
D green
D# olive
E yellow
F "fauve" (fawn)
F# "nacarat" (orange-red)
G red
G# "cramoisi" (crimson)

260. Ibid., 65.
261. Quoted in Roy-Gerboud, *Le piano des Lumières*, 65.
262. Ibid., 64.

A violet
A# "agathe" (lit.: agate)
B grey[263]

Castel then even went so far as to associate the primary colours with affects and instruments; blue was considered majestic and full of gravitas, and associated with bass instruments; yellow was attached to "glimmering"(*lueur*) or "paleness," and thereby associated with fifes and flageolets; and red was brilliant, war-like, and flamboyant, and was appropriate for *dessus* instruments such as violins, oboes, and trumpets.[264] Such a spectrum of characteristics was not offered as a prescription for composers, but as a complex theoretical justification for the instrument itself.

Castel's ideas were subject to many further modifications (some of which began to diverge from Newton[265]), but the project as a whole is important in this discussion for the kind of sensibility it advocated. The aesthetic he championed was multi-sensory, one that implicitly acknowledged the activity of the other senses while experiencing an artwork ostensibly targeted at one, and explicitly demanded the participation of the eyes in the intellectual act of listening to music. Indeed, he assumes that to

263. Ibid.
264. Ibid., 66.
265. These are chronicled in great detail in the section of Roy-Gerboud's book entitled "Fondements théoriques," 63-79.

experience music with only the ears would necessarily be poorer than experiencing it on multiple fronts—hence his proposition of more extreme (and some might say, less practical) instruments like the olfactory harpsichord.

It is the notion that the senses should be connected, perhaps even conflated, that seems to have provoked one of the most vituperative responses in the *Mercure*. In these criticisms, we see a reflection of popular understandings of how humans respond to the world, and they are worth a glossing all of their own. The author, a "gascon philosophe," was responding to Castel's second article of March 1726, and offers what amounts to a challenge of the entire notion that art forms should appeal to more than one sense at a time. He states bluntly that "it is impossible to see with the ears or the nose, or to smell odors with the eyes, and I confess that I cannot understand how such a thought crossed your mind."[266] Appealing to Nature, he argues that senses are each a discrete field with a domain and purpose all their own:

> The Author of Nature gave us five senses, [between] which all men, philosophers, and others see and feel, have always seen and felt the difference; and all five contribute to the preservation of the body; that is their job; sight is like an admirable torch which serves to guide us,

266. "Lettre d'un Philosophe Gascon au R. P. Castel, Jesuite, sur son Clavecin oculaire," *Mercure de France* (May 1726): 931. "…il est impossible de voir par les oreilles ou par le nez, ou de sentir les odeurs par les yeux; & j'avouë que je ne sçaurois comprendre comment une telle pensée vous est tombée dans l'esprit…"

> [the provision of which] is useful to our body; hearing facilitates trade with other men, and unites us as much as possible with animals and the reasoning bodies of nature; smell makes us avoid that which harmful to us, and approach that which is suitable; the other senses likewise have their own separate functions.[267]

Even more cutting is the *philosophe*'s objection to the fact that Castel fails to distinguish between the body's response to stimuli and being truly moved. The critic argues that there is a distinction between sensations of the body and sensations of the soul/spirit. Corporeal sensations, in his view, are "occasionelles," or caused accidentally and subject to chance, and thus differ from one another only in terms of their material construction.[268] Sensations of the soul are implicitly of higher status. The *philosophe* thus perceives a disconnect between how bodily response to stimuli creates "deeper" meaning. Most damning of all, he mocks Castel on the arbitrary nature of his analogy, offering that just because one happens to hears a clock while writing on paper does not mean that the clock's "shrill" (*aigu*) sound

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267. Ibid., 932. "L'Auteur de la Nature nous a donné cinq sens, dont tous les hommes, Philosophes, & autres voyent & sentent, ont toujours vû & ont toujours senti la difference; & ils concourent tous cinq à la conservations du corps, c'est là leur emploi; la vûë est semblable à un admirable flambeau qui sert à nous conduire, & à pourvoir à ce qui est utile à notre corps; l'oüie nous facilite le commerce avec les autres hommes, & nous unit autant qu'il se peut avec les animaux, & avec les corps raisonnans de la nature; l'odorat nous fait éviter ce qui nous seroit nuisible, & nous approche de ce qui nous est convenable; les autres sens ont de même leurs fonctions separées."
268. Ibid., 933. "…vous confondez les sensations que l'ame éprouve avec les causes occasionnelles de ces sensations; celles-là sont dans l'ame, & spirituelles comme l'ame; celles-ci sont corporelles, & ne different entre-elles que comme tous les corps different entre-eux, je veux dire, par le different arrangement des parties de la matiere, qu'on appelle modifications."

resembles "whiteness" (*la blancheur*).[269] In essence, he attacks the weak underbelly of Castel's argument: the absence of a logic by which specific colours might be connected to specific pitches. (In May of 1726, Castel had not yet attempted to work out these details, and, as discussed above, this was the very portion of Castel's theory that was to dramatically change over the following ten years.) But on a broader level, the *philosophe* also questions the notion that the input of the other senses concurrent with the process of listening to music can form any *meaningful* connection.

Castel never replied directly to this mockery, though his letters and journal show he was certainly aware of, and bothered by, the *philosophe gascon*'s attack (specifically its anonymous nature).[270] And, in fact, it was only two months later that he began fleshing out concrete, theoretical connections between individual colours and pitches, which (as described above) he then published in an article of 1726. Although the *philosophe* does not outright refer to the "passions" in the article, his critique implicitly poses a crucial question: How can multi-sensory association actually *move* us? Castel is somewhat at pains to resolve such a problem, and does his best to locate its solution in simple pleasure (*plaisir*):

269. Ibid., 934-935.
270. See Roy-Gerboud, *Le piano des Lumières*, 61.

> …the pleasure [of the ordinary harpsichord], since it must be said, lies not at all in sound taken as sound, but uniquely [in] the movement, the measure, the regularity of the harmonic proportion[s], of the combination. The soul feels colours like sound, doesn't it? It is enough that it feels the variety, the changing, and that it tastes of its regularity and proportion. Is it not already a fact that the soul sees colours and their various arrangements with pleasure?[271]

Thus, even in the case of an "ordinary" harpsichord, Castel valorizes sensing something larger than just sound. The same process of sensing higher levels of organization, he reasons, must also be true of perceiving colours. But given that *plaisir*, for all its importance as a theme in contemporary opera, also connoted a more superficial aesthetic experience, Castel really only furnishes a partial answer to the question of how the correspondence of the senses might "move" the listener. Theorists of the following decade, however, like Dubos before them, would attempt to tackle that problem directly.

The 1740s

Most of the attention directed towards mid-eighteenth-century aesthetic discussion in France has a tendency to focus on famous texts by

271. Bertrand-Louis Castel, "Lettre du P. Castel, jésuite, à M. de la Roque," 1543. "…celle du Clavecin ordinaire, dont le plaisir, puisqu'il faut le dire, ne vient point du tout du son, pris comme son, mais uniquement du mouvement, de la mesure, de la régularité de la proportion harmonique, de la combinaison, l'ame sent les couleurs comme les sons, n'est-ce pas? En voilà assez pour qu'elle en sente la varieté, le changement, & qu'elle en goute la régularité & la proportion. N'est il pas déja de fait que l'ame voit les couleurs & leurs divers assortimens avec plaisir?"

Charles Batteux, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the other *Encyclopédistes*. A lesser-known, but still-relevant, participant in this discourse was Père Yves-Marie André, whose *Essai sur le beau* first appeared in 1741. Père André was, like Castel, a Jesuit philosopher and mathematician, and sympathizer with Cartesianism—a stance that would lead to his removal as professor of philosophy at the Jesuit school in Rouen, and, in 1721, a brief imprisonment in the Bastille.[272] He was eventually reinstated as a teacher in Caens (after "confessing his sins"), and became a prominent member of the *Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*.[273]

Although it is largely forgotten today, André's essay was reprinted again in 1763, and was reasonably influential in its day—though not to the extent of the treatises of Dubos and Batteux.[274] In it, he proposed a system of beauty among the arts that rivaled the scope of the works of his better-remembered contemporaries.[275] In the *Essai*, André discusses beauty in the context of the visual arts, morality, the spirit (by which he seems to mean

272. Fabio Rossi and Joan B. Sax, "André, Yves-Marie," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford University Press, accessed 8 February 2015, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195104301.001.0001/acref-9780195104301-e-022).
273. Ibid.
274. Peter Le Huray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 27.
275. Alexandra Skliar-Piguet, "André, Yves-Marie de l'Isle [Père André]," *Grove Art Online*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 21 February 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T002746).

poetry), and finally, music.[276] He divides beauty into three types: the "absolute," the "natural," and the "artificial" (corresponding, according to some scholars, with Descartes's categories of the "innate," the "adventitious," and the "invented").[277] Applying this to music, then, André proposes the following three categories:

1.) "essential musical beauty that is absolute, wholly independent of human institutions and even divine"
2.) "natural musical beauty that is dependent on the institution of the Creator, but independent of our opinions or tastes"
3.)"artificial musical beauty that is to some extent arbitrary but which is always dependent on the eternal laws of harmony."[278]

Examples of the second category, "natural" music, are not included in the part of the *Essai* in which André actually delivers these three divisions. However, in an earlier section, André discusses the "natural concerts of

276. Insofar as André "still" connects the notion of beauty with morality, he is sometimes presented as "just" a precursor to Batteux. See Paul Oskar Kristeller and David Summers, "Origins of Aesthetics," *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 21 February 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t234/e0384).
277. Skliar-Piguet, "André, Yves-Marie," *Grove Art Online* (accessed 21 February 2015).
278. Yves-Marie André, *Essai sur le beau ou l'on examine en quoi consiste précisement le Beau dans le Physique, dans le Moral, dans les Ouvrages d'Esprit, & dans la Musique* (Paris: Hippolyte-Louis Guerin & Jacques Guerin, 1741), 243-244. "Je dis donc 1°. qu'il y a un Beau musical essentiel, absolu, indépendant de toute institution, même divine. 2°. Qu'il y a un Beau musical naturel, dépendant de l'institution du Créateur, mais indépendant de nos opinions & de nos goûts. 3°. Qu'il y a un Beau musical artificiel & en quelque sorte arbitraire, mais toujours avec dépendance des loix éternelles de l'harmonie."

voices and instruments" that he believes are supplied by the Creator in order to sustain our souls.[279] Here, André makes explicit the notion that music imitates nature by describing these "natural concerts" as the product of physical phenomena:

> The birds that sing, as though [prompting] us to emulate [them]; the echos that respond to them with such accuracy; the streams that murmur, the rivers that rumble; the tides of the sea that rise and descend in rhythm in order to mix their diverse sounds with the resonances of the shores. Here, the zephyrs that sigh amongst the reeds; there, the North Winds that whistle in the forests; sometimes all the conspiring winds, or rather, [the winds] that concertize through the clash of their movements, which after being shaken in the air, reflect off the earthly bodies, mountains, rocks, woods, valleys, palaces, huts, in order to pull them all into concert. And so that nothing is missing from the symphony, that beautiful, predominant bass, vulgarly called thunder, is often joined to it in the clouds, so deep, so majestic—which surely pleases us all the more if the terror that it presses upon us does not prevent us from tasting its magnificent expression.[280]

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279. Ibid., 205. "…& le Créateur qui nous l'a inspiré avec la vie, n'a rien oublié pour l'entretenir dans notre ame par les concerts naturels de voix & d'instruments, que sa providence nous fait entendre de toutes parts."

280. Ibid., 205-206. "Des oiseaux qui chantent, comme pour nous piquer d'émulation; des échos qui leur répondent avec tant de justesse; des ruisseaux qui murmurent; des rivieres qui grondent; les flots de la mer, qui montent & qui descendent en cadence, pour mêler leurs sons divers aux résonnemens des rivages: ici les Zéphirs, qui soûpirent parmi les roseaux; là les Aquilons, qui sifflent dans les forêts; tantôt tous les Vents conjurés, ou plûtôt concertés ensemble par la contrariété même de leurs mouvemens, qui après s'être choqués dans les airs, se réfléchissent contre les corps terrestres, montagnes, rochers, bois, vallons, collines, palais, cabanes, pour en tirer toutes les parties d'un concert; & afin que rien ne manque à la symphonie, ausquels souvent se joint dans les nuës cette belle basse dominante, vulgairement nommée Tonnerre, si grave, si majestueuse, & qui sans doute nous plairoit davantage, si la terreur qu'elle nous imprime, ne nous empêchoit quelquefois d'en bien goûter la magnifique expression." Note: I have substantially adjusted punctuation, and made local changes to sentence order and verb tense, in order to make the sense of this quotation clearer in modern English.

The fact that André describes these natural sounds (particularly thunder) as a kind of "expression" is striking, though the question of *what* is being expressed is not addressed. And since he is describing sounds produced by nature in this passage, and *not* the conveyance of meaning via human imitation of those sounds, that question is simply not his concern here. But André does suggest that a kind of "expression" can be constituted by such sonic factors and he implicitly valorizes their ability to affect the passions—perhaps even to inspire man's own music-making. It is, furthermore, impossible to overlook the fact that the natural processes he cites here, such as streams, storms, and winds, constitute the topics of countless *symphonies* in French baroque opera.

Not surprisingly then, André does have something to say about the relationship between man-made music and the second of his three categories, natural musical beauty. In fact, by his own admission, his primary concern is with his third type, artificial musical beauty.[281] Being the product of man, this kind of beauty is subject to rules, such as those governing consonance and dissonance. The latter, he tells the reader, are useful not only for breaking the potential monotony of too many consonances, but also for "expressing certain objects," such as "the irregular transports of

281. Ibid., 245.

love, the fury of anger, the distress of discord, the horrors of a battle, [or] the din of a storm."[282] André thus positions dissonance as a tool with which to represent both the passions and physical events. Elsewhere, André indicates that human actions may also be imitated in music, particularly when comic or bizarre.[283] Such actions are classified by André as the "beauty of caprice," which he construes as a subcategory of artificial musical beauty, along with the "beauty of genius" and the "beauty of taste." While the beauties of genius and taste include "noble" and "fine" musical subjects respectively,[284] and are thus higher categories of artificial beauty, the beauty of caprice may include music with strictly depictive aims—music that might even have "no other appeal than *painting* for us the original to which it relinquishes itself."[285]

André also suggests music has the capacity to represent the visual in the context of word-painting, though to do so is not always desirable. The task of a composer who sets words to music, he says, is to

> express in his tones, not only the words, but above all the sense; not only the sense of each word, but the sense of the phrase; not only the

282. Ibid., 273. "On a remarqué de tout tems, que si elles [les dissonances] blessent l'oreille par quelque rudesse, elles sont par cela même d'autant plus propres pour exprimer certains objects. Les transports irréguliers de l'amour, les fureurs de la colere, les troubles de la discorde, les horreurs d'une bataille, le fracas d'une tempête."
283. Ibid., 278-279.
284. Ibid., 277.
285. My emphasis. Ibid., 279. "Il nous plaira même quelquefois, peut-être avec raison, quand il n'auroit d'autre agrément, que de nous bien peindre l'original qui s'y abandonne."

> particular sense of each phrase, but the sense of the entire text (*lettre*) within the total of his composition.[286]

Here André echoes the sentiment expressed by Dubos, that representing the literal sense of a single word in music must remain secondary to the expression of the larger meaning of the passage. If anything, André is even less permissive than Dubos when it comes to the practice of word-painting: he then rails against the composition of airs in which the music clashes with the words, offering examples such as the inappropriate representation of a storm in a victory air, or on the other hand, the *inadequate* musical representation of the descent of a godly figure.[287] His examples thus suggest both that certain types of music are appropriate for certain types of depiction, and that certain types of depiction may be inappropriate when they detract from the text as a whole.

In the conclusion to his text, André offers a very brief comparison of painting and music as art forms, since, in his view, the beauty in both lies in their reliance on imitation.[288] But, more precisely, André is concerned with trying to understand music using the art of painting as a kind of measuring

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286. Ibid., 284. "…qu'il exprime dans ses tons, non seulement les mots, mais surtout le sens; non seulement le sens de chaque mot, mais le sens de la phrase; non seulement le sens particulier de chaque phrase, mais le sens total de la lettre entiere dans le total de sa composition."
287. Ibid., 285. "Vous m'entonnez une tempête sur un air de victoire; vous me fredonnez une pompe funébre, comme une sarabande; vous me répresentez la descente d'une Divinité sur la terre, comme une danse de village."
288. Ibid., 294.

stick. And his conclusions are somewhat unique for the eighteenth century, for instead of favoring the eyes, André argues that sound and music actually offer a superior aesthetic experience. He associates "la plus belle Peinture" with the surface, the fixed, and the inanimate.[289] Painting, at best, depicts static, "immobile" objects, whereas music "depicts movement and even degrees of speeding up or slowing down."[290] Simply put, painting depicts split-second action (*action momentanée*), but music is of more temporal substance. And this abililty, in André's opinion, allows the sonic to be even more evocative than the visual—in essence, music can "out-paint" painting:

> Twenty paintings would be needed to bring together the things that the least of our cantatas or sonatas contain. [If] a painting represents a battle, you believe you see it. That is the greatest praise one can bestow upon it. [If] music undertakes to represent [a battle scene] in a vocal or instrumental concert, you believe you are there. One hears the march of the two armies, the beating of the charge, the din of the arms, the resounding of the blows as they clash with one another, the triumphant shouts of the victors, the plaintive cries of the defeated. It is as though our hearts were on the battlefield where the combat is waged.[291]

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289. Ibid. "Que voyons-nous dans la plus belle Peinture? Uniquement la surface des corps, un visage, des yeux, des couleurs fixes & inanimées, quelques airs au plus qui semblent vouloir parler."
290. Ibid., 295. "La Musique peint le mouvement même avec ses divers degrés d'accélération ou de retardement, tels que son sujet les demande, ou tels qu'il lui plaît."
291. Ibid., 295-296. "Il faudroit vingt tableaux pour rassembler tout ce que renferme la moindre de nos Cantates ou de nos Sonates. Que la Peinture vous représente une bataille: vous croïez la voir. C'est le plus grand éloge qu'on en puisse faire. Que la Musique entreprenne de vous la représenter dans un concert de voix & d'instrumens: vous croyez y être. On entend sonner la marche des deux armées, battre la charge, bruire les armes, retentir les coups dont elles s'entrechoquent, les cris triomphans des vainquers, les tons plaintifs des vaincus. Il semble que notre coeur soit le champ de bataille où se livre le combat."

André thus privileges musical depiction over the painterly by virtue of its ability to span time, portray space (which André refers to as "des lointains"[292]), suggest motion, and above all, its ability to wrap the listener in a tangible sense of *experience*. In this formulation, it is both music's task and special strength to involve multiple senses—its influence extends far past the ears. And while this passage is remarkable for the aesthetic hierarchy it creates, it stands out even more for the fact that André includes instrumental music (sonatas) in this formulation. Music without the concrete references provided by lyrics offers, in his view, the same potential to convincingly represent an entire scene for the listener. Sadly, André does not expand further upon this point.

A useful means of putting André's comments here into perspective is to look briefly to Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* of 1752, since he too attempts a comparison between painting and music as art forms.[293] The second section of Avison's treatise, entitled "On the Analogies between Music and Painting," is part of a larger eighteenth-century project of seeing all the arts as part of one system. Avison, curiously, is not interested in

292. Ibid., 297. "La musique a des lointains qui paroissent plus réels."
293. Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (1753), reprinted in *Charles Avison's "Essay on Musical Expression" with Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison*, transcribed by Pierre Dubois (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). I do not attempt a full exposition of Avison's ideas here because it is beyond the scope of this chapter, but this is not to detract from its importance. Avison's work remains one of the fundamental eighteenth-century texts on musical aesthetics, and would necessarily be a central text in any full-scale comparison between notions of musical pictorialism across multiple countries.

comparing music and painting based on their mutual foundation in imitation; instead, as his title implies, he focuses on creating analogies between their technical details. Thus, Avison sees both as "founded in Geometry," and as "hav[ing] Proportion for their Subject."[294] Where painting consists of "Design, Colouring, and Expression," music depends upon "Melody, Harmony, and Expression."[295] And as painting requires "the proper Mixture of Light and Shade," music needs "the judicious mixture of Concords and Discords."[296]

André's discussion differs from Avison's insofar as he is less interested in offering a parallel taxonomy of the theoretical principles of the two forms of art; he is, in fact, more interested in which form effectively moves the one who "consumes" that art. Avison, by contrast, is not interested in the experiential correspondence between painting and music. In fact, as I have described above, he is in most cases against the conflation of sight with musical sound, making very little allowance for the use of tone- or word-painting.[297] This highlights a fundamental difference in thinking between the

294. Avison, *Essay on Musical Expression*, 11.
295. Ibid.
296. Ibid., 12.
297. Avison does not entirely outlaw the practice of "painting" in music, but argues that its use must be extremely sparing, and preferably confined to the instrumental parts. See Avison, *Essay on Musical Expression*, 25. "When *Sounds* only are the Objects of Imitation, the Composer ought to throw the mimetic Part entirely amongst the accompanying *Instruments*; because, it is probable, that the Imitation will be too powerful in the *Voice* which ought to be engaged in *Expression* alone; or, in other Words, in raising correspondent Affections with the Part."

two authors: Avison, unlike André, explicitly distinguishes between the terms "imitation" and "expression." The former, in Avison's view, depends upon an act of the intellect, rather than moving the passions. For him, imitating the words "ascent" and "descent" in a melodic line, or mimicking the sounds of laughter, or any number of other examples of musical "painting" would tend more to "fix the Hearers [sic] Attention on the Similitude between the Sounds and the Things which they describe, and thereby to excite a reflex Act of the Understanding, than to affect the Heart and raise the Passions of the Soul."[298] André's comparison lacks this distinction—indeed, unlike many of his contemporaries (namely Dubos, Avison, and Batteux), he deliberately conflates the terms "imitation" and "expression." He simply states that "there is no one who does not know that the beauty in [music and painting] lies in imitation, or, if one prefers, expression."[299] To some extent, this way of looking at the matter is what sets André's account apart for his time. In the context of his closing comparison between the two art forms, his focus on the listener/viewer's overall experience amounts to an acknowledgement that the intellect and passions are inextricably linked in the process of understanding music. And it is on the basis of this assumption that he can argue that music is even more convincingly imitative than painting.

298. Ibid., 24.
299. André, *Essai sur le beau*, 293-294. "Il n'y a personne qui ne sçache que ces deux genres de Beau consistent dans l'imitation, ou, si on l'aime mieux, dans l'expression."

The Abbé Batteux

While André's treatise is now little-known, the Abbé Charles Batteux's *Les beaux arts reduits a un même principe* of 1746 has achieved a lasting currency. Covering poetry, painting, music, and dance, it remains one of the most famous theoretical sources from eighteenth-century France. Batteux was a professor of rhetoric, and later, Greek and Roman philosophy; his writings are, not surprisingly, regarded as heavily influenced by Classical doctrines.[300] As a holder of numerous professorships (including, at various times, the universities of Reims and Paris, the Collège de Lisieux, the Collège de Navarre, and the Collège Royal, Paris[301]), and a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions* (from 1754) and the *Académie Française* (from 1761), Batteux was a central figure in French intellectual life of the mid-eighteenth century.[302] His ideas saw discussion beyond France as well. *Les beaux arts reduits* was issued up until 1780 in France, and was translated into both German and English (the latter in the form of a plagiarism).[303]

Batteux was, perhaps more than any other theorist discussed here, invested in the notion that the arts are mimetic. This is not to suggest,

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300. Catherine Kintzler, "Batteux, Abbé Charles," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press: accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02325).
301. Ibid.
302. Ibid.
303. Le Huray and Day, *Music and Aesthetics*, 40.

however, that he was always consistent with himself. While Batteux says that *mimesis* forms the underlying paradigm for all the arts, and tries valiantly to sustain this argument, some have noted that he too falls victim to the slipperiness of terms like "expression." Peter le Huray and James Day note, for example, that while Batteux consciously attempts to uphold music as a purely mimetic art form, his language may at times be interpreted as better describing what they would call "abstract expression."[304] Thus, while Batteux ostensibly argues for the primacy of *mimesis*, his statements leave plenty of room for interpretation.

As the title implies, Batteux argues that poetry, painting, music, and dance all depend upon one fundamental principle: the imitation of "la belle Nature."[305] From this he derives a definition of taste, describing it as a kind of judgment "satisfied when Nature has been well-chosen and well-managed by the arts."[306] An important distinction lies within this statement, for Batteux makes it clear that the imitation of nature must be mediated. Indeed, in no uncertain terms, Batteux tells us that the arts differ from nature insofar as they do *not* represent reality:

> …poetry subsists only through imitation. It is the same with painting, dance, [and] music: nothing is real in their works: everything is

304. Ibid.
305. [Charles Batteux], *Les beaux arts reduits a un même principe* (Paris: Durand, 1746), 9.
306. Ibid. "…le Goût… doit être satisfait quand la Nature est bien choisie & bien imitée par les Arts."

> imagined, feigned, copied, artificial. That is what forms their essential character in contrast to nature.[307]

While, on the face of it, this acknowledgment of artifice may seem self-evident, it actually has somewhat radical implications, for according to Batteux, "the concern of the fine arts is not truth at all, but that which takes on the *appearance of truth*."[308] The arts, thus, must imitate nature, but not exactly as it is. In Batteux's formulation, the process of creating art amounts to more than servile imitation, but a process of idealization. In short, for Batteux, art does not represent the "truth [of nature] as it is, but *as it could be*, the beautiful truth, which is represented as if it actually existed, and with all the perfections that it can receive."[309]

Although Batteux is emphatic that all the arts take "la belle Nature" as their object, he does not really define what "la belle Nature" means—a point on which he was called out by Denis Diderot in the latter's *Lettre sur les sourds et les muets* and the article on "Beau" in the *Encyclopédie* (both of 1751).[310] "La belle Nature" might well be criticized as a vague or "reductive" concept (as

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307. Ibid., 22. "...la Poësie ne subsiste que par l'imitation. Il en est de même de la Peinture, de la Danse, de la Musique: rien n'est réel dans leurs Ouvrages: tout y est imaginé, feint, copié, artificiel. C'est ce qui fait leur caractere essentiel par opposition à la nature."
308. My emphasis. Ibid., 14. "…qu'ainsi la matière des beaux Arts n'est point le vrai mais seulement le vrai-semblable."
309. My emphasis. Ibid., 27. "Ce n'est pas le vrai qui est; mais le vrai qui peut être, le beau vrai, qui est représenté comme s'il existoit réellement, & avec toutes les perfections qu'il peut recevoir."
310. See Kintzler, "Batteux, Abbé Charles," *Grove Music Online*; and Gita May and Gary Shapiro, "French Aesthetics," *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t234/e0218).

Gita May and Gary Shapiro do in the *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*), but to Batteux's credit, he does attempt to define what each art form ought to imitate. In the case of music and dance, he asserts that their object "must be the imitation of the sentiments or passions."[311] In this respect, he offers a slight nuancing of Dubos's notion that music imitates "the inarticulate language of man," or sounds that act as "natural signs of the passions."[312] Batteux likewise sees the fundamental material of music as the tones of the voice ("Tons de la voix"), much as the essential ingredients of dance are gestures ("les Gestes"), both of which, he says, constitute "a dictionary of simple Nature"—a "language that we all know from birth."[313] Dance and music are thus the most perfect states of gesture and the tones of the voice.[314]

Beyond attempting to define the object and means of music's imitations, Batteux is most concerned with asserting that *all* art must have a conveyable meaning. In fact, the title of his second chapter on music stipulates this point precisely: "All music and dance must have a signification, a sense."[315] That sense is most easily described in visual terms; music is

311. Batteux, *Les beaux arts reduits*, 258. "…l'objet principal de la Musique & de la Danse doit être l'imitation des sentimens ou des passions…"
312. See my discussion above, pp. 108-109.
313. Batteux, *Les beaux arts reduits*, 255. "les Gestes & les Tons sont comme le Dictionnaire de la simple Nature; ils contiennent une langue que nous savons tous en naissant…"
314. Ibid., 257.
315. Ibid., 260. "Chapitre II. Toute Musique & toute danse doit avoir une signification, un sens."

understood here as a kind of painting. Should a musical composition fail to be comprehensible, it is rendered no different than a kind of abstract, haphazard, and above all, *non-representational* painting:

> One must judge music like a painting. I see in it lines and colours whose sense I comprehend; it flatters me, it touches me. What would we say of a painter who contents himself with throwing on the canvas bold lines and masses of the most lively colours, without any resemblance to a recognizable object? This also applies to music.[316]

On this basis, Batteux goes so far as to argue that the ear is more sensitive than the eye, and that one is therefore naturally better equipped to judge a piece of music than a painting.[317]

Nevertheless, Batteux still struggles to some extent to explain *how* music conveys its meanings. He suggests there must be some innate, natural way of understanding music, since even when one is not a musical connoisseur, it is possible to "feel" a degree of its merit—a fact that is not true, for example, of a spoken oration in a language that one does not understand.[318] He concludes, therefore, that if one cannot understand it in "felt" terms, there must be something wrong with the piece itself: "Music

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316. Note: I have altered my translation of this quotation more than most in order to render it more idiomatically in English. Ibid., 263. "On doit juger d'une musique, comme d'un tableau. Je vois dans celui-ci des traits & des couleurs dont je comprends le sens; il me flatte, il me touche. Que diroit-on d'un Peintre, que se contenteroit de jetter sur la toile des traits hardis, & des masses des couleurs les plus vives, sans aucune ressemblance avec quelque objet connu? L'application se fait d'elle-même à la musique."
317. Ibid. "L'oreille, dit-on, est beaucoup plus fine que l'oeil. Donc je suis plus capable de juger d'une musique, que d'un tableau."
318. Ibid., 262.

speaks to me through tones: this language is natural to me: if I do not understand it at all, Art has corrupted nature instead of perfecting it."[319] Here there exists a deep tension in Batteux's theory: while he insists that music have a "sense" of some kind, he confesses that, despite music's mimetic nature as an art form, that sense cannot always be understood in concrete terms.

This contradiction is manifest most clearly in Batteux's discussion of instrumental music, where music lacks the signifying specificity of lyrics. On these grounds, he gestures towards instrumental music's traditionally inferior status, describing it as having only a "half-life" compared to song.[320] But in the very same sentence, he makes clear that he takes it as a given that instrumental music has the capacity to signify, especially in the context of the *symphonie*.[321] He then moves, in a remarkable passage, to validate the expression through music of passions that cannot adequately be rendered by words:

> It is true that there are passions we would recognize in musical song (*chant musical*), for example, love, joy, sadness: but there are a thousand other marked expressions for which one does not know how to state the object. …*it suffices that one feels it, it is not necessary to name it*. The

319. Ibid., 262-263. "La musique me parle par des tons: ce langage m'est naturel: si je ne l'entends point, l'Art a corrompu la nature, plutôt que de la perfectionner."
320. Ibid., 267. "La Musique, étant significative dans la symphonie où elle n'a qu'une demi-vie, que la moitié de son être, que sera-t'elle dans le chant, où elle devient le tableau du coeur humain?"
321. Ibid.

> heart has its own intelligence independent of words; and when it is touched, it has understood everything. Moreover, there are likewise great things which words cannot reach; there are also subtle things that words cannot capture at all: and it is above all in the sentiments that these are found.[322]

So while Batteux positions instrumental music as inferior to vocal, he nevertheless also valorizes the expression and understanding of non-verbal signification. This equivocal attitude is apparent elsewhere in *Les beaux arts reduits*. In Chapter 5, for example, he states,

> A music without words is always music. It expresses moaning and joy independently of words, which help it to tell the truth; but which do not bring to it nor remove from it anything that alters its nature and essence.[323]

The assertion that music possesses an "essence" not given to it by words is a remarkable step beyond what previous French musical theorists had argued. But this approval is qualified, for Batteux finishes his discussion of music's capacity to convey meaning non-verbally by denouncing the apparent emptiness of music whose only logic lies only in the realm of mathematics.

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322. My emphasis. Ibid., 268-269. "Il est vrai, dira-t'on, qui'il y a des passions qu-on reconnoît dans le chant musical, par exemple, l'amour, la joie, la tristesse: mais pour quelques expression marquées, il y en a mille autres, dont on ne sçauroit dire l'objet. On ne sauroit le dire, je l'avoie; mais s'ensuit-il qu'il n'y en ait point? il [sic] suffit qu'on le sente, il n'est pas nécessaire de le nommer. Le coeur a son intelligence indépendante des mots; & quand il est touché, il a tout compris. D'ailleurs, de même qu'il y a de grands choses, auxquelles les mots ne peuvent atteindre; il y en a aussi de fines, sur lesquelles ils n'ont point de prise: & c'est surtout dans les sentimens que celles-ci se trouvent."
323. Ibid., 39-40. "Une Musique sans paroles est toujours musique. Elle exprime la plainte & la joie indépendamment des mots, qui l'aident, à [40] la vérité; mais qui ne lui apportent, ni ne lui ôtent rien qui altére sa nature & son essence."

In doing so, he fires a parting shot directly at the type of visuality advocated by Castel only a few years earlier:

> Let us conclude then that the music which is best-calculated in its tones, [and] most geometric in its consonances,… would have no signification whatsoever; one could not compare it to anything but a prism, which presents the most beautiful colours and never makes a painting. It would be a type of chromatic harpsichord, which would offer colours and passages perhaps to amuse the eyes, and certainly to bore the spirit.[324]

For Batteux, no amount of harmonic calculation, or direct connections between tones and colours, can constitute truly moving music if it lacks a particular meaning, sense, or "caractère" intelligible to the listener. As he succinctly puts it, "the worst kind of music is that which has no character at all."[325]

Thus, instrumental music must have a "sense," but since that sense need not necessarily be provided by lyrics, how might one determine it? Batteux's response is to note that composers whose music seems to "speak," or which possesses a clear and unequivocal sense, prefer certain objects and passions more than others, since they are easier both to express and

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324. Note: I have excerpted a phrase, bracketed here, and altered punctuation in this quotation in order to better clarify its sense in English. Ibid., 269. "Concluons donc que la Musique la mieux calculée dans tous ses tons, la plus géométrique dans ses accords, [s'il arrivoit, qu'avec ces qualités,] elle n'eût aucune signification; on ne pourroit la comparer qu'à un Prisme, qui présente le plus beau coloris, & ne fait point de tableau. Ce seroit une espèce de clavecin chromatique, qui offriroit des couleurs & des passages, pour amuser peut-être les yeux, & ennuyer sûrement l'esprit."
325. Ibid., 265. "Le plus mauvaise de toutes les musiques est celle qui n'a point de caractère."

understand.[326] Notable here is the fact that, among these subjects, Batteux includes not just emotions, but also *objects*. This is followed immediately by a positing of two different kinds of music

> There are two kinds of Music: the one which imitates nothing but unimpassioned sounds and noises: it corresponds to landscape painting; the other which expresses animated sounds and stems from the sentiments: it is portrait painting.[327]

Clearly, Batteux relies upon a visual metaphor here in order to better explain the distinction between these two musical categories. And this remains one of the most famous quotations from Batteux's treatise.[328] But while he may be thinking of music in visual terms, we should exercise caution. This statement alone does not suggest that Batteux meant music *creates* the sensation of visuality for the listener; it implies only that music and painting performed analogous functions as art forms insofar as they could draw upon similar subject matters.

Nevertheless, the context in which Batteux discusses this is revealing. Based on his follow-up comments, he does seem to be referring, at least in

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326. Ibid., 264. Batteux's way of saying what I have translated as "speaks" is as follows: "…sa musique est, pour ainsi dire, parlante, où elle a un sens net, sans obscurité, sans équivoque."
327. Ibid., 266. "Il y a deux sortes de Musique: l'une qui n'imite que les sons & les bruits non-passionés: elle répond au paysage dans la Peinture: l'autre qui exprime les sons animés, & qui tiennent aux sentimens: c'est la tableau à personnage."
328. David Fuller's article on François Couperin in the *New Grove Dictionary*, for example, draws directly upon this quotation. See David Fuller, et al., "Couperin," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press: accessed 6 Aug, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40182pg4). See also my discussion of character pieces in Chapter 3.

part, to compositional practices akin to a kind of tone- or word-painting. He pushes the analogy further, telling us that the musician is subject to the same rules of natural verisimilitude as the painter, and he emphasizes the use of the verb "peintre" to describe the actions of a composer. According to Batteux, should the musician "paint a storm, a stream, or a zephyr,… he cannot take [his tones] from anywhere but [Nature]."[329] But Batteux does not confine himself here strictly to the imitation of sounds actually found in the natural world; he explicitly acknowledges the legitimacy of painting an *objet idéal*, something which, in his words, "might never have had reality."[330] Here he cites "the rumbling of the Earth" and the "trembling of a Shade as it exits the tomb" as possible subjects to paint musically.[331]

Batteux does not tell the reader exactly what kinds of music fit into his "unimpassioned" and "animated" categories, but it is possible to infer based on his comments in the following chapter, which discusses "the qualities that the expressions in music and dance must possess."[332] Here Batteux informs us that "the fundamental character of the expression [in music and dance] is

329. Batteux, *Les beaux arts reduits*, 266. "Le Musicien n'est pas plus libre que le Peintre: il est par-tout, & constamment soumis à la comparaison qu'on fait de lui avec la Nature. S'il peint un orage, un ruisseau, un Zéphir; ses tons sont dans la Nature, il ne peut les prendre que là."
330. Ibid. "S'il peint un objet idéal, qui n'ait jamais eu de réalité…"
331. Ibid., 266-267. "…comme seroit le mugissement de la Terre, le frémissement d'un Ombre qui sortiroit du tombeau; qu'il fasse comme le Poëte: *Aut famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia finge*."
332. Ibid., 270. The title of the chapter is, in fact, "Des qualités que doivent avoir les expressions de la Musique, & celles de la Danse."

in the *subject*."[333] The range of things that might constitute this "subject" is not made explicit by Batteux, but he immediately begins to discuss passions such as joy. He goes on to say that "the composer finds even in the unity of his subject the means of varying it," and thus, "he makes love, hatred, fear, sadness, and hope appear each in turn."[334] The "subject," then, would seem to be that which music is supposed to imitate: in this case, the affections. This conforms exactly to Batteux's description of his second, portrait-like category of music: that which "expresses animated sounds and stems from the sentiments."[335]

This "subject," however, is not restricted to the passions: Batteux has, of course, informed us that the other category of music consists of imitations of "unimpassioned sounds and noises." By this logic, the tone-painting examples that he has already mentioned (storms, streams, zephyrs) would seem to fit under his first, landscape-like category of music. And though Batteux does not follow his subsequent discussion of the word "subject" with descriptions of things other than the passions, he does include a very telling footnote in which he complains about the practices of contemporary composers:

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333. Ibid., 271. My emphasis."Le caractère fondamental de l'expression est dans le sujet." Batteux continues, "c'est lui qui marque au style le dégré d'élévation ou de simplicité, de douceur ou de la force qui lui convient."
334. Ibid., 272. "…le Compositeur trouve dans l'unité même de son sujet, les moyens de le varier. Il fait paroître tour à tour, l'amour, la haine, la crainte, la tristesse, l'espérance."
335. Ibid., 266.

> Our Musicians often sacrifice this general Tone, this Expression of the soul which must be exuded throughout the entirety of a piece of Music, to an accessory idea [which is] almost indifferent to the principal Subject. They stop to paint a brook, a zephyr or some other word which makes a musical image. All these particular expressions must come back into the Subject: & if they preserve their own character, it must be founded, as it were, in the general character of the sentiment which is expressed.[336]

The "subject," it would seem, *can* include inanimate objects or things, though they have inferior status to, and might even comprise only part of, the over-riding "sentiment." Thus Batteux's two categories of landscape-like and portrait-like music appear to be constituted respectively by *things* and *passions*. The former appears to be the predominant home of music that we would deem "tone-" or "word-painting"; the latter category may include such compositional practices only as minor elements subsumed by the primary passion the music attempts to portray. For both categories, however, the primary *musical* (as opposed to textual) vehicle for the imitation of things and passions is melody. According to Batteux

> …the melody places each sound in the place and vicinity that best suits it: [melody] unites them, separates them, reconciles them according to the nature of the object that the musician proposes to

336. Ibid., fn. "a," 271-272. "Souvent nos Musiciens sacrificent ce Ton général, cette Expression de l'ame qui doit être répandue dans tout un morceau de Musique, à une idée accessoire & presque indifférente au Sujet principale. Ils s'arrêtent pour peindre un Ruisseau, un Zéphyr, ou quelqu'autre mot qui fait image musicale. Toutes ces expressions particulieres doivent rentrer dans le Sujet: & si elles y conservent leur caractère propre, il faut que ce soit en se fondant, pour ainsi dire, dans le caractère général du sentiment qu'on exprime."

> imitate. The stream murmurs: the thunder groans: the butterfly flutters. Among the passions, there are those that sigh, there are those that explode, [and] others that shudder. The melody, in order to take all these forms, varies the tones, intervals, [and] modulations appropriately, employing dissonances themselves with art.[337]

I discuss many of these quotations in greater detail in Chapter 4, in which I attempt to show their potential as a paradigm for thinking about the French character piece. But one of the most important points to glean here is that Batteux does not simply proscribe pictorialisms; rather, he assigns them a well-defined place in the aesthetic order of the day. Even his criticism of composers who "sacrifice the general tone" in favour of musical painting is qualified; these comments do not amount to outright condemnation of tone-painting—on the contrary, they amount to a validation of depictive musical techniques in the right contexts. Simply put, in looking back, we need to avoid thinking of music with "secondary" aesthetic status as universally "condemned" or even "outlawed"—the latter terms dramatically over-state the case against tone-painting, implying a much greater degree of opposition between music concerned with *passions* and music concerned with *things* than was the case for many eighteenth-century authors.

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337. Ibid., 279. "Ensuite la Mélodie place tous ces sons chacun dans le lieu & le voisinage qui lui convient: elle les unit, les sépare, les concilie, selon la nature de l'objet, que le Musicien se propose d'imiter. Le ruisseau murmure: le tonnerre gronde: le papillon voltige. Parmi les passions, il y en a qui soupirent, il y en a qui éclatent, d'autres qui frémissent. La Mélodie, pour prendre toutes ces formes, varie à propos les tons, les intervales, les modulations, employe avec art les dissonances mêmes."

The Philosophes

The makers of the *Encyclopédie* were, as a group, very much concerned with music. The various editors and contributors, including Denis Diderot, Jean le Rond d'Alembert, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Jean-Philippe Rameau, engaged in lively discussions over music-theoretical matters that far exceed the boundaries of my discussion (to a large extent, these dwelt on Rameau's theories on the *corps sonore*, the *basse fondamentale*, and the role of harmony). But the contributions of two in particular, d'Alembert and Rousseau, merit inclusion here for the attention and interpretive thought they bring to the notion of imitation in music.

Like Batteux, d'Alembert and Rousseau (the latter of whom authored the majority of the article on music in the *Encyclopédie*) generally embrace the notion of music as based on *mimesis*. D'Alembert's "Discours Préliminarie," published in the first volume of 1751, describes the rationale behind the *Ênc*yclopédie as a project, and attempts nothing less than an account of the progress and structure of human knowledge. Although his comments on music are brief, he addresses it within a larger discussion of the arts, including painting, sculpture, architecture, and poetry.[338] D'Alembert places

338. Jean le Rond d'Alembert, "Discours Préliminaire," in *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, 1751), 1:xi-xii.

music last in his hierarchy of the imitative arts—not, he specifies, because it is inferior in its imitative capacities, but because the lack of invention of composers has limited the number of "images" music has attempted to represent.[339] In d'Alembert's conception, music constitutes a of "language through which the different sentiments of the soul, or rather its passions, are expressed."[340] However, d'Alembert is interested in going considerably beyond this formulation:

> But why reduce this expression to the passions alone, and not extend it, as much as possible, to the sensations themselves? Although the perceptions that we receive by various organs differ from one another as much as their objects, one can nevertheless compare them according to another point of view common to [all of] them, that is, by the pleasure or disturbance [they impart upon] our soul.[341]

D'Alembert is thus interested in extending the definition of music to the expression of sensations, of information received through the senses. The

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339. Ibid., xii. I paraphrased here. The full quotation reads as follows: "Enfin la Musique, qui parle à la fois à l'imagination & aux sens, tient le dernier rang dans l'ordre de l'imitation; non que son imitation soit moins parfaite dans les objets qu'elle se propose de représenter, mais parce qu'elle semble bornée jusqu'ici à un plus petit nombre d'images; ce qu'on doit moins attribuer à sa nature, qu'à trop peu d'invention & de ressource dans la plûpart de ceux qui la cultivent." Note: here, and in all subsequent quotations from this source, I have consulted the recent translation of d'Alembert's text by Richard N. Schwab and Walter E. Rex in formulating my own. See Jean le Rond d'Alembert, "Preliminary Discourse," *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, trans. Richard N. Schwab and Walter E. Rex (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2009, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0001.083, accessed 9 April 2015)
340. Ibid., "La Musique… est devenu peu-à-peu une espece de discours ou même de langue, par laquelle on exprime les différens sentimens de l'ame, ou plutôt ses différentes passions."
341. Ibid. "…mais pourquoi réduire cette expression aux passions seules, & ne pas l'étendre, autant qu'il est possible, jusqu'aux sensations même? Quoique les perceptions que nous recevons part divers organes different entr'elles autant que leurs objets, on peut néanmoins les comparer sous un autre point de vûe qui leur est commun, c'est-à-dires par la situation de plaisir ou de trouble où elles mettent notre ame."

notion that music appealing directly to the senses could be placed on par with music that represents the passions is a radical step beyond the views of d'Alembert's predecessors. However, such a position does not reduce the overall significance of the passions as an aesthetic justification for music; rather, it proposes that sounds derived from nature are just as capable of triggering the emotions. The artistic objective remains the same: moving the listener is no less important to d'Alembert than to any other eighteenth-century author on musical aesthetics. On this basis, he asserts that the direct emulation of natural sounds in music ought to be an aesthetically-valid compositional practice:

> A frightening object, a terrible noise, each produce an emotion in us by which we can compare them up to a certain point, [such] that we often designate them in one case or the other by the same name, or synonymous names. I do not therefore see why a musician who had to paint a frightening object could not succeed in doing so, by searching for the type of sound in Nature that can produce the emotion in us most similar to that excited by the object [itself]. I say the same of agreeable sensations. [342]

In this respect, d'Alembert's notion of what constitutes mimetic art, at least as far as music is concerned, is a step away from Batteux's contention

342. Ibid. "Un objet effrayant, un bruit terrible, produisent chacun en nous une émotion par laquelle nous pouvons jusqu'à un certain point les rapprocher, & que nous désignons souvent dans l'un & l'autre cas, ou par le même nom, ou par des noms synonymes. Je ne vois donc point pourquoi un Musicien qui auroit à peindre un objet effrayant, ne pourroit pas y réussir, en cherchant dans la Nature l'espece de bruit qui peut produire en nous l'émotion la plus semblable à celle que cet objet y excite. J'en dis autant des sensations agréables."

that art must offer an idealized form of nature. For d'Alembert, evidently, the "truth" of nature as it *is* may offer just as powerful an aesthetic experience as the "truth" of nature as it *could be*. Why then should using natural sounds as a direct model for musical sounds be judged an inferior practice? D'Alembert does not explicitly state it, but this seems to suggest that he would consider tone-painting, particularly in the case of something such as a thunderstorm, aesthetically—and more importantly, affectively—valid.

Rousseau's take on the validity of the representation of "natural" sounds in music differs from d'Alembert's in several respects. Rousseau's articles in the *Encyclopédie* deal mostly with the theories of Rameau (over which the two were in open dispute), but he offers several relevant points on musical imitation and representation within his *Essai sur l'origine des langues, où il est parlé de la mélodie et l'imitation musicale* (written sometime between 1753 and 1761)[343] and the *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768), the two sources that form the basis of my discussion here. For Rousseau, as the title of the *Essai* implies, imitation and representation are at the heart of what makes music an affective art form. And, from his perspective, *sonic* imitation has even

343. The *Essai* was not published until 1781, after Rousseau's death. The 1753-1761 span is an approximation offered by Christopher Bertram in "Jean Jacques Rousseau," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Winter 2012 Edition, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford University Press, accessed April 11, 2015, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2012/entries/rousseau.

greater potential to "enflame" the passions than the kind of visual representation offered in painting: while the latter offers "a more precise imitation," it is sound that most effectively arouses "interest."[344] Visuality offers us specificity, but according to Rousseau, we cannot help but feel what we hear.[345]

Much as Batteux had done a decade earlier, Rousseau locates music's ability to imitate in melody—not surprising, perhaps, given the general priority of melody over harmony that he famously advocated (just one of many reasons he quarreled so tirelessly with Rameau).[346] For Rousseau, it is imitation that elevates painting and music to the level of the fine arts; the ability of the former to do so relies upon "design," and the latter upon melody.[347] Thus, he argues, "melody does in music precisely what design does in painting; it is melody that indicates the contours and figures, of which the accords and sounds are but the colors."[348] Harmony, and perhaps timbre, are, in essence, adjunct to melody's representational capacity. Rousseau is explicit about *what* melody attempts to represent:

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344. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues, où il est parlé de la mélodie et l'imitation musicale* (c. 1753-1761), translated by John T. Scott in *Essay On the Origin of Languages and Writings Related to Music* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 292. All further quotations from Rousseau's *Essai* are drawn from Scott's translation.
345. Ibid.
346. A brief summary of these disputes, and the intellectual investments of Rousseau in the concept of melody and Rameau in harmony, may be found in Graham Sadler and Thomas Christensen, "Rameau, Jean-Philippe," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 11, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22832).
347. Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Languages*, trans. John T. Scott, 321.
348. Ibid., 320.

> Melody, by imitating the inflections of the voice, expresses complaints, cries of sadness or of joy, threats, and moans; all the vocal signs of the passions are within its scope. It imitates the accents of languages, and the turns of phrase appropriate in each idiom to certain movements of the soul; it not only imitates, it speaks, and its language, inarticulate but lively, ardent, passionate, has a hundred times more energy than speech itself. Here is from whence the strength of musical imitations arises; here is from whence the dominion of song over sensitive hearts arises.[349]

Here, Rousseau continues (and makes rather more explicit) the line of thought advocated by Dubos. Music is once more described as imitating "the inflections of the voice," the "vocal signs of the passions." For Rousseau, melody is of central importance in music because it is analogous to primordial language; *song* is the direct communicator of man's emotional states.

The *Dictionnaire de musique*, published in 1768, offers in many ways a compendium of Rousseau's earlier writings on music. It contains articles written by Rousseau for the *Encyclopédie*, as well as excerpts of the prose of the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*. So, despite a title that might suggest a simple reference tool, the *Dictionnaire* actually contains some of Rousseau's mature thinking on musical aesthetics. His article entitled "Music," for example,

349. Ibid., 322.

repeats the notion that imitative music can depict the passions. He argues that this type of music,

> …by [virtue of its] lively, accented, and, so to speak, "speaking" inflections, expresses all passions, paints all pictures, renders all objects, submits all Nature to its learned imitations, and thus conveys to the heart of man the feelings appropriate for affecting it.[350]

And much in accordance with what he argues in the *Essai*, Rousseau expands upon this idea in the article on "Melody." Again, his emphasis is on melody's capacity to do more than "flatter the ear with agreeable sounds."[351] He upholds its ability, by virtue of its imitations, to "affect the mind by various images," and to "move the heart by various feelings," "working moral effects which pass beyond the immediate empire of the senses."[352] Music founded primarily on harmony, by contrast, is not imitative, and therefore "can

350. Rousseau, "MUSIC," in *Dictionnaire de musique*, 311. "La seconde, par des inflexions vives accentuées, &, pour ainsi dire, parlantes, exprime toutes les passion, peint tous les tableaux, rend tous les objets, soumet la Nature entière à ses savantes imitations, & porte ainsi jusqu'au coeur de l'homme des sentimens propres à l'émouvoir." It should be noted that Rousseau proposes two categories of music, the first is "naturelle" (which is "limited to the physics of sound" and unable to move the heart), includes chansons and hymns, and is dispensed with quickly by Rousseau. The second category, "imitative," constitutes the bulk of both his and my discussions.
351. Rousseau, "MELODY," in *Dictionnaire de musique*, 277.
352. Ibid. "…toute la force de la *Mélodie* se borne à flatter l'oreille par des Sons agréable, comme on peut flatter la vue par d'agréable accords de couleurs: mais prise pour un art d'imitation par lequel on peut affecter l'esprit de diverses images, émouvoir le coeur de divers sentimens, exciter & calmer les passions; opérer, en un mot, des effets moraux qui passent l'empire immédiat des sens…"

neither touch nor paint with its beautiful consonances, soon leaving the ears, and always the heart, cold."[353]

Throughout these entries, as may be noted above, Rousseau continues to employ visual terminology; words such as *peindre*, *images*, and *tableaux* are pervasive. Like many of his contemporaries, he probably used such visual language, at least in part, to counter the difficulty of speaking about fundamentally intangible concepts, such as "expression." But one might also wonder whether this means he thought of music as capable of imitating *more* than just passions. Did Rousseau leave any room for the possibility of imitating visual or concrete phenomena, such as might be attempted through tone- and word-painting?

The entries on "Imitation" and "Opera" in the *Dictionnaire* offer useful information in answering this question. Here Rousseau delivers a telling assessment of the multi-sensory powers of music, observing that, just as painting does for sight, music would at first seem to depict objects to only one sense: hearing.[354] But then, in a remarkable passage repeated in multiple places, he extols music's ability transcend such limitations:

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353. Ibid. "…toute Musique qui ne chante pas, quelque harmonieuse qu'elle puisse être, n'est point une Musique imitative, & ne pouvant ni toucher ni peindre aves ses beaux Accords, lasse [sic] bien-tôt les oreilles, & laisse toujours le coeur froid."
354. Ibid., "IMITATION," in *Dictionnaire de musique*, 253.

> Music would seem to have the same limits [as painting] with respect to hearing; however, it paints everything, even objects which are only visible; through an almost inconceivable magic trick, *it seems to put the eye in the ear*, and the greatest marvel of an Art that acts only through motion is to be able to form the image of rest. Night, sleep, solitude, and silence are among the great paintings of music.[355]

Thus, music depicts more than just passions, and does so to more than one sense. In fact, by virtue of its ability to cater to multiple senses, to represent things beyond its own sensory sphere (i.e., hearing), Rousseau proclaims the superiority of music over painting. He states,

> the imitation of painting is always cold, since it lacks that succession of ideas and of impressions which warms the soul by degrees, and since everything is said at the first glance. The imitative power of this Art, with so many apparent objects, is in fact limited to very weak representations. It is one of the great advantages of the Musician to be able to depict things that cannot be heard, while it is impossible for the Painter to depict those that cannot be seen…[356]

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355. My emphasis. Ibid. "La Musique sembleroit avoir les mêmes bornes par rapport à l'ouïe; cependant elle peint tout, même les objets qui ne sont que visibles: par un prestige presque inconcevable, elle semble mettre l'oeil dans l'oreille, & la plus grande merveille d'un Art qui n'agit que par le mouvement, est d'en pouvoir former jusqu'à l'image du repos. La nuit, le sommeil, la solitude & le silence entrent dans le nombre des grands tableaux de la Musique." This quotation is part of a passage taken almost directly from the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, and repeated in both the "IMITATION" and "OPERA" articles in the *Dictionnaire*. See Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Languages*, trans. John T. Scott, 326-327; "IMITATION," in *Dictionnaire de musique*, 253-254; and "OPERA," in *Dictionnaire de musique*, 354. The recurring phrases are essentially minor rewordings of the following: "C'est un des grands avantages du Musicien de pouvoir peindre les choses qu'on ne sauroit entendre, tandis qu'il est impossible au Peintre de peindre celles qu'on ne sauroit voir; & et la plus grande merveille d'un Art qui n'agit que par le mouvement, est d'en pouvoir former jusqu'à l'image du repos. La nuit, le sommeil, la solitude & le silence entrent dans le nombre des grands tableaux de la Musique. Quelquefois le bruit produit l'effet du silence, & le silence l'effet du bruit; comme quand un homme s'endort à une lecture égale & monotone, & s'éveille à l'instant qu'on se tait; & il en est de même pour d'autres effets."

356. Rousseau, "OPERA," in *Dictionnaire de musique*, 354. "L'imitation de la peinture est toujours froide, parce qu'elle manque de cette succession d'idées & d'impression qui échauffe l'ame par degrés, & que tout est dit au premier coup d'oeil. La puissance imitative de cet Art, avec beaucoup d'objets apparens, se borne en effet à de très-foibles représentations. C'est un des grands avantages du Musicien de pouvoir peindre les choses qu'on ne sauroit entendre, tandis qu'il est impossible au Peintre de peindre celles qu'on ne sauroit voir…"

And while Rousseau asserts that the painter gains nothing from the musician's score, he argues on this basis that the musician "will not leave the painter's studio without fruit."[357]

To this end, Rousseau does not hesitate to cite possible musical topics that consist of physical things, natural phenomena, and even places:

> …the art of the Musician consists of substituting for the imperceptible image of the object that of the movements its presence arouses in the heart of the Contemplator. Not only will it agitate the sea, animate the flame of a fire, make streams flow, rains fall, and torrents swell; but it will paint the horror of a dreadful desert, darken the walls of a subterranean prison, calm the storm, render the air tranquil and serene, and spread a new freshness over the groves from the Orchestra. It will not represent these things directly, but it will excite the same movements in the soul that one feels when one sees them.[358]

In essence, then, the sonic depiction of objects, most of which would fit comfortably under Batteux's category of "unimpassioned," landscape-like music, is aesthetically valid insofar as these sounds may act as triggers for the passions, thereby still accomplishing the larger goal of moving the listener.

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357. Ibid., 355. "Ainsi, bien que le Peintre n'ait rien à tirer de la Partition de Musicien, l'habile Musicien ne sortira point sans fruit de l'attelier [sic] du Peintre."
358. Ibid., 354. "…l'art du Musicien consiste à substituer à l'image insensible de l'objet celle des mouvemens que sa présence excite dans le coeur du Contemplateur. Non-seulement il agitera la Mer, animera la flamme d'un incendie, fera couler les ruisseaux, tomber la pluie & grossir les torrens; mais il peindra l'horreur d'un desert affreux, rembrunira les murs d'une prison souterraine, calmera la tempête, rendra l'air tranquille & serein, & répandra de l'Orchestre une fraîcheur nouvelle sur les boccages. Il ne représentera pas directement ces choses, mais il excitera dans l'ame les mêmes mouvemens qu'on éprouve en les voyant." Again this passage is taken almost verbatim from the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* (p. 327 in Scott's translation).

In this respect, Rousseau is in agreement with d'Alembert. But this agreement has strict limits: while d'Alembert had implied that a composer might take a sound from nature as a model, Rousseau makes explicit elsewhere that such sounds need nevertheless to mediated by the composer. Natural sounds and harmonies alone cannot simply be included in music untouched:

> By itself harmony is even inadequate or the expressions that appear to depend uniquely upon it. Thunder, the murmuring of waters, winds, and storms are poorly rendered by simple chords. Whatever one may do, *noise alone says nothing to the mind*, objects have to speak in order to make themselves heard, in every imitation a type of *discourse always has to supplement the voice of nature*. The musician who wants to render noise with noise is mistaken; he knows neither the weakness nor the strength of his art; he judges it without taste, without enlightenment; teach him that he should render noise with song, that if he would make frogs croak, he has to make them sing. For it is not enough for him to imitate, he has to touch and to please, otherwise his glum imitation is nothing, and, not interesting to anyone, it makes no impression.[359]

The musical topics mentioned by Rousseau in the two quotations above are familiar as some of the most commonly imitated subjects in contemporary French opera (and many of them have already been described within this chapter through the words of Dubos, Batteux, and others). It should be noted that Rousseau bases most of his discussion of *mimesis* on

359. My emphases. See Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Languages*, trans. John T. Scott, 323.

opera, throughout both the *Essai* and *Dictionnaire*—in fact, the very first sentence of his entry on "Imitation" asserts that theatrical music works through imitation just like painting and poetry.[360] While many of the tone-painting topics he cites formed the basis of operatic *symphonies*, Rousseau says very little explicitly about instrumental music, save for the mention of the role of the "Orchestre" in "spreading the new freshness over the groves,"[361] and brief acknowledgment that "lively sentiments" could come from the orchestra within the context of opera.[362] Even more striking is the apparent absence of supernatural topics from the examples he supplies. This is not accidental, for Rousseau's entry in the *Dictionnaire* on "Opera" makes clear a distinct distaste for such elements, whether in the form of staged effects, plot events, or musical representation. He claims that, until opera began to attempt to imitate natural topics, it was forced to rely upon the "flashiness of the extravaganza, the puerile din of the machines, and fantastic images of things which had never been seen."[363] Continuing his diatribe, he asks,

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360. Rousseau, "IMITATION," in *Dictionnaire de musique*, 253.
361. Ibid., 254.
362. Rousseau, "OPERA," in *Dictionnaire de musique*, 349. "La Symphonie même apprit à parler sans le secours des paroles, & souvent il ne sortoit pas des sentimens moins vifs de l'Orchestre que de la bouche des Acteurs."
363. Ibid. "C'est alors que, commençant à se dégoûter de tout le clinquant de la féerie, du puérile fracas des machines, & de la fantasque [sic] image des choses qu'on n'a jamais vues, on chercha dans l'imitation de la Nature des tableaux plus intéressans & plus vrais."

> …what better use could be made in the Theater of a Music that did not know how to paint anything, other than to employ it for the representation of things that could not exist, and which no one was in a position to compare the image to the object? It is impossible to know whether one is affected by the painting of the *merveilleux* as one would be by its presence, whereas every man can judge for himself whether the Artist has learned well how to make the passions speak their language and whether the objects of Nature are well imitated. As soon as Music had learned to paint and speak, the charms of sentiment soon caused those of the wand to be neglected…[364]

The *merveilleux*, as far as Rousseau is concerned, functions as a crutch, a means of compensating for an under-developed ability to imitate nature in music. *Symphonies* representing, for example, the flight or descent of a god—or as Batteux had proposed, the "trembling of a Shade as it exits the tomb"—are aesthetically inferior to those representing tempests and other natural phenomena.[365] Rousseau thus differs from previous French theorists insofar as he distinguishes *between* various kinds of tone-painting, ranking some as unacceptable, and others just as valid as music that purports to represent the passions themselves.

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364. Ibid. "…car quel meilleur usage pouvoit-on faire au Théâtre d'une Musique qui ne savoit rien peindre, que de l'employer à la représentation des choses qui ne pouvoient exister, & sur lesquelles personne n'étoit en état de comparer l'image à l'objet? Il est impossible de savoir si l'on est affecté par la peinture du merveilleux comme on le seroit par sa présence; au lieu que tout homme peut juger par lui-même si l'Artiste a bien su faire parler aux passions leur langage, & si les objets de la Nature sont bien imités. Aussi dès que la Musique eut appris à peindre & à parler, les charmes du sentiment firent-ils bien-tôt négliger ceux de la baguette…"
365. See p. 159, fn. 331 above.

The 1770s

Although this decade constitutes the end of the time period I consider here, the 1770s were relatively plentiful in terms of French writings on music, with at least three treatments of the issue of imitation appearing in print. My discussion of these sources will be short, since the 1770s are well after the repertory with which this study is concerned, and most of these authors are little-known compared to those already considered, such as Dubos, Batteux, and Rousseau. But this decade nonetheless remains relevant in that it offers a useful end-point to the narrative of this chapter, not because the discussion of imitation entirely ceases, but because the discourse fragments into wildly divergent opinions. The 1770s mark a radical division in thinking about imitation: some French thinkers are still very much in favour of seeing music as an art form based on *mimesis*, while others discard that notion entirely.

No text of this era embraces the notion of musical imitation quite so enthusiastically as that of André Morellet (1727-1819), elected to the *Académie Française* in 1785, and one of the last of the *philosophes*.[366] His essay, "De l'Expression en musique et de l'imitation dans les arts," was first

366. A biography of Morellet is still available on the website of the *Académie Française*, where he is among the 728 members dubbed "immortels." See "André Morellet," website of the *Académie Française*, http://www.academie-francaise.fr/les-immortels/andre-morellet, accessed 12 April 2015.

published in the *Mercure de France* in 1771 (although Nancy Kovaleff Baker asserts it may have been written as early as 1759).[367] Morellet is unique amongst the writers considered here in that he begins by directly addressing the terminological problems that attend the entire discourse, stating explicitly that he regards the terms "express" (exprimer) and "depict" (peindre) as synonymous; he does not attempt to place these two verbs into two different aesthetic categories.[368] And he provides one of the most succinct summaries of exactly *what* music imitates:

> One can distinguish two kinds of objects that music undertakes to depict and to express, physical objects, with their diverse actions, their movements and their effects, and the passions, or more generally, all the affections of the human heart.[369]

Like Rousseau, Morellet argues that music represents the passions by imitating "natural declamation," or "inarticulate vocalizations," such as "cries, sighs, sobs," non-discursive interjections, and vocal inflections.[370] And

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367. Nancy Kovaleff Baker, et al. "Expression," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 12, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09138).
368. André Morellet, "De l'Expression en musique et de l'imitation dans les arts," *Mercure de France* (1771), repr. in *Mélanges de littérature et de philosophie* (Paris, 1818), 4:367.
369. Ibid. "On peut distinguer deux sortes d'objets que la musique entreprend de peindre et d'exprimer, les objets physiques, leurs diverses actions, leurs mouvemens, leurs effets, et les passions ou plus généralement toutes les affections coeur humain." Here, and in all subsequent quotations of Morellet, I have consulted the translation supplied by Edward A. Lippman in *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader*, Volume I, *From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986), 269-284.
370. Morellet, "De l'expression en musique," 380. "Toutes les passions et tous les sentimens du coeur humain ont leur déclamation naturelle; j'entends par la déclamation naturelle: 1°. les accens des grandes passions lorsqu'elles se produisent au dehors par des voix inarticulées, comme les cris, les soupirs, les sanglots, ou qu'elles s'expriment par des mots qui ne forment point de discours suivi, tels que les

like his contemporaries, he still considers this type of imitation to be the superior mode, or, at least, an inarguable means by which music "expresses and paints."[371] But this does not mean that he is not interested in the capacity of music to represent objects and actions—on the contrary, he supplies a phenomenal list of what music may paint, and, more importantly, attempts in almost every case to describe the actual musical elements that give rise to the desired effect! Since this lengthy passage is so remarkable, I reproduce it here in full:

> Like languages, like poetry, [music] will choose, in perceptible objects, the sounds, the actions, the movements, the effects, and in general the circumstances that can be imitated by the sounds and the movement of the voice and the different species of instruments; it will paint the noises and sounds by the most analogous sounds; movement by movements; the height of an object by high sounds, and its depth by low sounds; distance by the opposition of these two sorts of sounds, flight by sustained sounds that fade away by degrees, like the impressions made on our senses by an object that withdraws and flees; the approach of an object by a contrary progression; the violence of a torrent that carries everything away in its passage, by a rapid succession of sounds strongly articulated and bound together, which represent the movement of that mass of water acting like a solid body; a floating cloud that rises, by a melody promenaded on a base of smooth harmony; the agitated sea by a rapid movement of sounds tied together, like the waves that push forward and succeed one another; the noise of rolling thunder by a diatonic succession of detached sounds running from high to low and from low to high; brilliant lightening by high and light flashes of melody, and claps of

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interjections; 2°. les inflexions de voix que reçoit le discours suivi employé à exprimer ces mêmes passions, et les autres sentimens du coeur humain."

371. Ibid. "C'est surtout dans l'imitation des accens des grandes passions que la musique triomphera. C'est là qu'on ne pourra lui contester la faculté d'exprimer et de peindre."

thunder by lower and more forcible sounds, both bursting forth suddenly from a full and sustained harmony; rain by detached sounds descending from high to low by close intervals, the movement of which will paint what the Romans call *stillicidium* [dripping], a name assuredly imitative; the peaceful course of a brook by the repetition of a short diatonic phrase entrusted to the gentlest instruments and sustained by a continuous and very simple bass; a river whose waters roll along with more rapidity and majesty by an imitation quite similar, but with lower sounds, louder and fuller instruments, and a more elaborated bass; the break of day by a twitter of high instruments, comparable to the song of birds; the freshness of morning by the lightness of the movements and delicacy of the sounds, and by a simple and easy harmony which will be grasped without effort, and which will put the soul into that state of gentle emotion that is caused by the spectacle of the awakening of nature; the phenomenon of the gradual growth of light can be imitated by the gradual growth in the force of the harmony; the brightness of day by the brightness of sounds; the majestic slowness of the sun by the gravity of the movement; and the power of its rays by a full and powerful harmony; its setting by the gradations and gradual weakening of the sounds; the return of the flocks by songs imitative of those of the shepherds that have a character of gentleness and simplicity; the silence of the night by the playing of soft and muted instruments, by sounds that are veiled as nature is; the uncertainty and the groping of a man in the shadows by clipped and vague sounds; a combat by bold and rapid movements, by the use of all the warlike instruments, by abrupt changes in modulation, by many dissonances, by chromatic melodies expressing the dolorous cries of the wounded and dying; the victory by raised and brilliant melodies, by strong and virile voices, etc.[372]

372. Ibid., 371-373. "Comme les langues, comme la poésie, elle choisira, dans les objets sensible, les sons, les actions, les mouvemens, les effets, et en général toutes les circonstances qui peuvent s'imiter par les sons et le mouvement de la voix et des diverses espèces d'instrumens; elle peindra les bruits et les sons, par les sons les plus analogues; le mouvement par les mouvemens; l'élévation d'un objet par des sons élevés, et sa profondeur par des sons graves; la distance par l'opposition de ces deux sortes de sons, la fuite par des sons soutenus, et s'affaiblissant par degrés comme les impressions que fait sur nos sens un objet qui s'éloigne et fuit; son approchement par une marche contraire; la violence d'un torrent, qui entraîne tout sur son passage, par une succession rapide de sons fortement prononcés et liés ensemble, qui représentent le mouvement de cette masse d'eau agissant comme un corps solide; le nuage flottant qui s'élève, par un chant promené sur un fond d'harmonie égal; la mer agitée, par un mou- [372]vement rapide de sons liés, comme les flots qui se succèdent en se poussant; le bruit du tonnerre qui roule, par une suite diatonique de sons détachés allant de l'aigu au grave, et du grave à l'aigu; l'éclair qui brille, par des traits de chants élevés et légers; la foudre qui éclate, par des sons plus graves et plus frappés, les uns et les autres sortant tout à coup d'une harmonie pleine et soutenue; la pluie, par des sons détachés et descendant de l'aigu au grave à des

Morellet's scope here is nothing short of epic—the passage itself aims to overwhelm the reader with a sense of music's connection to the sublime, the almost unimaginable vastness of natural images. On this basis alone, Morellet's article demands greater attention than it has historically received. No other French writer of the time attempts to provide such a detailed catalogue of musical images, and no other actually attempts to answer in detail how we perceive such analogies based on the musical details themselves, describing elements such as range, articulation, phrasing, dynamics, and harmonies. This is perhaps the most striking aspect of this passage: Morellet attempts to drive at the nature of musical imitation itself. He is not just interested in *what* music may represent, but *how*.

Morellet acknowledges that many of these supposed resemblances are arbitrary in some fashion, describing this kind of imitation as reliant on

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intervalles peu distans, et dont le mouvement peindra ce que les latins ont appelé *stillicidium*, d'un nom assurément bien imitatif; le cours paisible d'un ruisseau, par la répétition d'une phrase courte et diatonique confiée aux instrumens les plus doux, et soutenue par une basse continue et très-simple; le fleuve qui roule ses eaux avec plus de rapidité et de majesté par une imitation à peu près semblable, mais avec des sons plus graves, des instrumens plus forts, plus pleins, et une basse plus travaillée; le point du jour, par un gazouillement d'instrumens aigus, semblable au chant des oiseaux; le fraîcheur du matin, par la légèreté des mouvemens et la délicatesse des sons, par une harmonie simple et facile qu'on saisira sans effort, et qui mettra l'âme dans cet état de douce émotion que cause le spectacle du réveil de la nature; le phénomène de l'accroissement successif de la lumière pourra être imité par l'accroissement successif de la force de l'harmonie; l'éclat du jour, par l'éclat des sons; la lenteur majestueuese du soleil, par la gravité du mouvement; et la force des ses rayons, par une harmonie pleine et forte; son coucher, par des dégradations et un affaiblissement successifs des sons; le retour des troupeaux, par des chants imités de ceux des bergers qui aient un caractère de douceur et de simplicité; le silence de la nuit, par le jeu des instrumens adoucis et en sourdine, par des sons voilés comme la nature; l'incertitude et le tâtonnement d'un homme dans les ténèbres, par des sons coupés et vagues; un combat, par des mouvemens fiers et rapides, par l'emploi de tous les instrumens guerriers, par des changemens brusques de modulation, par beaucoup de dissonances, par des chants chromatiques, exprimant les cris douloureux des blessés et des mourans; la victoire, par des chants élevés et brillans, par des voix fortes et mâles, etc."

analogies between "the *means* of imitation and the object imitated."[373] One of his most important contributions, then, is the observation that our perception of such relationships is, in essence, dependent upon the adjectives we use to describe musical processes. And, adopting a very common-sense approach, Morellet describes these analogies as inarguable:

> The use that is made of [these analogies] alone proves their reality. One well knows that music cannot be *fresh* like the morning air, nor *sweet* like the aroma that the earth, moistened by the dew, exhales at the rising of the sun. But there must indeed be something in common between the impressions that a beautiful sunrise makes us experience and the feeling we received from a certain use of sounds for people to have imagined painting, by means of music, both the sunrise and the morning freshness. This analogy can also be substantiated by the metaphors employed in all languages to describe the phenomena and the effects of music.[374]

Thus, Morellet argues that the very regularity with which such relationships between music and things/actions are perceived across cultures demonstrates that they have some inherent measure of validity. In some ways, this is the unendingly-questioning tone of some Enlightened writers turned on its head: Morellet's account is novel for its time partly for its

373. My emphasis. Ibid., 374. "Sans doute, l'imitation que nous attribuons ici à la musique, suppose des ressemblances, ou plutôt des analogies (qui sont des ressemblances plus faibles et plus éloignées) entre les moyens d'imitation et l'objet imité."
374. Ibid. "Mais ces analogies ne peuvent être contestées. L'emploi seul qu'on en fait prouve leur réalité. On sait bien que la musique ne peut pas être *fraîche* comme l'air du matin, ni *suave* comme l'odeur que la terre, humectée par la rosée, exhale au lever du soleil. Mais il faut bien qu'il y ait quelque chose de commun entre les impressions que nous fait éprouver un beau lever du soleil, et la sensation que nous recevons d'un certain emploi des sons, pour qu'on ait imaginé de peindre, par la musique, et le lever du soleil et la fraîcheur du matin. Cette analogie peut se prouver encore par les métaphores employées dans toutes les langues pour peindre les phénomènes et les effets de la musique."

unwillingness to deem musical representation debunked solely because there is no *actual* connection between a musical gesture and the imitated object.

This is not, however, to say that Morellet is unaware of the gap between a musical gesture and that which it attempts to represent. He readily admits that "the melody of a voice or of a violin, however delicate it may be, does not resemble at all that of a nightingale, nor the noisiest music a battle, a tempest, a torrent"—nor even "the accents of the great passions."[375] Thus, he finds that he must still attempt an explanation of the apparent "imperfections" of musical imitation. He does so by simply differentiating between imitations that produce "exact" and "embellished resemblances." The latter, he argues, constitute the province of music:

> …with so many differences from the original of the supposed depiction, what becomes of imitation, of expression in music? This difficulty is founded merely on a false idea that people form of what imitation in the arts should be: they demand here too much exactitude. One would admit more readily that music expresses and imitates physical objects and passions of the human heart if one persuaded oneself that its imitation has no need to be either complete, nor exact, nor rigorous; that it should even be imperfect, and different from nature in some aspect, under pain of losing a part of its rights over our soul, and the power to produce in us the impressions it desires to obtain.[376]

375. Ibid., 390. "Le chant d'une voix ou d'un violon, quelque délicat qu'il soit, ne ressemble point à celui d'un rossignol, ni la musique la plus bruyante à une bataille, ou à une tempête, ou à un torrent. Les accens mêmes des grandes passions, et à plus forte raison la déclamation naturelle de tous les autres sentimens, ne sont pas fidèlement rendus par les intervalles de la musique."
376. Ibid., 391. "…avec tant de différences de l'original au prétendu tableau, que devient l'imitation, l'expression de la musique? Cette difficulté n'est fondée que sur une fausse idée qu'on se fait de ce que doit être l'imitation dans les arts: on y demande trop d'exactitude. On conviendra plus facilement que la musique

In this way, Morellet points out some of the imperfections of musical imitation, but resolves the problem by simply turning perceived weaknesses into strengths. He valorizes the "imperfect" ability of the arts to mimic nature; in fact, he acknowledges that we sometimes take more pleasure in the imitation than in the actual thing itself (such as when the listener enjoys an aria about nightingales more than the song of nightingales themselves).[377] Like Batteux, he believes that imitations in the arts should not represent nature as an exact copy, but as "embellished resemblances."[378] But Morellet distinguishes his discussion from others by arguing that the pleasure in art may, at times, lie in the tension between the imitation and the reality. The cognizance that these are not one and the same is necessary in order to appreciate it as art.

By contrast, Michel Paul Gui de Chabanon, whose *Observations sur la musique, et principalement sur la metaphysique de l'art* appeared in 1779, is less forgiving of music's apparent "weakness" at imitating. Indeed, he sets out with the express purpose of questioning whether music is an imitative art at all, and to some extent, his text can be seen as the beginning of a distinct

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exprime et imite les objets physiques et les passions du coeur humain, si l'on se persuadait que son imitation n'a besoin d'être ni complète, ni exacte, ni rigoureuse; qu'elle doit même être imparfaite, et différente de la nature par quelque côté, sous peine de perdre une partie de ses droits sur notre âme, et le pouvoir de produire en nous les impressions qu'elle veut obtenir.

377. Ibid., 393-394.

378. Ibid., 391.

movement away from conceiving of music in these terms. He attempts to prove that animals respond to music and possess "musical instincts," reasoning that, for them, music cannot be an art that seeks to imitate.[379] Neither, for that matter, does he believe "savages," "sailors," or "babies" can perceive music as imitative.[380] He then offers a direct challenge to Morellet, asking why music should be exempt from creating "faithful, true, and similar" imitations, when its sister arts of poetry, painting, and sculpture are expected to do so.[381]

Chabanon's greatest break with the past is his assertion that music "acts directly on our feelings."[382] He argues that music may engage the listener without the mediation of the imitative process, going so far as to question whether one can even "call [music] *imitative* when it hardly imitates."[383] In his view, on those few occasions that music does imitate, this function is of secondary importance. In fact, he argues that the only "genuine" imitation of which music is capable is the imitation of (other) song, by which he means the literal imitation of "military fanfares, hunting calls, and rural

379. Michel Paul Gui de Chabanon, *Observations sur la musique, et principalement sur la metaphysique de l'art* (Paris, 1779), trans. Edward A. Lippman in *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader*, Volume I: "From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century" (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986), 296. Here, and in all further quotations of Chabanon, I rely upon Lippman's translation.
380. Ibid., 300.
381. Ibid., 299.
382. Ibid., 300.
383. Emphasis original. Ibid., 301.

songs."[384] Beyond this, however, he sees music as a "weak" and "insufficient" imitator.

This brings Chabanon to some common musical topics, which he proceeds to reduce to component elements in an effort to highlight just how inane and stereotyped certain tone-painting gestures have become. The painting of a stream is the product of the "weak and tired fluctuation of two notes adjacent to one another"; the "warbling of birds" signified by the mixing in of roulades (although "there is not a single bird that has ever sung roulades").[385] Chabanon asserts that these figures constitute poor imitations in-and-of themselves and are simply too often employed. And he lambasts composers who use the same musical gestures to represent more than one thing:

> The sky is covered with clouds, the wind whistles, the thunder extends its long reverberations from one end of the horizon to the other… How weak music is in portraying such effects, above all if the musician interests himself in detailing them; if he wants a rising or falling volley of notes here to express lightning, or the force of the wind, or the crash of thunder; for he has the choice; he can give to this picturesque feature one denomination or another; no one has an authentic proof to contradict him on this point.[386]

384. Ibid.
385. Ibid., 302-303.
386. Ibid., 303.

This is precisely the reverse of Morellet's reason for valorizing musical imitation: where he construed a less-than-exact musical representation as fundamentally open to interpretation, Chabanon sees only arbitrariness and compositional inadequacy. The only musical imitation that he perceives as possessing sufficient truth is the representation of roaring waves through the "use of many basses playing in unison and making the melody roll like the billows that rise and fall back."[387] And even this depiction, according to Chabanon, requires placement within the context of a theatrical work, replete with staging and lyrics, to become truly moving.[388] In answer, then, to the question of why music seems to paint for multiple senses while real painting is restricted to the eyes, his response is simple: music does not actually please by virtue of imitation—it pleases through *sensation*.[389]

Chabanon's emphasis on the senses and perception reflected their growing importance in French philosophical thought of the late eighteenth century. The most important exponent of these ideas was Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, whose *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* (1746) and *Treatise on the Sensations* (1754) were influential in intellectual circles. Condillac embraced "sensationism," the view that *all* human knowledge comes from

387. Ibid., 304.
388. Ibid., 305.
389. Ibid., 304.

sensations conveyed to the mind through the sense organs.[390] Everything therefore has its source in *sensation*. The logical (and somewhat radical) extension of this position was the premise that there are no innate ideas. Through a famous thought experiment in which he envisioned a statue experiencing the first use of his senses one by one, Condillac proposed that only the combination of received sensations plus the capacity for memory could lead to the formation of ideas.[391]

For Condillac, and those who supported his view, the input of the senses represented the truest form of cognition. He argued that sensations act *directly* upon the soul, giving rise to all secondary thought processes.[392] Since the former represent fundamental "modifications of our being," thinking of them as "images of something distinct from us" would be "to treat them as 'ideas' rather than simply as 'sensations.'"[393] This reasoning was of course contrary to the Rationalist stance that upheld the importance of *mimesis*, or the notion that music must imitate and therefore supply the intellect with an external *something* (passion or otherwise).

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390. Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *A Treatise on the Sensations* (1754), in *Philosophical Writings of Étienne Bonnot, Abbé de Condillac*, trans. Franklin Philip with Harlan Lane (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1982), 155.
391. Ibid., 167.
392. Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* (1746), trans. Hans Aarsleff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11.
393. Lorne Falkenstein, "Étienne Bonnot de Condillac," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Fall 2010 Edition, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford University Press, accessed July 17, 2015, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2010/entries/condillac/).

Condillac's ideas amounted to a valorization of music's ability to please via direct appeal to the senses, rather than the necessity of conveying an abstract idea, and it is this type of thinking that underpins Chabanon's position. This did not, however, mean that music was thought to be disconnected from the passions—it meant simply that the mechanism by which music was thought to move them was reconsidered. Condillac argued that everything humans experienced was ultimately a form of pleasure or pain, and that man desires fundamentally to pursue pleasurable sensations. Desire in turn gives rise to the passions; the passions, therefore, are no more than "sensation transformed."[394]

Some of these concerns are echoed in a publication by Pascal Boyé [Boyer], also from 1779. Boyé's *L'Expression musicale, mise au rang des chimères* aims to prove that music simply does not imitate the passions. And in many ways, given his utter rejection of the notion of music as imitative of the passions (or anything else), Boyé's essay forms a blunt bookend to this chapter. Adopting a highly polemical, even mocking, tone, Boyé makes the highly literal argument that music simply does not *sound* like an imitation of vocal inflections; for him, it is an "incontestable fact" that music can "notate neither cries, nor moans, nor sighs, nor exclamations, nor sobs, nor laughter,

394. Condillac, *Treatise on the Sensations*, 161.

nor laments."[395] He has nothing but disdain for the notion that music might represent "passionate utterances," or the "vocal signs of the passions." And he regards proving that there is no such thing as "musique pittoresque" as even more trivial.[396] He mocks the imitation of the cuckoo, which he says is the only bird he has heard whose song could actually be notated. But of Senaillé's violin sonata, *Le Coucou*, he quips, "although the composer of that piece takes his cuckoo out for an airing through numerous modulations, I defy the listener to surmise the intention if not taken into confidence."[397] The title, thus, is necessary to give any sense to the music. Other animals fare no better for Boyé:

> As to the other birds, crows, warblers, owls, and nightingales, let us say; or pigeons, turtle-doves, hens, turkey-cocks, ducks, and all the winged species you please, it is absolutely impossible to notate any of their twittering; and that is so because their sounds are as indeterminate as those of the speaking voice. It is the same with the cries of all the animals: dog, cat, horse, donkey, calf, mule, pig, etc.; all those good servants offer no more hold to musical art than the birds.[398]

Turning to inanimate objects, such as "the rippling of streams, the rustling of leaves, waterfalls, tempests, etc.," he concludes that it is "absurd"

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395. Pascal Boyé, *L'Expression musicale, mise au rang des chimères* (Amsterdam, 1779), trans. Edward A. Lippman in *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader*, Volume I: "From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century" (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986), 286.
396. Ibid., 292.
397. Ibid.
398. Ibid.

to depict such things in music; since these do not qualify as vocalizations (human or otherwise), they are simply noise.[399] Boyé dismisses the depiction of natural phenomena outright: "as for noise, arrange it as you like, it will always be noise, and in consequence without the least relationship to music."[400] To close his rant, Boyé takes his frustrations out on composers themselves, describing their musical depictions as "childish" and worthy only of laughter. Addressing his barbs to them directly, he asks,

> Messieurs, because you sound many notes on your instruments, I must take that for battles, or for the impetuosity of the winds; because you sound several amphigories on the flute, I must think I hear a winding stream, or indeed the sigh of the zephyr; and you will demand that I confound the farting of the bassoon with claps of thunder or the sound of cannon; but do you really declare the resemblances to be very perfect?"[401]

The concept of music as *mimesis*, a mainstay of French Rationalist thought for more than a century, is emphatically shown the door here. He sums up as follows:

> The principal object of music is to please us physically, without the mind putting itself to the trouble of searching for useless comparisons to it. *One should regard it entirely as a pleasure of the senses and not of the intelligence*.[402]

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399. Ibid., 293.
400. Ibid.
401. Ibid., 293.
402. My emphasis. Ibid.

While other authors, notably the English and Germans, would continue to consider the issue of imitation in the remaining two decades of the eighteenth century, Boyé is in some ways the most plain-spoken representative of a larger trend toward thinking of music as primarily based in sensuality. Despite the extremity of his language and a clear attempt to be humorous, he marks an important turning point in larger conceptions of music as an art form. The question of whether sounding music operates effectively in the visual sphere is moot, since unlike Batteux, he places no expectation on it to convey specific meaning. In short, like many others of his time who were influenced by Condillac's line of thought, he fundamentally privileges *sensation* over *sens*.

PART I CONCLUSIONS

It rapidly becomes apparent in a tour of critical writings such as this that visuality was an important "mode" through which the phenomenon of music was understood in Enlightenment France. The philosophical underpinnings of this mode, however, were complex. Rationalist thinking of this time period demanded that all art occupy the mind with an object, usually thought of as an imitation of Nature. With an art form such as painting, the mechanism of imitation and representation seemed obvious. But reconciling music with this system of belief was problematic, for, as this survey makes abundantly clear, it was not apparent exactly how music could be representational, nor even how it could come about as the result of the process of *mimesis*. Even the logic of the most widely-agreed upon theory, which held that music was the result of the imitation of "passionate utterances," was regularly questioned.

The issue that chronically arises throughout the writings I present in this survey amounts to a question of making "sense" of music, and this in itself is telling. Like painting or poetry, music was (at the minimum) expected to convey or carry *meaning* of some kind. At the most fundamental level, then, music and the other arts were expected to appeal to the intellect. In the case of music, "sense" could certainly be made of vocal works, for doing so

relied on the capacity of words to convey meaning. But since instrumental music lacked lyrics and, in many cases, any specific referent, it could at best be thought of as second to vocal music, aesthetically and intellectually. But the fact that instrumental music was still apparently capable of moving its listeners demanded explanation.

Writers and listeners turned to the organ of the eye, in part, as translator. In both literal and figurative ways, the sense of sight provided a means to rationalize music as a whole, and instrumental music in particular. Visuality dominated the language used to discuss music; terms like *peindre*, *images*, and *couleurs* were mainstays of the vocabulary of music criticism. But the importance of sight was not restricted to linguistic convenience; the expression of music's purpose through terms such as *représenter* tells us that aspects of music's otherwise ephemeral existence were fundamentally understood in visual form. And, as I show in the following three chapters, music (both staged and in material form) was also enjoyed *in practice* through the eye by audiences and amateur performers.

This tracing of critical writings allows a number of smaller observations to be made of this large-scale mode of thought. The necessity that music have a "sense" was, at times, a motivator for very literal types of representation, such as what we refer to as tone-painting, and what

contemporaries referred to simply as "painting": that is, attempting to create a sonic reference or analogue to an object, action, thing, event, or even idea. (Once more, I caution that such types of tone-painting are often visual in nature, but not necessarily so.) But despite our frequent reliance on famous historical sources in which tone-painting almost seems to have been reviled (such as the treatises of Charles Avison or Johann Georg Sulzer), the excerpts I have discussed in Part I demonstrate collectively that there was no blanket dismissal of the practice of "painting" in eighteenth-century France.

The story here is somewhat more nuanced. Through sources such as those by Le Cerf de Viéville and the Abbé Dubos, we see an ongoing discussion about the effectiveness of "painting." In most cases, the existence of our response to such music is not in question; rather, what is debated is the *quality* of the listener's affective response to these techniques and how frequently they ought to be deployed. Often, writers seem to contradict themselves: there is, for example, significant tension in Le Cerf's *Comparaison* not over the fundamental legitimacy of tone-painting as a technique, but the extent to which it should be used as a matter of *bon goût*. Similarly, Dubos argues for the affective power of the imitation of natural events (such as storms), yet holds that such music possesses but a "half-life." Batteux

theorizes the possibility of painting portraits and landscapes in music, yet complains about composers who too frequently indulge in musical images.

Notable too is the fact that painting was leveraged by *both* sides of the French-Italian debate to support either the intensity of their style's affective quality, or the legitimacy of its sense and intelligibility. While Raguenet, for example, claims that the intense passion and "reality" of Italianate *symphonies* can "rob the soul of its senses,"[403] Le Cerf counters that the amazing representational qualities of Lully's *ouvertures* make the Italian composers look like "little boys."[404] Again, the effectiveness and aesthetic legitimacy of such pictorial compositions is not under attack here; instead they vie to claim the success of such music for their chosen side of the debate.

A number other important developments concerning visuality become apparent through a comparison of these sources. Across nearly all of them can be perceived a general privileging of spectacle in music, particularly of course in the highest of musical genres of the day, the *tragédie lyrique*. More than a mere adjunct effect, this reflected a large-scale taste for the visual in the consumption of music. And writers such as the Bourdelots position this visuality as especially reflective of the glory of France in the days of Lully

403. Raguenet, *Paralele*, 45-46.
404. Le Cerf, *Comparaison*, 56.

and Louis XIV—indeed, they leverage this feature to connect French music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with that of Greek Antiquity.

Dubos's assertion that instrumental music, even when a "true" imitation of nature, requires context, is another principle that remains important, even if only implicitly acknowledged, across many of these writings. The notion that instrumental music must possess an identifiable object of imitation and a dramatic setting to be fully intelligible is one of the few assertions made here that does not undergo significant retooling over the decades. On the other hand, his assertion that instrumental music may, in some cases, imitate the supernatural is emphatically refuted by Rousseau, who instead brooks only instrumental music that takes the voice or the "natural" world as its object.

While the flaws in music's ability to imitate are at times much disparaged, there is also an important line of thought running through these sources that argues the precise opposite: that in some situations music is *superior* to the other arts in its ability to represent. André pushes the theoretical envelope by asserting that sound—indeed, music as a whole—can "out-paint" painting because, unlike the latter, it has the advantage of portraying events and creating narrative over time. This is echoed by Batteux's claim that the sensibility of the ear is finer than the eye, and we are

therefore better naturally equipped to judge a musical piece than a painting. And even Rousseau, for all his arguing that music is nothing but the vocal signs of the passions, describes music's depictive abilities (especially of natural phenomena) as superior to that of painting.

Another important change in thinking is signaled by Morellet, who is the first to move away from the view that music is inferior because of the "imperfect" (i.e., unspecific) nature of its imitations. Morellet flips this entirely, arguing that music's imitative abilities are actually stronger because of their imperfect nature, implicitly acknowledging that aesthetic appreciation of a work requires *more* than the exactitude and truthfulness of the imitation. In fact, for him, the pleasure of imitative music lies in the space for thought it provokes between an imperfect imitation and the real thing.

Finally, over the course of these writings, there is a distinct, large-scale move away from the notion of music as based on *mimesis* at all; that is, a shift away from expecting music to act on the passions through the mind, in favour of conceiving of it as acting directly on our emotional states through sheer sensation. The seeds of this are planted in the discourse by d'Alembert, who contends that music appealing directly to the senses might be just as valid as that representing the passions. This notion supports his

validation of the deeply affective response that he believes music that "paints" can evoke in the listener.

However, music's ability to please simply through sensation is taken up more earnestly by Chabanon and Boyé, whose writings reflect the growing influence of Condillac's theory that sensations act directly on the soul before giving rise to ideas. Both argue explicitly against music's ability to imitate, going to great lengths to mock the tropes of tone-painting and, in Boyé's case, even the notion that music could represent passionate vocal utterances. *Mimesis* as the operating principle of music is discarded. By the late 1780s, the notion that music possesses artistic validity because it acts directly upon the feelings through sensation without (necessarily) the mediation of the intellect is firmly established in critical literature. This increased validation of music for its sensuousness would have important consequences for the fate of instrumental music. As Cowart has argued, subtle changes in language from the rationalistic to the sensual reflected a "transition from the humanistic emphasis on the signified to the aesthetic emphasis on the signifier."[405] This in turn "parallel[ed] a shift in music from an emphasis on the vocal to an emphasis on the instrumental."[406]

405. Cowart, "Critical Language," 230.
406. Ibid.

PART II

VISUALITY AND THE MUSICAL PRODUCT

CHAPTER 3

MONUMENTALIZING LULLY: A CASE-STUDY

All the chapters of the present study are, in essence, discussions of how connections between visual and aural realms may have influenced *thinking* about music, its consumption, its status. However, the following chapters attempt, in some ways, to offer the flip-side of Part I. Where Chapters 1 and 2 were concerned with ways that the sonic might convey the visual, Chapter 3 will look at ways in which the visual conveyed and shaped the sonic. This is to say, the following chapter deals with how the material form of music, and its attendant visual elements, may have influenced the thought processes about sounding music.

Why bother, however, moving from talking about visuality and meaning *in* music to meanings latent in visual culture *around* music? The intention of this dissertation is to discuss music's visuality in all its various parameters, since perception of its meaning in any of those parameters may conceivably shape one's understanding and consumption of music. In Part I, I argued that visuality functioned as a mediator in the encountering and experiencing of music; it offered one possible "mode" of understanding music as a phenomenon. And as I have described, notions of "representation" and

"depiction," often (but not always) construed in visual terms, were central elements in the rationalizing of music's purpose as art, the comprehension of its meaning(s), the hierarchical valuation of various types of music, and in constituting a basic language for discussing such an ephemeral art form. Visual culture was no less important as a component of music's presentation and packaging, and was just as capable of mediating one's aural and intellectual experience. The following, along with Chapters 4 and 5, will show that elements of "representation" and "depiction" in what I will refer to as music's "packaging" could likewise be components in

1. the comprehension of music as conveyed meaning (i.e., the furnishing of a critical "sense"),
2. the valuation of various musical genres relative to one another,

and, perhaps most important of all,

3. the understanding of music as a carrier of social meanings.

I caution again that this exploration does not imply that visual elements, such as they may have been perceived in music's sound and physical form, were *necessarily* always coordinated with one another—only that these

manifold layers of visuality have the potential to be "read" in productive ways by the one who "consumes" the music.

Special note must be made here regarding terminology. I use "consumer" within the context of this dissertation in the very general sense of "one who consumes" or "receives" the art work through some sensory means. In this way, the term functions as a means to include all forms of "using" or experiencing music, whether that involves some combination of listening to and/or watching a live performance, or looking at and "reading" music's written form. Although my discussion will indeed refer to a class of citizens who purchased access to music (whether in live performance or notational form), my use of the term "consumer" is not by default intended to convey all the connotations that that word now carries in discussions of modern economic systems.

"Packaging," as I will use the term here, refers to aspects of the physical forms of music designed to have appeal, and/or signify, to the user of that musical object. The word "packaging" itself is laden with modern connotations suggesting the process of marketing a product in a capitalist economy. To some extent, these associations are relevant here: the material objects I discuss here were intended to be sold for profit. Their packaging was indeed meant to woo a purchaser much in the modern sense. But I

would like to extend our consideration of packaging beyond the arena of sales into the realm of *use* of musical objects. Fundamental to my discussion will be the argument that packaging can at times operate as more than just an initial (and implicitly shallow) sales gambit—all the signifiers in which a musical product is wrapped (physically and metaphorically) have the potential to shape the interpretation and employment of a musical item *over time*. The appeal of packaging is thus not necessarily limited to the first moment of apprehension; the consumer (by which I primarily mean the "user" of a musical *thing*, rather than simply the purchaser) may read its many significances repeatedly. And such meanings should not, be assumed to be static, since they are ultimately contingent upon a fluid cultural context.

What sorts of things might then constitute "packaging"? For the purposes of this chapter, I will be looking only at printed editions of music notation. In this context, "packaging" will be comprised primarily of the engraved images and decorations printed on or in the musical publication itself. This, however, should not be taken to mean there are no other potential types of relevant packaging, since the tactile would certainly also have been involved. The quality and type of materials used in the production of a musical edition, for example, might be taken as important signifiers to an audience of a particular social status. Binding and cover materials, not to

mention the quality of the paper type, would no doubt have had significance to the one who "consumes" a musical volume. This would all the more have been the case given that most printed volumes of music were sold unbound; purchasers would have paid to have that music specially bound, and perhaps marked with their arms or crest. Unfortunately, an exploration of the tactile of this kind is beyond the scope of my investigation—not least because the provenance of individual copies of editions in libraries across the world would need to be traced. This would, however, constitute a logical extension to some of the premises I advance here, and might well form the basis of a future study.

Discussion of engravings within musical publications has tended to see them as mostly inconsequential, or at least peripheral to the "real" work, whatever that may be. This is at least partly a consequence of the long-standing use of *passe-partouts*, or re-usable title-page images, a practice that was very common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[407] Such images typically presented an ornate frame of some sort, with a blank interior space into which the printer could insert the title and other relevant information. This design could be used again and again in many editions of

407. According to Frank Kidson, the use of a *passe-partout* as a go-to image first became a regular practice in the publications of John Walsh in the late seventeenth century. Frank Kidson, et al. "Walsh, John," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed October 25, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29858).

music from different genres, by different composers. A common examplar from the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries is the following image, engraved after a design by Desmarest **(see Illustrations 3.1a and 3.1b)**.[408]

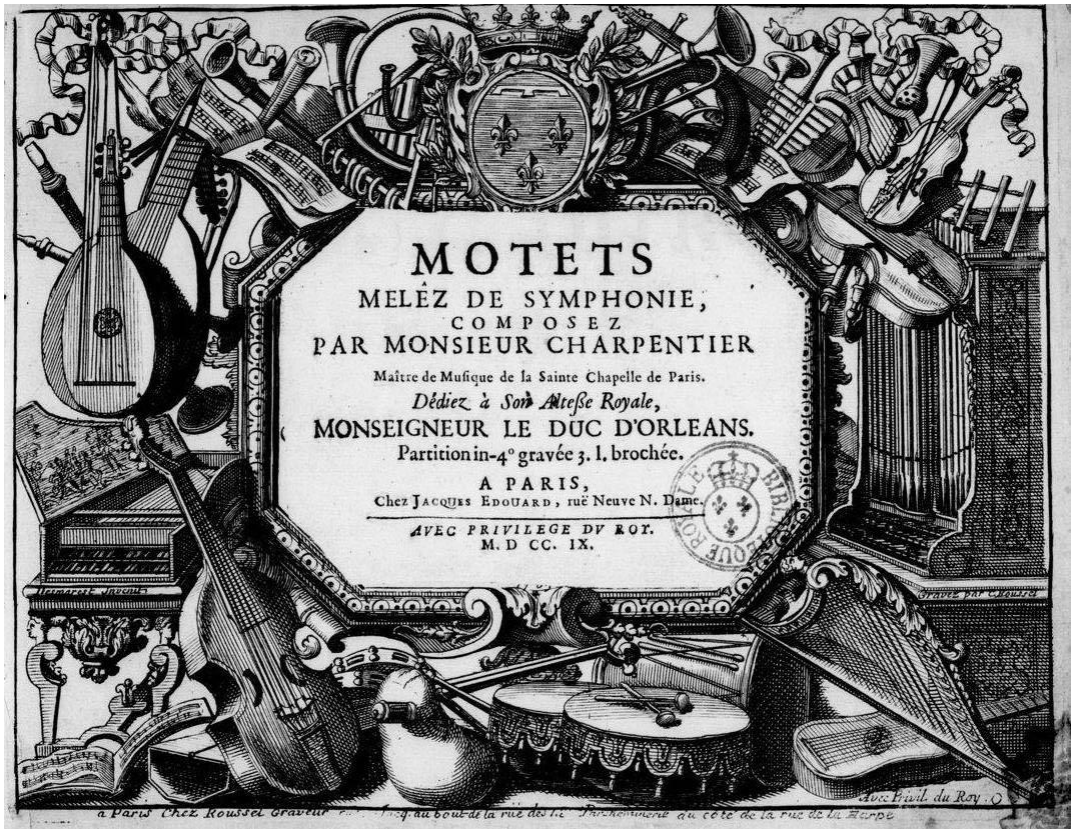

Illustration 3.1a: Title-page to Charpentier's *Motets meléz de symphonie* **(1709)**[409]

408. Very little is known about this artist, but he may have been Martin Desmarest, a seventeenth-century painter of portraits and historical topics. See "Desmarest, Martin," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, *Grove Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/subscriber/article/benezit/B00050181).
409. This and all following illustrations (unless otherwise indicated) are drawn from freely-available (public domain) facsimile pdfs provided by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* through the *Gallica bibliothèque numerique* online repository (gallica.bnf.fr) or posted in the *IMSLP Petrucci Library* database (imslp.org).

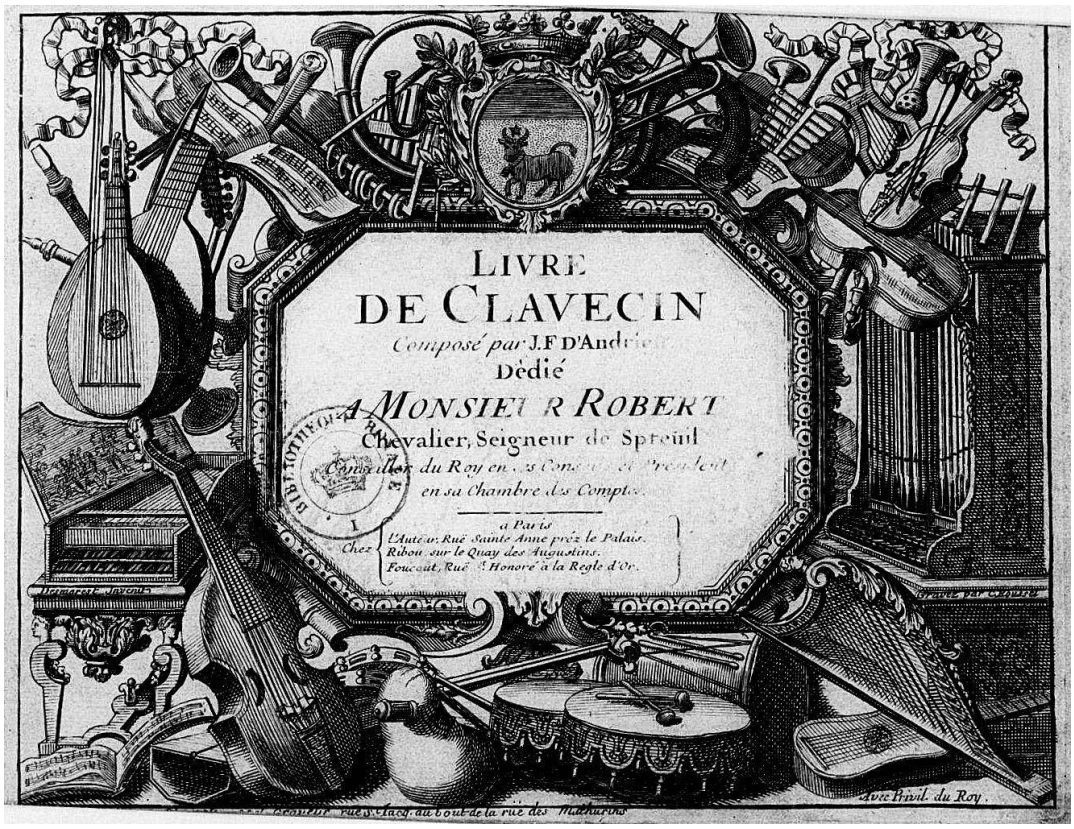

Illustration 3.1b: Title-page to Dandrieu's *Livre de Clavecin* (c. 1704-1705)

The relative consistency of these images, coupled (at times) with the opaque relationship between their decorative filigree and "the music itself," has led to their dismissal as merely stereotyped. They are looked upon more as functional objects, tools of convenience that allowed publishers and composers to offer appealing products to purchasers with relatively little difficulty. As I assert elsewhere in this study, this does not necessarily mean that potential consumers of the volumes were unable or unlikely to perceive resonances between the *passe-partout* image and the musical content of the

volume, particularly when the title-page depicted concrete objects with specific cultural associations (such as instruments), crests associated with particular patrons, or even filigree with a distinctive visual style (such as the Louis Quatorze style seen above, or the Watteau-inspired rococo decor visible in many of the Dandrieu examples in Chapters 4 and 5). Simple repetition of such images across many editions does not detract from their status as signifiers. Indeed, one could argue that the layers of connotations they introduce actually *increase* with greater use, since the images become associated with multiple kinds of music, and gain potential to been seen by users as related to that music in a variety of ways (based in part on their previous encounters with that illustration).

But beyond *passe-partouts*, there are many historical editions of music that employ unique images. So while some today might dismiss images in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical volumes as functionally irrelevant to the "actual" content of the book, I argue that there are indeed musical frontispieces that adhere to the kind of intentionality proposed by contemporary art theorist Gérard de Lairesse. Addressing the frontispiece as its own sub-genre of engraving in 1707, Lairesse argued that the frontispiece should possess significance—the central figure in the illustration must

denote the subject of the book, even if only allegorically.[410] And, according to Lairesse, the disposition of the remaining figures in a frontispiece was no less important: The entire layout was akin to the design of a garden, in which each object was placed in a manner suitable for the overall context.[411] From this perspective, select frontispieces can be read as meaningful parts of the work as a whole, as I attempt to show in the case-study of Dandrieu provided in Chapter 5. And this is most certainly the case when images intentionally related to the contents of the volume are spread throughout the musical publication, as happens in the Lullian reprints explored later in this chapter.

Nonetheless, title-pages and frontispieces in musical volumes have, as a whole, garnered very limited scholarly attention, and even then, mostly as curiosities. Moreover, that which has been written on musical frontispieces most frequently concerns earlier time periods (especially the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).[412] At this point, there are three primary published

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410. Gérard de Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek* (Amsterdam, 1707); repr. as *The art of painting, in all its branches, methodically demonstrated by discourses and plates, and exemplified by remarks on the paintings of the best masters; and their Perfections and Oversight laid open By Gerard de Lairesse*, trans. John Frederick Fritsch, Painter (London: printed for the author, 1738), 109. See also Gérard de Lairesse, *Le grand livre des peintres ou l'art de la peinture*, trans. of the 2nd Dutch ed. (Paris: Moutard, 1787), 253.
411. Lairesse, *Le grand livre des peintres,* 253. I cite the French in this particular case since the sentence is considerably clearer than in the English translation. The French reads: "…qu'on peut comparer au plan d'un beau jardin ou less vases, les statues, les arbres & les autres objets doivent se trouver placés d'une manière symmétrique & convenable au local."
412. Famous early examples of musical frontispieces include Andrea Antico's *Liber Quindecim Missarum* (1516); Sylvestro Ganassi's *Opera Intitulata Fontegara* (1535); Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Missarum Liber I* (1554); and Giulio Caccini's *L'Euridice* (1600). For reproductions of these images, see Walter von zur Westen, *Musiktitel aus Vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: C. G. Röder, 1921), plate 8 (Antico's *Liber Quindecim*); and

collections of such image that make some attempt to span large musical eras (all of which are now considerably dated): John Grand-Carteret's *Les titres illustrés et l'image au service de la Musique* (1904), Walter von zur Westen's *Musiktitel aus vier Jahrhunderten* (1921), and Gottfried Fraenkel's *Decorative Music Title Pages: 201 Examples from 1500 to 1800* (1968). Of these, only Grand-Carteret and von zur Westen include any substantive consideration of large-scale stylistic trends, and these are concerned primarily with visual conventions, rather than their juxtaposition with concurrent musical trends.

Although von zur Westen asserts that music title-pages of the eighteenth century offered "little splendor"—and one can certainly say that musical editions with decorative title-pages were in the minority during this time—there are nevertheless a number of important exceptions in France that have received almost no attention.[413] These occur particularly in the realm of operatic scores and collections of keyboard works, but interesting examples also occur in French motet and popular song publications. (A survey of the latter two genres is beyond the scope of the current study.) But to gain some understanding of how these images (discusse later in this chapter) may have conveyed meaning to their viewers, we first need a sense of their context within the book and engraved-print cultures of the day.

Gottfried S. Fraenkel, *Decorative Music Title Pages: 201 Examples from 1500-1800* (New York: Dover, 1968), plates 4, 10, 18, and 68 (all others).
413. von zur Westen, *Musiktitel*, 44.

History of the Book and Significances of the Engraved Print

Musical publications in the early eighteenth century occupied a unique point of intersection between book, engraved-print, and music-notation traditions, vesting them with contextual associations that we, as twenty-first-century readers, are not as well-positioned to appreciate without extra effort.[414] The histories of book and music printing were deeply intertwined, and during the early centuries of music publishing, volumes were printed and disseminated just as other books were.[415] While there were certainly music printers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who sold their own editions (as I discuss in the following section), dedicated music shops as we know them today did not exist in France until the founding of the Régle d'Or around 1690.[416] At times, men who advertised themselves as booksellers, such Michel Charles le Cène in Amsterdam, also carried musical editions.[417] And publisher announcements of new musical editions in periodicals like the *Mercure de France* were not conventionally distinguished from other printed products, generally being lumped into a category with

414. Fortunately, the current scholarly literature on both book and print history is relatively large; in fact, my discussion here can only attempt to scratch the surfaces of these literatures.
415. This is precisely what Rudolf Rasch asserts in his "Introduction" to *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 9.
416. Frank Dobbins, "Foucault, Henri," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10042).
417. Rudolf Rasch, "Chapter 1: Basic Concepts," in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 16.

many other items. In fact, even when a journal specializing in announcements, named simply *Annonces, Affiches, et Avis divers*, was inaugurated in 1751, musical editions continued to be described under the category of "Livres nouveaux."[418]

Thus, in some respects, musical publications, as printed conveyors of information, could be considered a subset of the larger category of printed books. And books themselves had numerous important cultural associations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After the inauguration of printing and "mass" production, books generally decreased in status as items of monetary worth, but rose dramatically in their status as "source[s] of individual enlightenment and communal advancement through knowledge."[419] And by the eighteenth century, they occupied a prominent place in the public sphere as widely disseminated carriers of public debate; they are thus sometimes aptly described as "vehicle[s] of Enlightenment thought,"[420]

But while books functioned as items of symbolic intellectual authority, they had also accrued centuries of important social connotations. Before the creation of a "marketplace" for books in the eighteenth century, authors

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418. Anik Devriès-Lesure, *L'édition musicale dans la presse parisienne au XVIIIe siècle: Catalogue des annonces* ([Paris]: CNRS éditions, 2005), ix.
419. David Finkelstein and Alister McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 110.
420. Ibid., 58.

generally worked within systems of patronage (much as composers and artists did).[421] And even as a proto-market economy for books did begin to appear, the support of an important patron could be a persuasive tool in convincing a printer to take on a book—as well, of course, as a crucial means for defraying costs that were often placed on the author him/herself.[422] From the perspective of a wealthy benefactor, support for the creation of books brought both social and intellectual prestige. For authors, much like composers, such patronage was a double-edged blade that could bring both reflected honour and status, but also the potential for the loss of intellectual and artistic freedom. No printed volume, musical or otherwise, was truly without vested social interests of some kind.

Books operated thus as markers of elite culture, insofar as the collecting of books as objects was a practice traditionally associated with wealth and the aristocracy.[423] But late seventeenth-century France also saw the burgeoning of a practice of popular reading, which came about through what was colloquially know as the *Bibliothèque bleue*: a series of books produced by successive dynasties of printers in Troyes.[424] These publications, named for their characteristic blue covers, tended to be short, small books

421. Ibid., 71.
422. Ibid., 72.
423. Barbara M. Benedict, "Reading Collections: The Literary Discourse of Eighteenth-Century Libraries," in *Bookish Histories: Books, Literature, and Commercial Modernity, 1700-1900*, ed. Ina Ferris and Paul Keen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 170.
424. Finkelstein and McCleery, *Introduction to Book History*, 112.

printed on inexpensive paper. They contained mainly ephemera and excerpts of larger works, offering chivalric tales, romances, practical guides, etiquette manuals, and religious tracts.[425] They constituted, in essence, a very early kind of "pop literature" or "Reader's Digest." Such blue volumes were distributed both through dedicated book sellers as well as more modest peddlers, and became extremely widespread across France.

While book collections had typically been associated with the elite, the eighteenth century was a period in which book collecting became a favorite practice across more strata of society. As books became increasingly available to the "middle class" in Europe, they could be thought of as objects of desire for the upwardly mobile.[426] Indeed, amongst the bourgeoisie, the collecting of books was an especially popular practice among doctors and lawyers.[427] Book collections, moreover, offered opportunities for socialization with other connoisseurs. But unlike earlier reading practices, which emphasized repetition and memorization of essential texts, reading practices tended in the eighteenth century to consist of voracious consumption of as many volumes as possible.[428] Such changes naturally went hand-in-hand with the explosive popularity of the novel in the

425. Ibid.
426. Benedict, "Reading Collections," 170. Benedict is specifically interested in the book trade in eighteenth-century England.
427. Finkelstein and McCleery, *Introduction to Book History*, 113.
428. Ibid.

latter half of the eighteenth century. But, as historian Barbara Benedict has cautioned, book collecting culture was not universally recognized as a virtue in the eighteenth century, particularly in in England, which boasted a large middle class. In some contexts, she argues, collections could embody "the chaotic greed of a culture addicted to accumulation over selection"; in the worst case, they might even connote pretensions of aristocratic arrogance.[429]

In France, in particular, the latter half of the seventeenth century witnessed a flood of books containing detailed engravings. The stimulation that the reign of Louis XIV provided the arts and sciences in France was reflected in a wave of publications.[430] Louis himself created the *Cabinet du roy*--a kind of royal curio cabinet--comprised of collections of large, illustrated folios on all manner of topics.[431] In subjects such as architecture, natural history, horticulture, mechanics, and military science, as well as in the ever-popular emblem book, engraved illustrations flourished.[432] The same era saw the growth of the notion of books as "objects of art," placing even greater importance on engravings within them; book illustrations were not simply technical and "faithful" representations of the author's text, but

429. Benedict, "Reading Collections," 174.
430. Philip Hofer, *Baroque Book Illustration: A Short Survey* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 13.
431. Ibid.
432. Ibid., 14. Just a sampling of the lavish examples from this time period would include André Félibien's *Les Divertissemens de Versailles* (Paris, 1676), Charles Perrault's *Plan du labirinthe de Versailles* (Paris, 1679), and Denys Dodart's Recueil de plantes (Paris, 1676).

gained status in their own right as objects of aesthetic appreciation.[433] Thus, more and more engraved vignettes came to be included in French books over the course of the eighteenth century, particularly as French engravers became renowned in Europe for their skill.[434] Even when such vignettes were small in size, they nonetheless required a great deal of labor to produce (sometimes involving a designer, an etcher, and a finishing engraver); an overall increase in their number thus suggests greater investment of both time and money in the production of book illustrations.[435] Art historian David P. Becker has observed, the "increase in ever more elaborate illustrations, decorations, and bindings is consistent with the rise in production of intimate luxury objects for the private collector to own and display."[436] As I show presently, this is precisely the context and intention behind the swell of musical editions with elaborate engravings in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

One must also consider the connotations of the self-standing engraved print in order to assess contemporary valuation of musical publications containing illustrations. And, for contemporaries, the conceptual gap

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433. Roger Paultre, *Les Images du livre: Emblèmes et devises* (Paris: Hermann Éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1991), 35.
434. David P. Becker, "The Illustrated Book: Gillot to Prud'hon," in *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715-1814*, catalogue for the exhibition organized by the Baltimore Museum of Arts and The Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis: The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984), 36.
435. Ibid.
436. Ibid.

between book illustrations and individual prints was relatively narrow. Becker has also argued that, since the industry that produced both individual prints and book illustrations was comprised of the same tightly-knit group of painters and engravers, "the distinction between prints and book illustrations only exists with respect to format and purpose, not in terms of medium or production." Like books, then, self-standing engraved prints carried tremendous cultural weight in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

If books may be considered "vehicles of Enlightenment thought,"[437] engravings, which became ubiquitous across Europe in the eighteenth century, can be thought of as occupying a parallel role as "agents of pictorial knowledge."[438] Engraved prints became a relatively inexpensive way of reproducing both famous and popular art, offering images to a much wider economic demographic than expensive paintings. Given their capacity to represent all manner of subjects and appeal to consumers of vastly different stations, engravings are frequently cited as having possessed a special kind of "intellectual authority" in the eighteenth century.[439] And in the language of Descartes, Michel de Montaigne, and Pascal, the printing process became a

437. Finkelstein and McCleery, *Introduction to Book History*, 58.
438. William B. MacGregor, "The Authority of Prints: an early modern perspective," *Art History* 22, no. 3 (Sept. 1999): 416.
439. Ibid. Macgregor also cites William M. Ivins Jr. and Walter Ong as influential in establishing this argument. See William M. Ivins Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (1953; repr. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985); and Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen & Co., 1982).

widespread metaphor for cognition[440]—as an analogue to the mind's ability to record memories, engravings fostered the creation of an imagined, inner world of images thought to be literally "imprinted" upon the mind.[441]

By the early eighteenth century, French engravers were a dominant force in European print culture, famous for the highly-finished quality of their prints, especially in reproducing popular works by Watteau, Fragonard, and other rococo masters.[442] And during this time period, the practice of collecting intaglio prints (self-standing or in illustrated books) became a kind of a kind of fashionable "mania" amongst the elite classes.[443] For the connoisseur, print collecting furnished one with a full curio cabinet and thus social status, an opportunity to entertain social calls, and, of course, personal *divertissement*. The act of collecting such engravings, however, was not without ideological underpinnings. In 1699, Roger de Piles, theorized the many uses of prints, arguing for the universal appeal of engravings.[444] He

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440. MacGregor, "Authority of Prints," 404.
441. Descartes, for example, directly compares the "images that are formed in our mind" with engravings. See René Descartes, "Discours quatriesme: Des sense en general," *La Dioptrique,* in *Discours de la methode pour bien conduire sa raison, et chercher la verité dan les sciences* (1637), ed. Jean-Robert Armogathe et al. (Paris: 1987), 101-102. The word "imprinted" is the exact language, for example, with which Fénelon describes the learning process of children in his 1688 essay on the education of girls. Macgregor, "Authority of Prints," 414.
442. Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Print-Making: An introduction to the history and techniques* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 54.
443. Antony Griffiths, *Prints for Books: Book Illustration in France, 1760-1800*, The Panizzi Lectures 2003 (London: The British Library, 2004), 17.
444. Roger de Piles, "De l'utilité des Estampes, & de leur usage," Chapter XXVII in *Abregé de la vie des peintres…* (Paris: François Muguet, 1699); repr. as "Of the Usefulness and Use of Prints," Chapter XXVII in *The Art of Painting, with the Lives and Characters of above 300 of the Most Eminent Painters…,* trans. John Savage, 2nd ed. (London: Charles Marsh, 1744), 51.

describes their contemplation not only as a source of pleasure, but as a means of gathering knowledge, refreshing the memory, exercising one's faculty of reason, and strengthening one's judgement for "men of honour."[445] In de Piles's view, the print was a source of moral betterment and instruction, a vital tool in forming a sense of Taste ("Gout").[446] Central to that process was the print's ability to foster understanding through *seeing*, making that which is not physically present *visible*. Indeed, one of the many uses he cites is the print's ability to "represent absent and distant things, *as if they were before our eyes* which otherwise we could not see without troublesome voyages and great expense."[447] And de Piles treats prints as a means of collecting knowledge: as "depositories of all that is fine and curious in the world,"[448] he concludes that "the sight of fine prints, by which youth is instructed, and the knowledge of old persons reviv'd and confirm'd, must be useful to all the world."[449]

Engravings were certainly tools with which to combat that most aristocratic of dangers, *ennui*, but their value rested on more than pure diversion, for they were no less a tool for fending off the unbecoming

445. Ibid., 52 and 54.
446. Ibid.
447. My emphasis. Ibid., 55-56.
448. Ibid., 49.
449. Ibid., 58.

appearance of ignorance.[450] While today words like "ennui," "divertissement," and even "curio" carry vaguely frivolous connotations, art historian William B. MacGregor cautions that this way of thinking risks overlooking the "deep seriousness of… the requirements of the objects of *divertissement*."[451] In addition to their status as objects of entertainment and social prestige, it is this "seriousness" I wish to emphasize here. Prints, whether self-standing, collected in books, or excerpted from other publications, were not merely objects of admiration or simple items to be possessed, but objects of contemplation and "reflection."[452] Treatises such as that of de Piles make clear that prints were designed to be "read," to be studied for their significances and moral value. Such intense study of images is illustrated in literal fashion by the frontispiece used by Edmé-François Gersaint in a number of his auction catalogues for the sale of curio cabinets and other estates in the eighteenth century **(see Illustration 3.2)**.

450. MacGregor, "Authority of Prints," 398.
451. Ibid.
452. The latter is precisely the term the English translator of de Piles uses to describe seeing prints. Roger de Piles, *Art of Painting*, trans. John Savage, 54.

Illustration 3.2: Charles-Nicolas Cochin *fils* **and Cochin** *père*, **Frontispiece to Edmé-François Gersaint's** *Catalogue raisonné des bijoux, porcelaines, bronzes, lacqs, lustres de cristal de roche... tableaux... coquilles... provenans de la succession de M. Angran, vicomte de Fonspertuis* **(1747)**[453]

453. Note: As William MacGregor points out, the same frontispiece may also be found in Gersaint's *Catalogue raisonné des diverses curiosites du cabinet de feu M. Quentin de L'Orangere* (Paris: Barois, 1744).

MacGregor has described self-standing engraved prints as "objects… expressly manufactured to make complex sensory impressions on us and solicit our sustained attention."[454] This, I argue, is precisely the niche that some musical publications featuring engravings were intended to fill for amateurs. (The latter term, it is important here to note, was not restricted to *performers* of music in the eighteenth century; in fact, as David Hennebelle has explained, "amateur" was also a synonym for the collector of musical objects, such as instruments, manuscripts, printed editions, engravings, etc.[455]) Given the seriousness with which collecting was approached, ownership itself constituted a kind of "use." Indeed, Hennebelle notes that there are clear divisions amongst musical volumes in eighteenth-century aristocratic collections: some were clearly meant for performing while others, most often operas, were clearly "ouvrages de luxe," usually bound and marked as *belonging* to a particular person.[456] Even when not being used for performance on the keyboard in the home, the Baussen editions of Lully's operas—which certainly constituted such *ouvrages de luxe*—were also meant to be actively viewed or "read." They cultivated, in MacGregor's words,

454. Ibid.
455. David Hennebelle, *De Lully à Mozart: Aristocratie, musique, et musiciens à Paris (XVIIe-XVIII siècles)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009), 163.
456. Ibid., 217.

"sustained attention." And, as I will show, these objects also went to great lengths to create "complex sensory impressions."

This suggests that to simply assume that frontispieces and vignettes have only marginal significance to the musical volumes in which they occur would, in some cases, be to drastically underplay their importance to those who "consumed" these publications. The editions discussed here and in the following chapters had roles beyond merely acting as repositories of musical notation, and thus fostered more modes of valuation and consumption amongst their audience than might at first be assumed. I explore some of these "modes" of valuation of the material object following a brief summary of the publication circumstances of the Baussen editions.

Parisian Musical Publishers and the Second Editions of Lully's Operas

Musical publishing in late-seventeenth-century Paris was dominated by the Ballard family, who possessed a virtual monopoly on the printing of music. This dominance stemmed from the nature of the privilege they had been granted by the French crown. In the sixteenth century, it was a relatively common practice to issue general privileges to publishers, thereby

obviating the need to continuously reapply for a privilege each and every time an edition was produced.[457] This was the case with the privilege obtained by Adrian le Roy and Robert I Ballard from Henri II in 1551; its sweeping powers would be further cemented in 1553 when they received the title of music printers to the King (a title formerly held by the late Pierre Attaingnant).[458] This would give rise to one of the longest-lived publishing monopolies in history (spanning roughly the end of sixteenth century to beginning of the eighteenth century). And even after the effective dissolution of their monopoly, the Ballards continued to dominate French publishing: a total of eight successive generations of the family would eventually be involved in music printing and publishing, stretching well into the nineteenth century (comprising a formidable run of nearly 300 years of continuous business).[459]

Any discussion, thus, of practices surrounding the production of eighteenth-century musical publications in France must necessarily contend with conventions established by the Ballards in the late seventeenth century.

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457. Laurent Guillo, "Chapter 5: Legal Aspects," in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 126.
458. Samuel F. Pogue, et al. "Ballard," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed March 10, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01889pg1).
459. Rudolf Rasch, "Chapter 8: Publishers and Publishers," in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 192. The last of the Ballards to run the family business was Christophe-Jean-François II who died in 1825. His stepson, August-Jean-Baptiste Vinchon would then control the company for a further thirteen years.

These practices were cemented mostly under the aegis of Christophe Ballard, who succeeded his father, Robert III, in 1673. Christophe was responsible for overseeing the format of the first publications of Lully's *tragédies lyriques*. From 1679 onward (beginning with *Bellérophon*), Lully's operas were published in full-score (*partitions générales*) using a moveable-type printing method.[460] These editions preserved all five orchestral and choral parts, and featured decorative woodcut vignettes and border-pieces **(see Illustrations 3.3a, b, and c)**. The latter, however, typically had little to no discernible relationship with the opera itself; indeed, such decorative elements were used repeatedly and interchangeably across many of the Ballard editions of Lully's operas.[461]

460. Pascal Denécheau, "Autour des partitions d'opéras de J.B. Lully conservées à la Bibliothèque musicale François-Lang," HAL archives-ouvertes, 22 September 2010, halshs-00520182 (https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00520182), 3.

461. This is not, however, to assert that no potential relationship *could* be made between these decorative woodcuts and the content of the opera by a viewer of the volume who was inclined to find such a connection, nor is this an invalidation of that perceiver-centric perspective. There is, however, little evidence to suggest that the Ballard's placement of their decorative devices within the scores was strategic, and as I show momentarily, later editions make a clear effort to associate their imagery with the musical and textual contents of the volume. Scholars conventionally refer to the woodcuts in Ballard editions as "visually unrelated." See, for example, Andrea Cawelti, "It's Good to Be the King: Head-Pieces in Ballard Folio Scores," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 84, no. 2 (April 2014): 210.

Illustration 3.3a: Title-page woodcut from Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Armide* **(Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1686)**

Illustration 3.3b: Head-piece from Jean-Baptiste Lully, "Ouverture" to *Bellérophon* **(Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1679), [1r]**

Illustration 3.3c: Head-piece from dedication page to Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Bellérophon* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1679), [unpaginated]

Up to this point, copies of the Quinault's libretti had long been available for the opera-going public's reading and collecting pleasure in the form of purchasable *livrets*. After this point, however, Ballard's score of whichever work was currently being performed were also available for purchase by attendees of the Opéra, even at the doors of the hall itself.[462] For skilled, upper-class amateurs, such volumes were, in theory, realizable at home on the keyboard, allowing them to relive the music they had experienced in the actual production—but the scores were just as likely to become collectable objects. In either case, purchasers had to be opera fans of significant financial means, for Ballard's editions were initially sold for the price of sixteen *livres*, nearly ten times the cost of contemporary *livrets*. According to French musicologist, Pascal Denécheau, such an amount was equivalent to twenty-one days of salary for the average working-class builder

462. Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 3.

of the time.[463] As copies became progressively rarer, the price mounted to double the original cost, selling for up to thirty-two *livres*.[464] Given that these scores were produced in large runs of 750 copies, their sale represented a substantial income for those who shared in the profits: Lully, Ballard, and Quinault. Small wonder, then, that each copy of the score sold was signed personally by Lully as a means to ensure Ballard did not print more than the agreed-upon number and attempt to keep the profits from extra copies to himself.[465] As Lully's reputation grew with the public, such signed "official" copies only increased in prestige value.

The shift to engraving as the printing method of choice for music, much of which occurred during the lifetime of Christophe Ballard, had major repercussions for the Ballard family business—and eventually for appreciators of Lully's operas. Since the Ballards had been accorded the title of "Sole Printer of Music to the King," they made efforts to have their privilege recognized as an exclusive monopoly for musical typography whenever challenged.[466] And, in fact, before his death in 1673, Robert III had made sure to obtain a letters-patent from the king so that his son

463. Ibid.
464. Ibid.
465. Ibid., 11.
466. Guillo, "Legal Aspects," in *Music Publishing in Europe*, 127.

Christophe would retain the rights to that title.[467] Unfortunately for the Ballards, a royal decree of 1660 declared the practice of engraving "not subject to any permission, privilege, or corporate rule"—in essence, engraving was free of all legal constraints and the control of the guilds.[468] This meant that individual printers, authors, and composers could apply to the Chancellery for their own privilege to produce an engraved edition, a practice that would eventually lead to the establishment of Paris as one of the music-publishing capitals of Europe.[469] (The rise of famous French engravers of the artworks of Watteau, Lancret, and other rococo masters was in fact accompanied by the flourishing of a group of almost equally-famous engravers of music. It is ultimately not that surprising, then, that these interests in engraving should combine—and, I would argue, align—in many of the eighteenth-century musical volumes discussed below.) For the Ballards, this was a problem, since individuals who chose to create their own engraved editions of music effectively circumvented their monopoly on music publishing. And, in fact, Christophe Ballard was involved in numerous lawsuits between 1690 and 1713 in an attempt to stifle such competition. Although the Ballards were successful in certain lawsuits, including those in

467. Pogue, et al. "Ballard." Grove Music Online (accessed March 9, 2015).
468. See Guillo, "Legal Aspects," in *Music Publishing in Europe*, 127; and Anik Devriès-Lesure, "Chapter 3: Technological Aspects," in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 81.
469. Guillo, "Legal Aspects," in *Music Publishing in Europe*, 129.

the circumstances described below, the eventual determination was that their monopoly was applicable only to their printing technique: moveable type.

In addition to the fact that engraved notation was legally available for use by other publishers, it posed several advantages over moveable type techniques. A full consideration of the process of printing with moveable type is beyond the scope of this chapter, but in brief, any given measure of music and lyrics could involve a great many individual metal casts, which had to be meticulously arranged by the printer.[470] This lengthy process was not ideal for the representation of more complex rhythms, especially those of the embellished lute and *style brisé* keyboard music of the late seventeenth century, since the use of just one note per metal die (even at tiny rhythmic subdivisions) resulted in notation with difficult-to-read spacing and stemming.[471] And should a printer decide later to produce another run of a given publication, the moveable type would have to be painstakingly reconstituted in printable formation. Engraving, on the other hand, allowed the printing of small runs at a time, since one could simply reuse the same copper, tin, or lead plates for subsequent pressings. Since any mistakes found in the publication could be fixed by an adjustment to the engraved plate, and

470. Denécheau, for example, offers a breakdown of one measure of one vocal-line from Lully's *Proserpine*, which, though it contains only quarter- and eighth-notes in Common time, required no less than 39 separate metal characters to produce (*not* including spaces). See Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 5.
471. Devriès-Lesure, "Technological Aspects," in *Music Publishing in Europe*, 77.

runs were typically smaller, errors could be more easily caught and corrected before being replicated in mass numbers. But while engraving did offer significant conveniences to the publisher, it also came with some (ultimately more acceptable) drawbacks. Engraving may have been a more practical method for producing small runs of a publication, but it was also limited to smaller runs: the pressure exerted on the plates in transferring the image to paper caused the quality of the image to degrade over time. Thus, engraved plates were generally not usable for more than 200 to 250 impressions during the eighteenth century.[472] Paper used for engraving needed to be thick and absorbent, and was thus considerably more expensive than that used for moveable type editions.[473] And in general, the process of actually producing each copy by pressing the inked plate onto the paper took longer than the simple letterpress.

These minor inconveniences and the protestations of Christophe Ballard notwithstanding, engraving was rapidly becoming the method of choice for publishing music in Paris during the last decade of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth. And this shift was nowhere more dramatically marked than in the second editions of Lully's operas, which constitute the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

472. Ibid., 78.
473. Ibid.

Engraved by Henri de Baussen between 1708 and 1711, these editions signaled an important change in Parisian music publishing conventions, but for more than just the method by which their musical notation was produced: engraved illustrations now became a fundamental component of the musical publication.

Baussen himself remains a frustratingly difficult person to trace. Sadly, we know relatively little about him, or to what exact degree he was responsible for implementing this change in conventions. But we know Baussen was not new to the Parisian scene; in fact, he was involved in one of the first real challenges to the monopoly of the Ballard family, the founding of a music shop by stationer Henri Foucault sometime around 1690. Baussen's activities at this time have been most accurately documented by independent scholar, Patricia Ranum, as part of her project to detail the musical activities of Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the Guise family in the late seventeenth century.[474] Thanks to her work, we know that Baussen was first a musician in the service of Marie de Lorraine (Mlle. de Guise) during the 1670s and '80s.[475] At some point during the 1780s, he learned how to

474. By far the most detailed, and most up-to-date information available on Baussen can be found on the website maintained by Patricia Ranum at www.ranumspanat.com. The specific page with Baussen's biographical details is located at http://ranumspanat.com/baussen_colin.html (last accessed March 11, 2015). I would like to thank Patricia Ranum for assistance offered in personal correspondence about Baussen in May 2014.

475. It is still erroneously claimed in some sources that Baussen falsely presented himself as a member of the Guise household. See, for example, the entry on Baussen in D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, eds., *The*

engrave—probably from his father-in-law, Pierre Baillon[476]—and seems to have first tried his hand at engraving his friends' works, including Nicolas Lebègue's *Troisième Livre d'Orgue* (1675) and Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre's *Livre de Pièces de Clavesin* (1687).[477] By 1689, we know Baussen had been hired by Christophe Ballard to engrave some particularly difficult passages in latter's editions of Colasse's *Thétis et Pelée* and *Énée et Lavinie*.[478]

Close to this time, Baussen seems to have teamed up with Foucault, for by 1690 Foucault was selling works engraved by Baussen out of his newly-founded shop, the Régle d'Or.[479] Of course, Foucault and Baussen were promptly sued by the Ballards for infringing upon their monopoly. However, sometime after the lawsuit had begun, Baussen apparently found a powerful protector who convinced the Chancellery to grant him and Foucault the necessary document, which he then produced to the surprise of the court.[480] In the end, he and Foucault were fined 6,000 *livres*, but they were permitted to continue running the Régle d'Or—though they avoided printing works

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Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music: Music Printing and Publishing (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1980), 168.

476. Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 13.

477. Patricia Ranum, "'Mr de Lully en trio': Etienne Loulié, the Foucaults, and the Transcription of the Works of Jean-Baptiste Lully (1673-1702), in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque Saint-Germain-en-Laye—Heidelberg 1987*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 312. Ranum has ascertained that Lebègue was an attendee at Baussen's wedding, and Jacquet de la Guerre was a sibling of one of the other Guise musicians.

478. Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 13.

479. Ranum, "Lully en trio," 313.

480. Ibid. Ranum speculates that perhaps this protector was the chancellor Louis Boucherat or his wife, who were in the circle of Mlle. de Guise. See Ranum, "Lully en trio," fn. 19, 326.

for which Ballard had already produced an edition. This would make Foucault the sole shop in France dedicated entirely to music until the 1720s; the shop was finally sold by his widow to Michel Pignolet de Montéclair and the Boivin family, who would go on to establish their own dynasty of music sellers and printers.

Truce between Foucault, Baussen, and Ballard must have come not long after the the settlement of their lawsuit; no doubt Ballard realized he would soon be facing more and more competition from others producing engraved music.[481] In fact, the Régle d'Or would be treated as an important distribution point for Ballard's publications. By 1697, Foucault was definitely acting as a selling agent for Christophe Ballard: the latter's own edition of Campra's *L'Europe Galante* advertises Foucault as both seller of Lully's works and purchaser of "vieux opéras."[482] And by 1698, Ballard and Foucault's friend Étienne Loulié had achieved a monopoly in selling lined music paper, so for Foucault, some degree of collaboration with Ballard was necessary in order to continue producing editions.[483]

Ranum goes so far as to suggest that by 1694, Foucault and Ballard seemed to be "collaborating" in a larger project to bring more and more of

481. Although we do not have the documentation to prove that this was in fact the reason for Ballard's acceptance of the Régle d'Or, this rationale is offered widely in the secondary literature. See, for example, Anik Devriès, *Édition et commerce de la musique gravée a Paris dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), 15.
482. Ibid.
483. Ranum, "Lully en trio," 312.

Lully's works into print; she positions both of them, along with Loulié, at the forefront of a movement that revered Lully's operas.[484] So while Foucault's shop would eventually come to sell all manner of French and foreign editions of music, one of the most important of its services in its early days was also the custom copying and sale of manuscript scores; indeed, the store's catalogue of 1694 reveals that Foucault was selling folio volumes of all Lully's operas (in both print and manuscript form), as well as some of Lully's more obscure "*ancien ballets*" (in manuscript).[485] The production of such manuscript copies would have involved a great deal of time and expense, suggesting that Foucault must have catered to an elite market. Given the rise in price of the scores of his operas (described above), we know that Lully's works were in high demand in the decade after his death: Ranum cites, as a further example, Sébastien de Brossard's willingness to pay the extraordinary sum of up to 60 *livres* for a copy of Lully's *ancien ballets* circa 1690.[486]

These events of the 1690s are particularly relevant for forming a perspective on the production of Lully editions in the following decade (the ultimate focus of this chapter). In essence, Ranum positions Foucault's manuscript copies of Lully's music as an important step in the process of his

484. Ibid., 314.
485. Ibid., 309. At this point in time, the prints of Lully's operas were presumably Ballard's own editions.
486. Ibid., 312.

works becoming collector's items, not only for the extremely wealthy and powerful elite, but eventually for anyone who could afford a volume.[487] Such items were not simply, or perhaps even primarily, designed with the practical intent of rendering Lully's music in performance. The high prices they commanded suggest that their target audience was what Ranum calls the "musical *curieux*," implying that these were above all objects for contemplation, and for placement in the connoisseur's curio cabinet.[488] They formed, in essence, a kind of social capital in an era eager to trade upon the glory of France's Golden Age under Louis XIV. In Ranum's words, Foucault and his copyists were "participating in the creation of a veritable 'museum' of Lully's works, that was being made available to anyone able to pay the 'admission fee,' that is, to procure some of the volumes being sold at the Régle d'Or."[489] By offering these works to a bourgeois public Foucault and Ballard contributed to their inscription as canonic repertoire in the eighteenth century—otherwise (to quote Ranum once more), "many of Lully's lesser known works might have remained prisoners in gilded salons and paneled cabinets, eventually to be discarded in favor of avant-garde compositions once the elite had tired of its collecting mania."[490]

487. Ibid., 318.
488. Ibid.
489. Ibid., 319.
490. Ibid., 324.

Although they are not often discussed in this light, it is logical to see Baussen's editions of Lully's operas, produced between 1708 and 1711, as extensions of this museum-building process. The editions themselves, which include *Alceste*, *Atys*, *Phaëton*, *Roland*, *Armide*, *Persée*, *Amadis*, and *Thésée*, are reduced scores and include numerous images. But the circumstances surrounding the editions, and the commissioning of the the illustrations, are unclear. This makes it difficult to ascertain exactly who was responsible for many of the decisions made in preparing the volumes. Although Baussen is credited with the engraving of the second editions on all the title-pages, has been referred to as having been "retained" by the Ballards for the engraving of the second editions,[491] his involvement in the project was not immediate.

In April of 1707, the Abbé Jean-Baptiste Lully (*fils*), then *surintendant de la musique du roi*, sought and obtained a privilege to produce new editions of his father's operas.[492] Lully *fils* then signed a contract with Ballard for the actual printing, and work was begun on an edition of *Proserpine*—but within a relatively short period each accused the other of cheating, and they proceeded to file lawsuits against one another.[493] They terminated their relationship in early 1708, but Ballard's lawsuit did not successfully stop the

491. Carl B. Schmidt, "The Amsterdam editions of Lully's music: a bibliographical scrutiny with commentary," in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 111.
492. Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 11.
493. Jérôme de La Gorce, *L'Opéra à Paris au temps de Louis XIV: Histoire d'un théâtre* (Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 1992), 138.

project altogether. Lully thus turned to Henri de Baussen as editor and engraver, who then produced an edition of *Alceste*.[494] Lully, however, apparently decided to abandon the entire project the same year, and sold his privilege to the new director of the Opéra, Pierre Guyenet, for 9,200 *livres*.[495]

Guyenet and Baussen decided in 1709 to rework the *Alceste* edition the latter had produced in 1708 under Lully's privilege. But this updated edition differed significantly: it was *far* more luxurious than its immediate predecessor, or indeed, than any previous editions of Lully's operas. This volume included, for the first time, an engraved illustration at the head of every act of the opera (including the prologue)—a change that would have necessitated that Baussen re-engrave at least the first page of every act.[496] The illustrations themselves were designed by a J. V. Duplessis—most likely the Jacques Vigoureux-Duplessis who worked as a painter of scenery for the *Académie Royale de Musique* circa 1710.[497] They were then engraved by Louis Desplaces, a now little-known but highly-regarded engraver[498], and by a member of the Scotin family, a venerable line of French engravers who were

494. Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 13.
495. La Gorce, *L'Opéra à Paris*, 138.
496. Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 14.
497. "Vigoureux-Duplessis, Jacques," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 12 March 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/subscriber/article/benezit/B00191028).
498. "Desplaces, Louis," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 12 March 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/subscriber/article/benezit/B00050310).

a part of the blossoming of engraving culture in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[499] Not all of the editions include attributions to the engravers, but based on those that do, it appears that Duplessis remained the main image designer until at least 1710; two of the last editions (*Thesée* in 1711 and *Bellérophon* in 1712) employ a different designers, "Gillot" and "F. Roettiers."[500] Although we are not certain, "Gillot" may have been the famous Claude Gillot, the influential teacher of both Watteau and Lancret, and putative designer of sets, machinery, and costumes for the Opéra around this time.[501] We know even less about the identity of "F. Roettiers," but it is conceivable that this was François Roettiers (*père*), another member of a lengthy dynasty of engravers and goldsmiths, who we know was in Paris in 1712 for his marriage to Jeanne Hacquet.[502]

Baussen and Guyenet would continue to orchestrate the production of roughly two editions of this type each year until 1711. Unfortunately, as

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499. This was probably Gérard Scotin I, since his grandson, Gérard Scotin II was not born until 1698. Both signed their engravings "G. Scotin." In the theoretical sense, however, it could also have been the intervening Scotin, whose name was Gérard-Jean-Baptiste. See Elizabeth Miller, "Scotin, Gérard (-Jean-Baptiste), II," *Grove Art Online*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 12 March 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T077014).
500. A listing of the engravers may be found in Grand-Carteret, *Les titres illustrés*, 48-49.
501. Marianne Roland Michel, "Gillot, Claude," *Grove Art Online*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 15, 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T032279). Although nearly every scholarly discussion of Gillot mentions his work for the Opéra, very little documentary evidence of his involvement with the theatre has been investigated to this point.
502. "Roettiers, François, the Elder," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 15 April 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/subscriber/article/benezit/B00191028).

manager of the Opéra, Guyenet was financially embattled.[503] By 1712, in ill health and facing imminent financial ruin, he began to sell off his privileges, and died shortly thereafter.[504] At this point, Christophe Ballard became owner of the plates (though we do not know how much he paid for them); his editions after this point continued to use engraved musical notation interspersed with illustrations, but reverted to the practice of employing woodcut/moveable-type-format title-pages.[505] We do not have selling prices for the volumes prior to Ballard's acquisition of the plates, but from the catalogues printed by Ballard in both the 1714 edition of *Bellérophon* and the 1719 edition of *Isis*, we know they continued for much of the next decade to sell volumes of Lully's operas for the relatively hefty price of sixteen *livres* **(see Illustration 3.4)**.[506]

503. He famously left the opera with a debt of approximately 400,000 *livres*. See Nicole Wild, "Guyenet, Pierre," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed March 12, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O010093).
504. La Gorce, *L'Opéra à Paris*, 138.
505. This is the case, for example, in Ballard's 1714 edition of *Bellérophon*. See Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 14.
506. It should be noted that the prices of Lully's operas swelled over the course of the eighteenth century, together with much other music in France. Anik Devriès has shown that, between 1734 and 1751 in the LeClerc catalogues, the Ballard editions increased in cost from twenty to twenty-four *livres*. See Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, 218.

(6)

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ISIS,

Illustration 3.4: Ballard catalogue printed in the 1719 edition of Lully's *Isis*

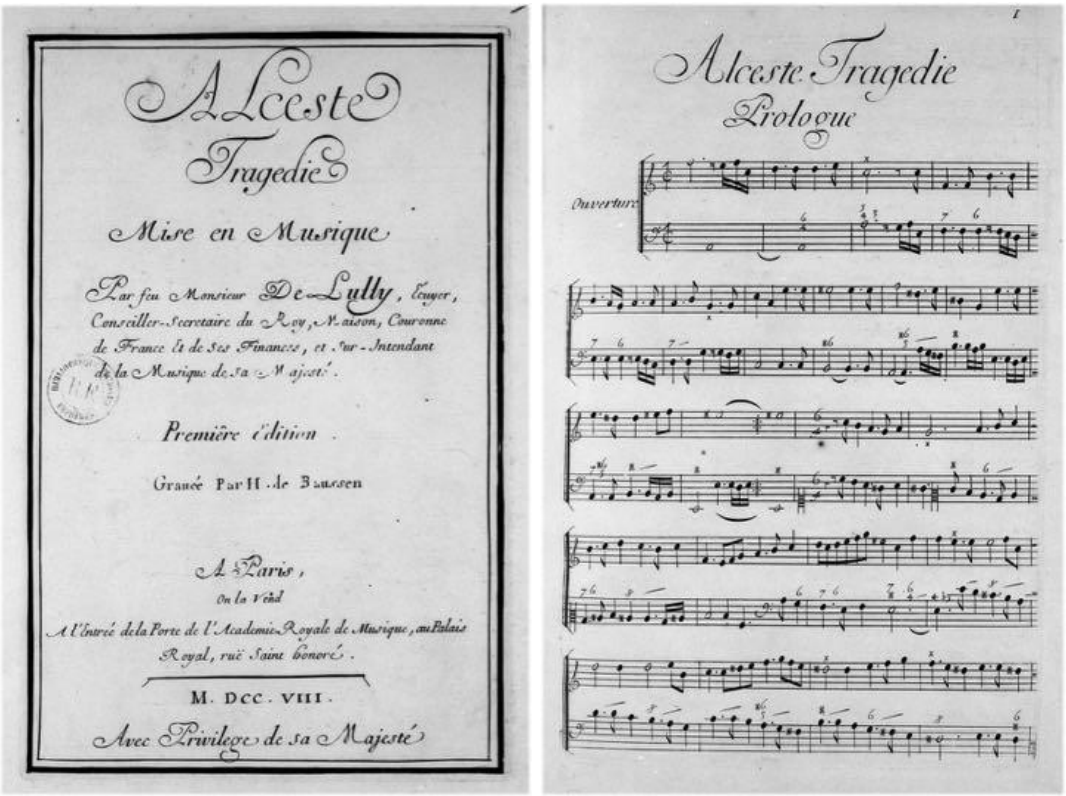
There is not currently any scholarly agreement (nor even speculation) about which of these many individuals was actually responsible for commissioning the illustrations that decorate these editions, a fact that undermines any attempt to assign artistic responsibility to any one person involved in the project. But circumstantially, the immediate re-production of *Alceste* with inserted illustrations after Guyenet's purchase of the privilege would suggest that he may have been the driving force behind the decision to create such lavish, visually-appealing editions. And since Guyenet's financial interests would have aligned with that of the Opéra itself, such a theory accords nicely with title-pages' assertion that the editions were "sold at the door of the Opéra" and La Gorce's suggestion that "nothing [was] neglected to promote their sale."[507] Sadly, we do not have the documentation (currently) to be able to say exactly who was in charge of the operation at any given point between 1708 and 1711. In the following section, in which I describe numerous examples from these volumes, I refer to them generally as the "Baussen editions"—not because I assume that it was he who chose the content of any given visual scene, but because the common element to

507. La Gorce, *L'Opéra à Paris*, 139. Unfortunately, this promotion did not extend to the announcements section of the *Mercure de France*, since before mid-century it was still less common to see musical editions advertised in it. In fact, Anik Devrès-Lesure's catalogue makes apparent the remarkable fact that not one of the many reprints of Lully's works was advertised in the *Mercure* or any other major publication during the eighteenth century. See Devriès-Lesure, *L'édition musicale dans la presse parisienne au XVIIIe siècle: Catalogue des annonces* ([Paris]: CNRS éditions, 2005).

all these editions is the attribution of the engraving (and, at least implicitly, the editing) to Baussen alone on each title-page.

Visual Conventions of the Baussen Editions

In the very first Baussen edition produced under the *privilège* of Jean-Baptiste Lully *fils*, *Alceste* (1708), the lettering and notation are elegantly engraved, but no illustrative content is included **(See Illustrations 3.5a and b)**.

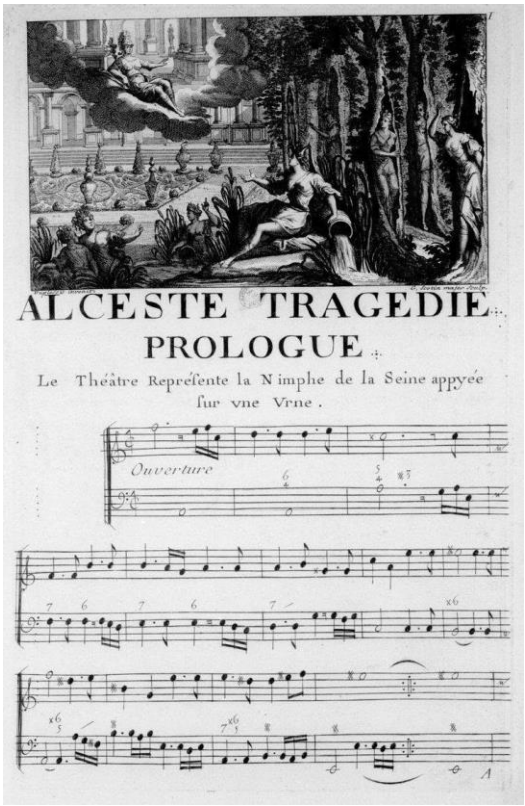


Illustrations 3.5a and 3.5b: Title-page and first page of musical notation to Lully's *Alceste*, engraved by Henri de Baussen (1708)

In the re-engraved version of *Alceste*, produced by Ballard and Guyenet in 1709 (but still dated 1708[508]) the title-page itself offers only engraved text and an unadorned, rectangular border; however, a beautifully detailed illustration now heads the prologue and each act of the operas **(see Illustrations 3.6a and b)**.

508. Denécheau, "Partitions d'opéras de J. B. Lully," 14.


ALCESTE.
TRAGEDIE.
MISE EN MUSIQUE.
Par Feu Mr. De Lully Esc.er Con.er Secretaire du Roy, Maison Couronne de France et de Ses Finances, et Sur-Intendant de la Musique de Sa Majesté.
SECONDE EDITION.
Gravée par H. de Baussen.
A PARIS.
A l'Entrée de la Porte de l'Academie Royale de Musique au Palais Royal, rue Saint Honoré.
M D CC VIII.
Avec Privilege du Roy.


ALCESTE TRAGEDIE.
PROLOGUE.
Le Théâtre Repréſente la Nimphe de la Seine appyée ſur vne Vrne.
Ouverture

Illustrations 3.6a and 3.6b: Title-page and first page of musical notation to Lully's *Alceste*, engraved by Henri de Baussen (1709)

Although the engravings are incredibly ornate and very numerous (since there are five or six per volume), they have attracted almost no scholarly attention other than in the form of passing references. As early as 1904, Grand-Carteret had compiled a tentative listing of the engravings in the Baussen volumes (he counts a total of 51 of them), but he includes just one reproduction, and very little discussion of them (other than to note that together they represent "a monument raised by engraving to [the composer]

who charmed the court of the great King").[509] The sole modern study to discuss the images is a very recent article by Andrea Cawelti, who offers a general overview of the transition from "generic" vignettes to highly-detailed engravings within "Ballard" editions (despite the fact that, as I have already outlined, Ballard did not take over Baussen's plates until 1712).[510] Cawelti locates the beginning of this shift in the 1707 Ballard edition of *Proserpine*, in which an unsigned woodcut vignette placed above Act I *does* appear to depict the abduction of Proserpine by Pluto (the other vignettes in the volume remain generic)--though she admits that the actual abduction scene in Lully's opera happens, problematically, not in Act I, but in Act II.[511]

Regardless of whether this particular decision was deliberate on Ballard's part, Cawelti quite rightly looks to *livrets* as a potential source of inspiration for the much more elaborate engravings in editions following Baussen's 1709 version of *Alceste*.[512] It was quite common for *livrets* of the late-seventeenth century, whether printed as independent books or collected in larger volumes, to include engraved frontispieces illustrating the dramatic events of the text. And, as Carl B. Schmidt describes in his catalogue of such

509. Grand-Carteret, *Les titres illustrés*, 48.
510. Andrea Cawelti, "It's Good to Be the King: Head-Pieces in Ballard Folio Scores," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, 84, no. 2 (April 2014): 209.
511. Ibid., 212.
512. Ibid.

libretti, these illustrations could be quite elaborate.[513] Insofar as *livrets*—most especially those produced for Lully's operas—began to include such large-scale, elaborate engravings in the 1680s, suggesting an increased perception as objects of aesthetic appreciation and luxury status, they are very much in keeping with the general trends of book culture in Louis XIV's France (outlined in the previous section).

This is precisely the influence upon which the Baussen editions draw. Musicologist Thomas Christensen has theorized the implications of bringing a public spectacle such as opera into the domestic space via the keyboard reduction. He argues that this process "alters the identity of the art work itself," shifting the aesthetic focus away from the visual to the aural.[514] While the Baussen editions, as reduced scores, were more friendly to keyboard-trained amateurs, and could certainly be said to alter the identity of the work, they complicate the aesthetic shift Christensen proposes. Christensen has cautioned that "for most enthusiasts of the eighteenth century, it was the *libretto* [my emph.] that constituted the printed representation of the opera

513. Carl B. Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques: A Catalogue Raisonée* (New York: Performers' Editions, 1995). One of many excellent examples he describes are the two variant engravings that occurred in Ballard's 1680 edition of the *livret* to *Proserpine* (see LLC8-2.1, p. 250 in Schmidt's catalogue). Cawelti notes that the content of the frontispieces in the 1680 *livrets* are the same as the unsigned vignette in Ballard's 1707 score (that is, they all depict the abduction of Proserpine by Pluto and certain associated bystanders), but they are *vastly* different illustrations in terms of size, style, location, and medium (engraved vs. woodcut). See Cawelti, 212.
514. Thomas Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, Kate van Orden, ed. (New York: Garland, 2000), 68.

outside of the opera house; [the libretto] was the site of reference and memory for the operatic performance."[515] Baussen's scores work precisely *against* any shift away from a visual aesthetic by explicitly adopting these libretto-like—indeed, book-like—conventions, constructing relationships not just with the text, but with salient musical moments in the opera. The volumes, just like a live opera, "paint" for both the eyes and the ears. For the viewer of the volumes, this creates conditions that repeatedly promote a practice of consuming music that complements notation with imagery.

Before discussing musical examples, one must note that Duplessis's illustrations follow a number of regularized conventions. First, the images sometimes simply represent the initial setting of the act, exactly as dictated by the stage directions printed beneath it, much as in the prologue to *Alceste* **(see Illustration 3.7)**. Here, the stage directions are rendered literally: the Nymph of the Seine leans on an urn. A great deal more is represented in the engraving, including characters who appear later in the prologue, but the viewer's attention is centered squarely on the figure for whom the stage directions function, in essence, as a kind of caption. Not surprisingly, the first vocal number of the opera consists of a solo air for the nymph, who muses on her current state and the "hero that she attends" (almost certainly

515. Ibid., 71.

a stand-in for Louis XIV). The remainder of the figures depicted in the illustration do not appear until later in the act.

Illustration 3.7: Engraving from the Prologue to Lully's *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen (1709)

As the example above implies, however, many of the illustrations go beyond simply offering the initial "set-up" or a depiction of the exact content of the adjacent stage directions. In these circumstances, the function of the engraving is essentially to summarize the events of the act it precedes. But depicting these activities in a single image means that time (within the

course of the drama) must sometimes be collapsed so as to show more than one consecutive event happening at once. This is not the case in all of the engravings, but it is nevertheless a common convention of the day. In some cases, the overlap of time is very pronounced: one of the best examples is the illustration for Act II of *Atys* (1709), wherein successive conversations between the Atys, Celoenus, Cybèle, and Mélisse (who, for most part, appear on stage in pairs) are represented by a chain of figures conversing onstage all at once **(see Illustration 3.8)**.

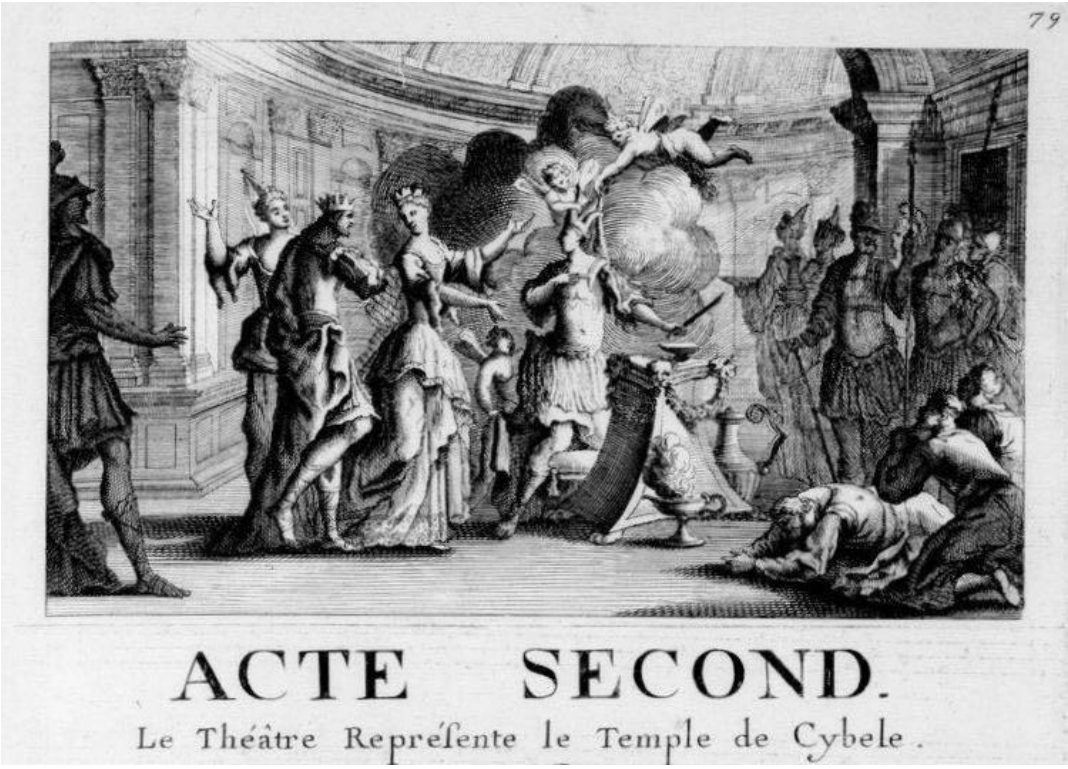


Illustration 3.8: Engraving from Act II of Lully's *Atys*, ed. H. de Baussen (1709)

At other times, however, the engravings are not concerned with conveying all the main events of the act they introduce. Several of the engravings seem concerned primarily with conveying a very specific staging, and are preoccupied less with pulling the viewer into the fiction of the opera and more with "recording" the theatrical space. Cawelti has argued that the engravings in these editions are "all" after actual stage settings of Jean Bérain, *Dessinateur de la Chambre et du Cabinet du Roi* and chief designer of staging, costumes, and even machinery for the Opéra.[516] However, there is not currently adequate evidence to support such a sweeping claim. She attempts, for example, to locate similar architectural and costume details within Duplessis's engraving to Act V of Armide **(see Illustration 3.9a)**, in which her palace is destroyed, and a staging sketch by Bérain that survives in the *Recueil Menus Plaisirs du Roi* of the French National Archives **(see Illustration 3.9b)**.

516. Cawelti, "Good to Be the King," 211.

Illustration 3.9a: Engraving for Act V of Lully's *Armide*, ed. H. de Baussen (1710)

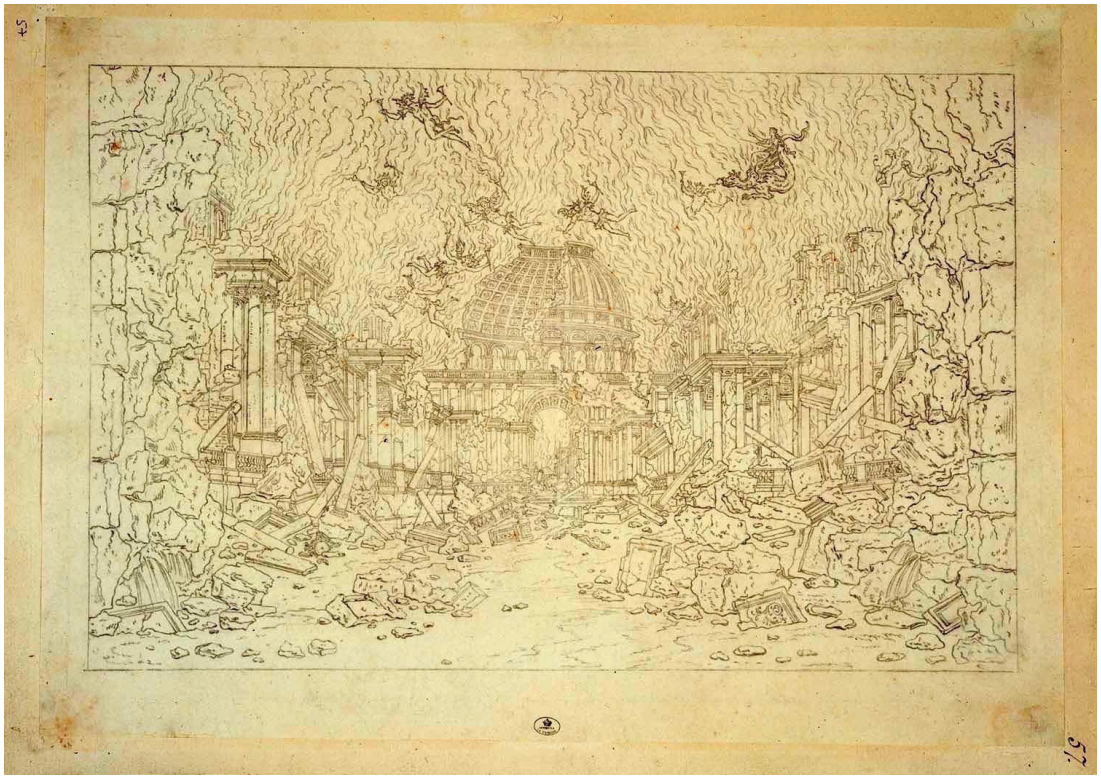


Illustration 3.9b: Sketch by Jean Bérain, identified by Jérôme de la Gorce as representing the destruction of the palace of Armide, possibly for 1686 production[517]

Cawelti connects these images primarily on the basis of the round "temple"-like construction in the centre background (which she suggests may be cut off in Duplessis's engraving).[518] However, a brief overview of Bérain's sketches in the *Recueil* shows that the inclusion of a central rounded structure was not uncommon in his stagings, and neither were the Ionic

517. See image no. 69 at the website of ARCHIM, *Receuils des Menus Plaisirs du Roi*, Inventaire par Jérôme de La Gorce, Centre André Chastel, UMR 8150 CNRS, Université Paris IV (accessed 16 March 2015, http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=RETROUVER&FIELD_9=NOMDOS&VALUE_9=Recueils%20des%20Menus%20Plaisirs%20du%20roi&NUMBER=69&GRP=0&REQ=%28%28Recueils%20des%20Menus%20Plaisirs%20du%20roi%29%20%3aNOMDOS%20%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=9&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=100&DOM=All).
518. Cawelti, "Good to Be the King," 214.

columns Cawelti cites as similar. She moreover points to similarities in the demons' costumes and the "specific" details of the dragon cart—but in the Baussen edition Armide's chariot has two heads and a wheel, while in Bérain's sketch it is not clear she is in a cart at all (she appears to be actually riding a dragon here). The only other discernible similarity is the general shape of the demons' wings. In other words, while the two illustrations partake of the many of the same general conventions, there is simply not enough to suggest that the Duplessis's engraving is directly based upon Bérain's, or to conclude (as she does) that it represents an *actual* production of *Armide* (perhaps that of 1703).[519]

While not *all* of the fifty-one engravings in the Baussen editions can be said to represent actual stagings of the past, there is at least one instance in which it can convincingly be asserted that the image draws directly from Bérain. The majority of the engravings in Baussen's edition of *Phaëton* (1709) focus on locations and spaces far more than they do they events or characters of the opera itself (with one notable exception that will be addressed shortly). Cawelti notes that this edition as a whole seems most likely to have come from Bérain's original set designs, but the example she

519. Ibid., 214.

shows (Act V) is not (or is no longer) found in the archive she cites.[520] However, the engraving that precedes Act I **(see Illustration 3.10a)** has unmistakeable concordances with one of Bérain's surviving sketches **(see Illustration 3.10b)**.

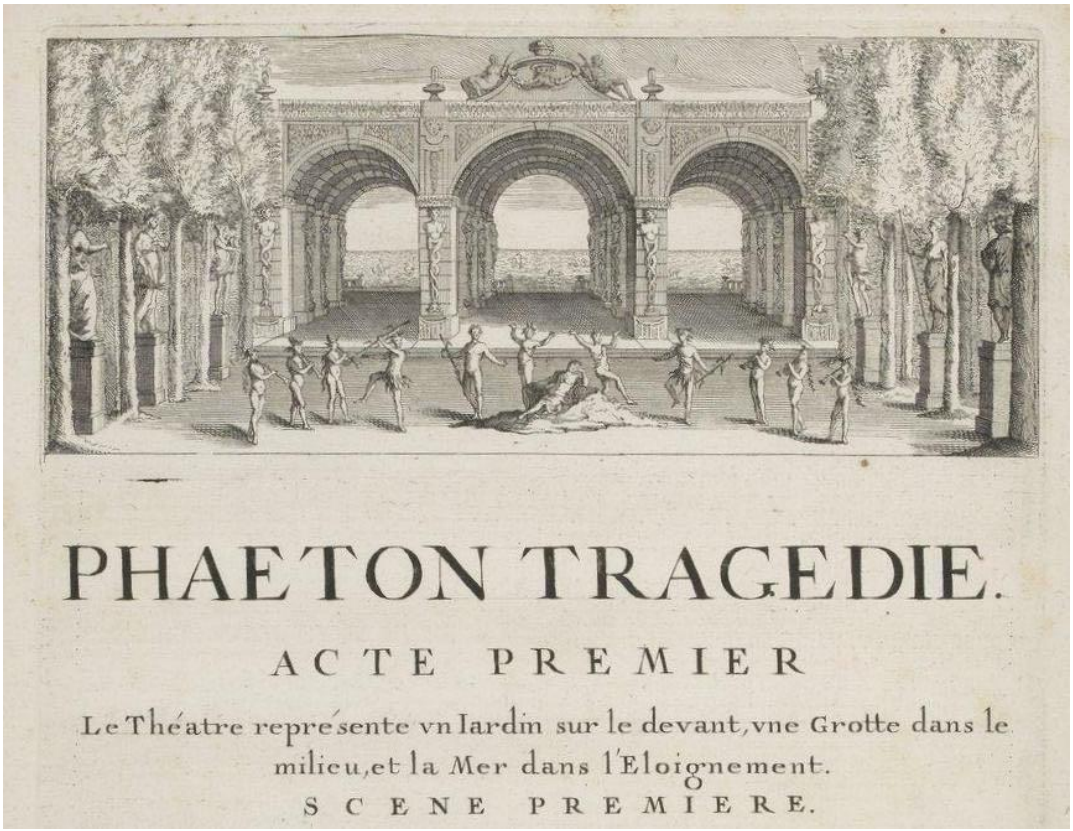


Illustration 3.10a: Engraving to Act I of Lully's *Phaëton*, ed. H. de Baussen (1709)

520. Ibid., 217.

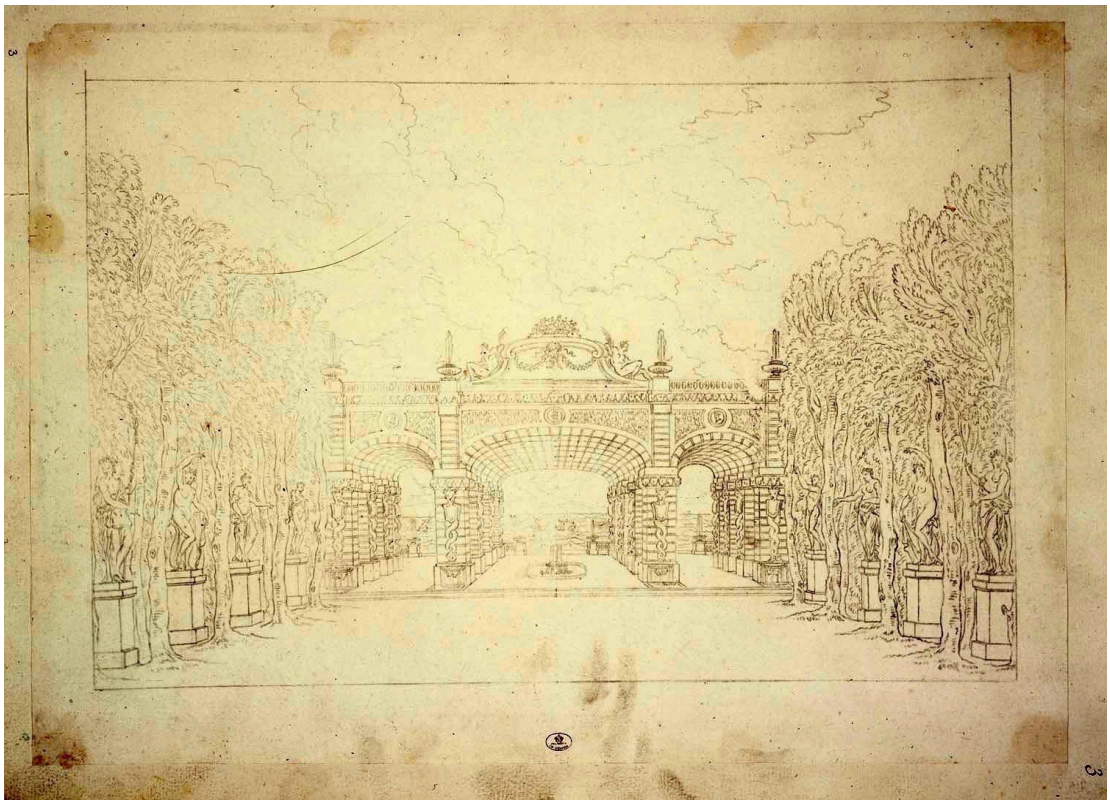


Illustration 3.10b: Sketch by Jean Bérain, identified by Jerôme de la Gorce as representing the staging of the 1702 revival of *Phaëton*[521]

Here the layered structure of the image (explicitly stated in the stage directions) corresponds almost exactly. In the foreground lies the open space of a garden, lined on both sides with trees alternating with statues on pedestals (though in the engraving the statues are clothed). In the middle-ground is a building with three arches (presumably a stand-in for the *grotte* or

521. See image no. 215 at the website of ARCHIM, *Receuils des Menus Plaisirs du Roi*, Inventaire par Jérôme de La Gorce, Centre André Chastel, UMR 8150 CNRS, Université Paris IV (accessed 16 March 2015, http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=RETROUVER&FIELD_9=NOMDOS&VALUE_9=Recueils%20des%20Menus%20Plaisirs%20du%20roi&NUMBER=15&GRP=2&REQ=%28%28Recueils%20des%20Menus%20Plaisirs%20du%20roi%29%20%3aNOMDOS%20%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=9&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=100&DOM=All).

"cave" described in the stage directions), and in the background of both ocean waves can be seen. Other specific details, such as the two-pronged spiral supports of the busts between the arches, and the silhouette of the roofline with two reclining figures, match very closely. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine the engraver of the image in Baussen's edition as *not* having been familiar with either Bérain's staging or this sketch itself. Unfortunately, the engravings in this edition are not signed, but if they were designed by either Jacques-Vigoureux Duplessis or Claude Gillot, there is a high likelihood that they would have had the resources at their disposal to (re)produce this image, since both were employed by the Opéra during the first decade of the century.

Thus, in Baussen's editions we may not be "see[ing] all of the sets as the audience would have seen them," as Cawelti concludes, but they certainly played an important role in cultural memory. The musical score, beginning with these editions, becomes responsible for conveying traces of the past to their viewers; it invokes the experience of being at the Opéra—and as I show presently, they attempt to evoke the "liveness" of the opera fiction itself. Such goals would be well-aligned with those of Guyenet, who was invested in the success of the Paris Opéra as an institution, and those of the

printers who, in the previous decade, "strov[e] to preserve a bit of the French cultural patrimony for succeeding generations."[522]

The bulk of the engravings in Baussen's editions offer depictions of the most active and exciting moments of the associated act—or, by contrast, the most affectively powerful moments of the act. But above all else, they betray a fascination with the most visually spectacular moments, especially scenes in which the *merveilleux* and supernatural elements are in play. Very often the illustration will pinpoint a very specific moment in the plot of the act so as to achieve maximum dramatic effect, such as happens in Act III of *Atys*, wherein good dreams and bad dreams compete with one another during Atys's *sommeil* **(see Illustration 3.11)**, or Act III of *Amadis*, in which the ghost of Ardan Canile rises from the tomb **(see Illustration 3.12)**.

522. Ranum, "Lully en trio," 315.

Illustration 3.11: Engraving to Act III of Lully's *Atys*, ed. H. de Baussen (1709)

Illustration 3.12: Engraving to Act III of Lully's *Amadis*, ed. H. de Baussen (1711)

This emphasis on the marvelous is of course characteristic of the plots of French baroque opera; they are much preoccupied with the actions of gods and other elements of the supernatural and their effects on the plot's hero[es] (especially their emotional states). This was a central element of the genre in the conception of contemporaries; it was part of what helped distinguish the opera from the theatrical plays of the great seventeenth-century French tragedists, Molière, Corneille, and Racine. Batteux even defines "lyric spectacle" as a mixture of two fundamental things: "…the

action of gods, which [imbues] the spectacle [with] the marvelous, which strikes the eyes and occupies the imagination," and "the expression of the passions, which produces emotion in the heart, which inflames and troubles it."[523] Distilled to its basic essence, *tragédie lyrique* is, according to Batteux, "just an imitation of heroic passions and their effects, natural or supernatural, true or probable."[524] The marvelous elements of French opera were thus understood as an integral part of drawing forth and depicting "the most complex and dangerous passions"—in short, to borrow Laura Naudeix's turn of phrase, of "exterior[izing] the mental landscape."[525] And "exteriorization" is a useful term with respect to the Baussen editions: they explicitly accomplish this function with respect to sight, much as any staged opera would attempt to do.

The *merveilleux* was not confined to characters, stagings, and special effects: it operated in the musical sphere as well. For the Baussen editions, one of the distinctive effects of this is that the moments depicted in the engravings frequently have a direct correlate in moments of "depictive"

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523. Batteux, *Les beaux arts reduits*, 274. "…l'action des Dieux, qui donne le spectacle du merveilleux, qui frappe les yeux & occupe l'imagination: l'expression des passions, qui produit l'émotion dans le coeur, qui l'échauffe & le trouble." Note: the chapter from which this excerpt is drawn (Sec. III, Ch. 2) does not appear in the 1746 edition of Batteux's treatise; it is inserted, however, in the 1747 edition.
524. Ibid., 275. "…le spectacle lyrique dans le sien, n'est qu'une imitation des passions héroiques & de leurs effets, naturels or surnaturels, vrais ou vraisemblables."
525. Laura Naudeix, "Le merveilleux dan la structure de l'opéra baroque français," in *Le surnaturel sur la scène lyrique du merveilleux baroque au fantastique romantique*, ed. Agnès Terrier and Alexandre Dratwicki (Lyon: Symétrie Recherche, 2012), 69-70.

music. While their subject matter was clearly related to plot events, these images were thus also tied to the musical events that would have been most memorable for those who had witnessed the opera. Examples in which the engravings represent activities attended by overt tone- or word-painting in the score (most frequently with significant instrumental activity) are abundant. The content of these image repeatedly matches favorite musical gestures suggesting subjects such as the act of flight, the movement of waves, or the swirling winds of the tempest. And, in some cases, such related musical gestures would have appeared visually distinctive in the musical notation itself. The images and music mutually highlight one another.

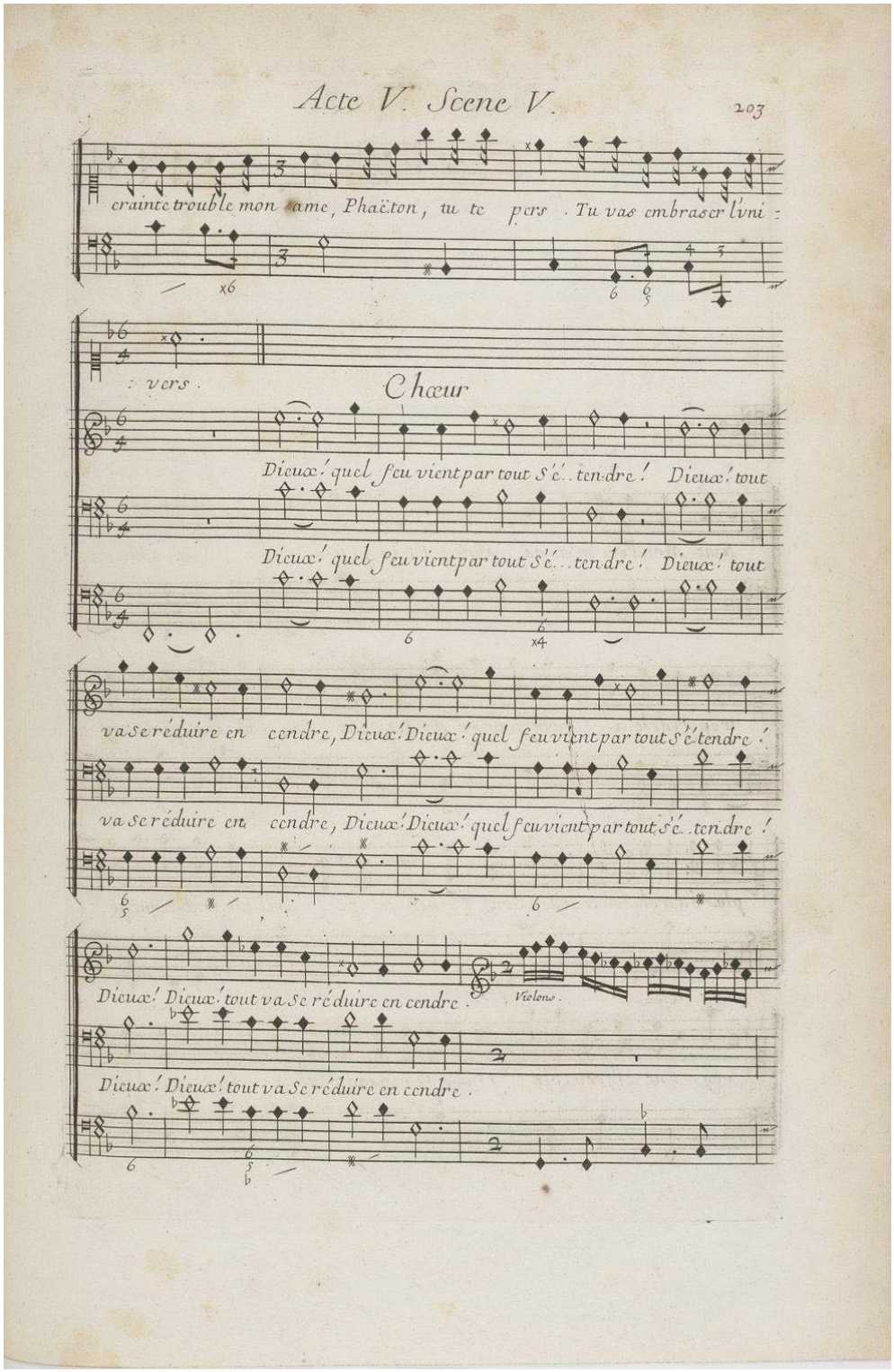
One of the most visible examples of this relationship among the Baussen volumes is in the edition of *Phaëton*. Although, as I have already stated, most of the engravings in this volume suggest a desire to convey stagings, the final act is an exception. In this act, Phaëton attempts to ride across the sky pulling his father's sun chariot. Unfortunately, he loses control of the chariot, which threatens to scorch the earth, and ultimately Jupiter strikes him down with bolts of lightening. Naturally, this is the scene the engraver chooses to depict at the beginning of the act **(see Illustration 3.13)**.

Illustration 3.13: Engraving to Act V of Lully's *Phaëton*, ed. H. de Baussen (1709)

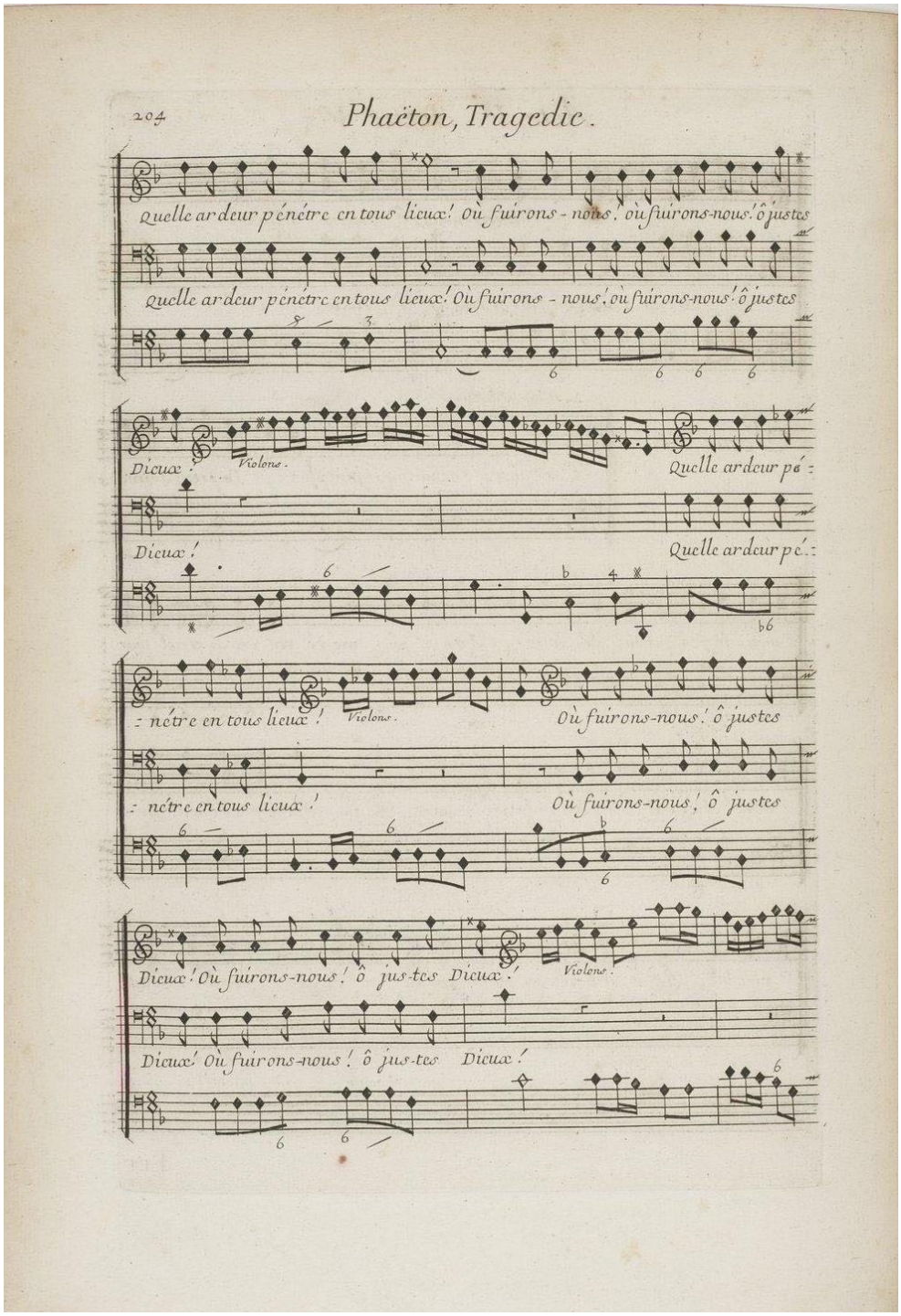
For one who had experienced the opera in person (either at its first production in 1683 or the revival in 1702) or who understood the basics of musical notation, this illustration would have a direct connection to one of this act's most salient features: spasms of sixteenth-notes that erupt from the musical texture in scenes v and vii of Act V. These begin to occur in Lully's score precisely at the moment that Phaeton apparently loses control of the chariot. When this happens, his mother and former beloved, Climène and Théone, predict in recitative that Phaeton will "fall into the eternal night" and "embrace the universe," and the chorus responds by bewailing the terrible fire of the out-of-control sun **(see Ex. 3.1)**. The chorus sings in C

major, but just as it shifts into C minor the singers drop out, the music shifts into duple meter, and the violins interrupt proceedings with a jagged passage of sixteenth-notes. The interruption lasts only one measure, and the chorus resumes, now back in the major mode. But four measures later they drift back onto a minor sonority (G) and the violins spasm again, racing upward in the dominant (D major), only to crash back down an octave-and-a-half later into G minor.

Example 3.1: Act V, scene v of Lully's *Phaëton*, ed. H. de Baussen, pp. 203-204



Example 3.1 (Continued)



These sudden melodic interruptions continue sporadically through scene vii, in which the chorus prays to the "God who throws thunder" to save the earth from the out-of-control sun. The homophonic choral texture must repeatedly to give way to the strings, which skitter chaotically across their melodic range. The final number of the opera sets Jupiter's command that Phaëton should crash; the terrified spectators bemoan his fate, and the opera abruptly ends.

The interruptions of scenes v and vii suggest a very deliberate attempt on Lully's part to depict the out-of-control chariot, but no obvious final "fall" of the main character occurs within the melodic profiles of the violin runs (they remain jagged lines of both ascending and descending motion). These string interruptions seem, thus, to be primarily associated with the chariot's chaotic movement, rather than the crash *per se*. But why would we, as readers of the score, be inclined to associate this image with this music?

This engraving stands out from all the others in this edition of the opera. There is an abrupt, attention-grabbing shift in the nature of its subject matter to the most active, climactic moment of the opera. The musical gesture itself would have been very stark in aural terms for listeners of the opera, or for a talented amateur who attempted to sing and/or play sections of the work in the home. And in purely visual terms, each of these

moments stands out from its notational context on the page. In the full score of *Phaëton*, the violin runs are accompanied by lower string parts, but at much slower levels of rhythmic subdivision. The necessary removal of the inner parts in the reduced score, along with the rests notated in the choral parts, means that these moments are rendered bare, jagged, black streaks in the notation. They thus form visual interjections on the page, whose unpredictable melodic profiles quite literally depict out-of-control movement and offer (even if unintentionally) a visual rhyme with the bolts of lightening represented in the engraving

The overall focus in this edition on memory, and perhaps even the details of a specific production, means there is a further layer of significance to this scene. The opera itself was particularly famous among audiences for the mechanism designed by Jean Bérain to create the special effect of flight **(see Illustration 3.14)**.[526] The vivid signifiers of the volume would necessarily have brought to mind this device for those lucky enough to have seen the opera in the flesh, or who knew of its reputation.

526. Lois Rosow, "Phaëton," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 15, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O903885).

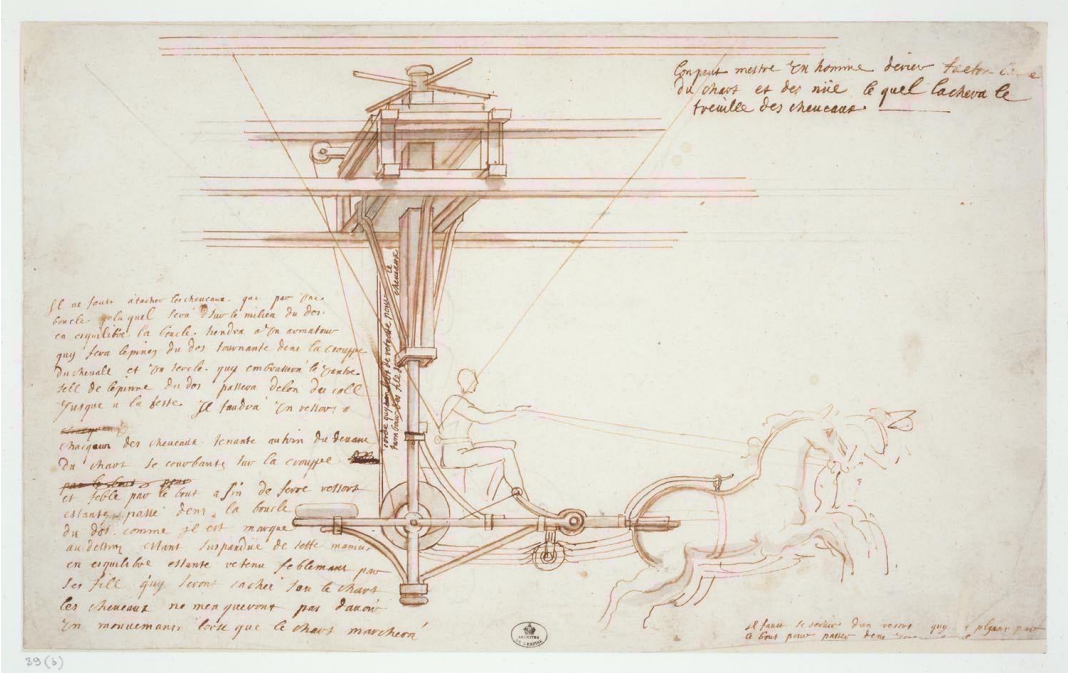


Illustration 3.14: Jean Bérain, sketch of stage machinery for Act V of *Phaëton*, identified by Jerôme de la Gorce as accompanying the 1702 revival[527]

In a sense, then, the image and notation operate in this publication as a stand-in for the already-famous stage machinery. The engraving and score work together to recreate the fantastic nature of the final scene, to bring it to the mind's eye for the viewer of the volume in the most visceral way possible. And even if the volume was not actively recreating the sound of

527. See image no. 393 at the website of ARCHIM, Receuils des Menus Plaisirs du Roi, Inventaire par Jérôme de La Gorce, Centre André Chastel, UMR 8150 CNRS, Université Paris IV (accessed 16 March 2015, http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=RETROUVER&FIELD_9=NOMDOS&VALUE_9=Recueils%20des%20Menus%20Plaisirs%20du%20roi&NUMBER=93&GRP=3&REQ=%28%28Recueils%20des%20Menus%20Plaisirs%20du%20roi%29%20%3aNOMDOS%20%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=9&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=100&DOM=All).

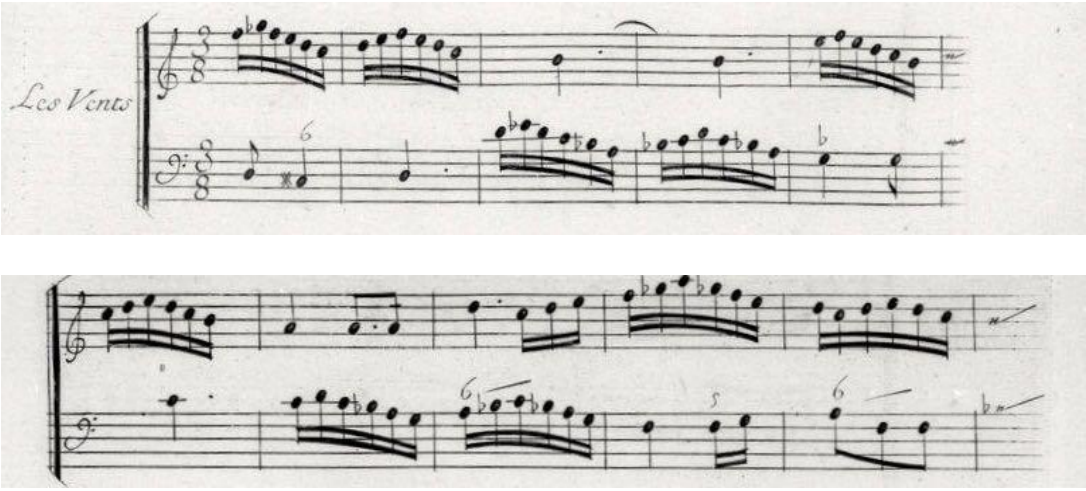
the music in the mind of the reader (depending on the reader, of course), it is certainly calculated to convey its gestural force.

While *Phaëton* offers just one scene in which this kind of cross-relationship happens, it occurs repeatedly in the editions of both *Alceste* and *Persée*. In the case of *Alceste*, both natural and supernatural phenomena are depicted for the eye and ear. In Act I, Lycomedes lures the heroine Alcestis to his boat under the pretense of throwing a party for her upcoming marriage. He then abducts her, his escape secured by a storm at sea whipped up by his sister, Thetis (a sea-nymph). To assist Lycomedes, she calls upon the winds to stir the waves to "mutiny." Duplessis's design depicts the chaos of the winds and sea (signified by the billowing flags, and waves moving in all directions), while Alceste calls for help from the ship and Admetus (Alcestis's betrothed) finally realizes Lycomedes's betrayal **(see Illustration 3.15)**.

Illustration 3.15: Engraving to Act I of *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen (1709)

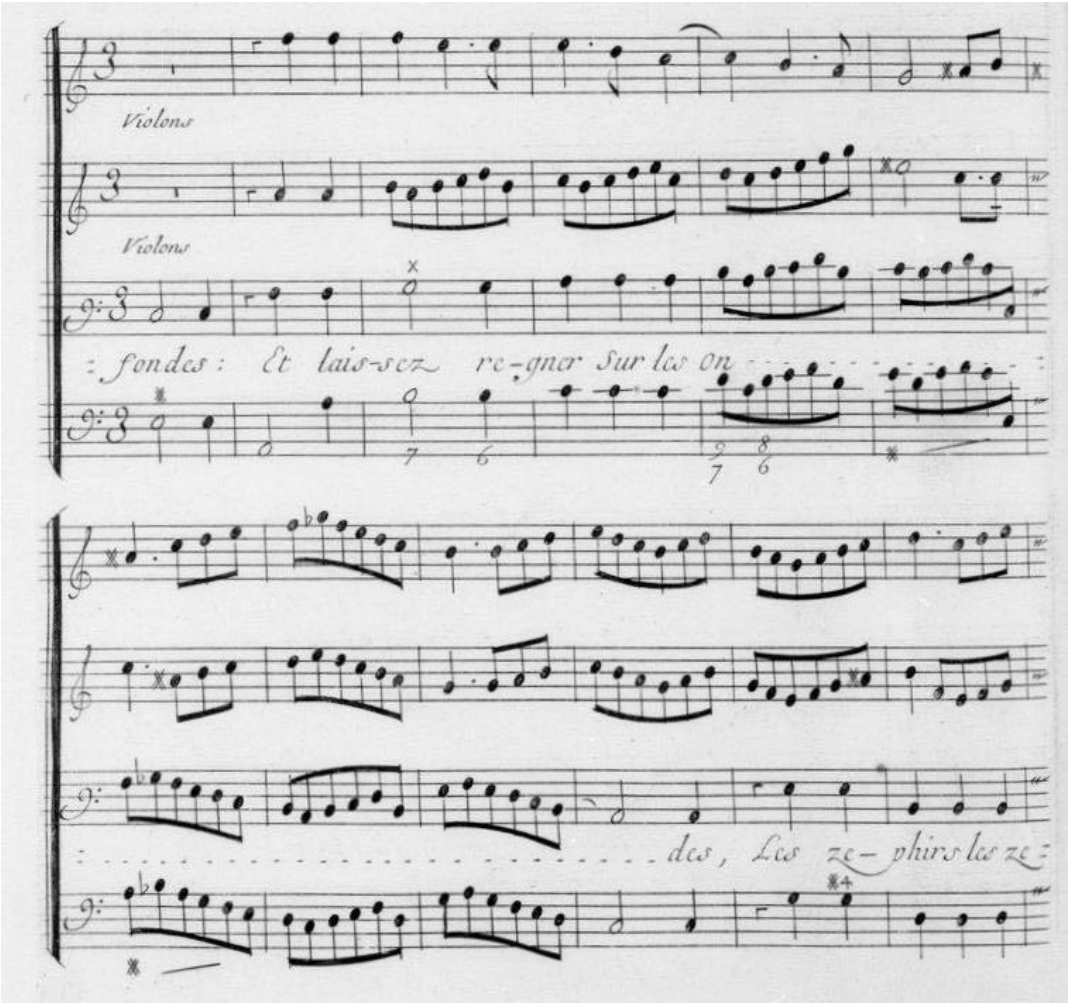
This is a moment marked in the score by explicitly depictive music, of that most-popular of topics, the tempest. Thetis's invocation of the storm is followed immediately by a *symphonie* entitled "Les vents" (which may have been danced by personifications of the wind) with constant running sixteenth-notes alternating between the melody and bass-lines **(see Ex. .2)**. This number features repeated arch shapes, vividly rendering the swirling movements of the wind as they stir up the waters.

Example 3.2: "Les Vents," from Act I, scene viii of Lully's *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen, pp. 59-60



Shortly thereafter, the score offers a very conventional illustration of the sea itself. This would have been extremely difficult for someone viewing the volume to overlook, since the word "ondes" (waves) is painted by a long melisma consisting of repeated swells in the melodic line **(see Ex. 3.3)**. Not only would this melodic ornamentation be aurally striking in performance, but the mutinous waves are, quite literally, drawn by repeated wave shapes in the notation.

Example 3.3: Act I, scene ix from Lully's *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 62



The engraving thus capitalizes on what was undoubtedly the most exciting and memorable moment of the act, both in terms of plot and (arguably) musical content. It focuses the reader on a moment in which depictive music—of a topic quintessentially associated with French baroque opera—offers both an aural and visual reinforcement.

Such depiction is not, however, limited to physical things and actions: Act III of *Alceste*, for example, offers both musical and visual depiction of a passion. Here, Admetus has been mortally wounded in the fight to rescue the kidnapped Alceste, and Apollo has offered eternal glory to anyone willing to die in Admetus's place. Naturally, Alceste (who has just been rescued) has chosen to sacrifice herself. The engraving shows Diana hovering above, while Admetus and the women on the right grieve; Hercules (who is Admetus's ally, but is secretly in love with Alceste himself) and Mercury are onlookers **(see Illustration 3.16)**. (Ultimately, Diana and Mercury will open up a new door to hell for Hercules.) But in addition to the images of the mourners themselves, Duplessis offers an allegorical rendering of despair. The statue in the background on the right features a woman thrusting a dagger into her bared chest. This image reinforces the sacrificial nature of Alceste's act, but also deploys conventions taken directly taken from centuries of emblem books, in which a woman with a dagger in the breast was the traditional iconographic representation of *Despair* or *Desespoir*.[528] The engraving also draws upon contemporary acting and gesture: as Dene Barnett discusses (and shows, via images reproduced from the

528. See for example Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-1760 Edition of Ripa's "Iconologia" with 200 Engraved Illustrations*, ed. Edward Maser (New York: Dover, 1971), 59; or H. F. Gravelot and C. N. Cochin, *Iconologie par Figures* (Paris, 1789); repr. in *Personifications & Symbols: An index to H.F. Gravelot and C.N. Cochin's* Iconologie par Figures, ed. Ester Lels (Leiden: MarePress, 2011), 69.

works of Le Brun, Johann Jacob Engel, and Johannes Jelgerhuis), the seated position of the women on the right, leaning on the elbow with the hand on the face, and drooping head and limbs, were conventional gestures of grief on the stage.[529]

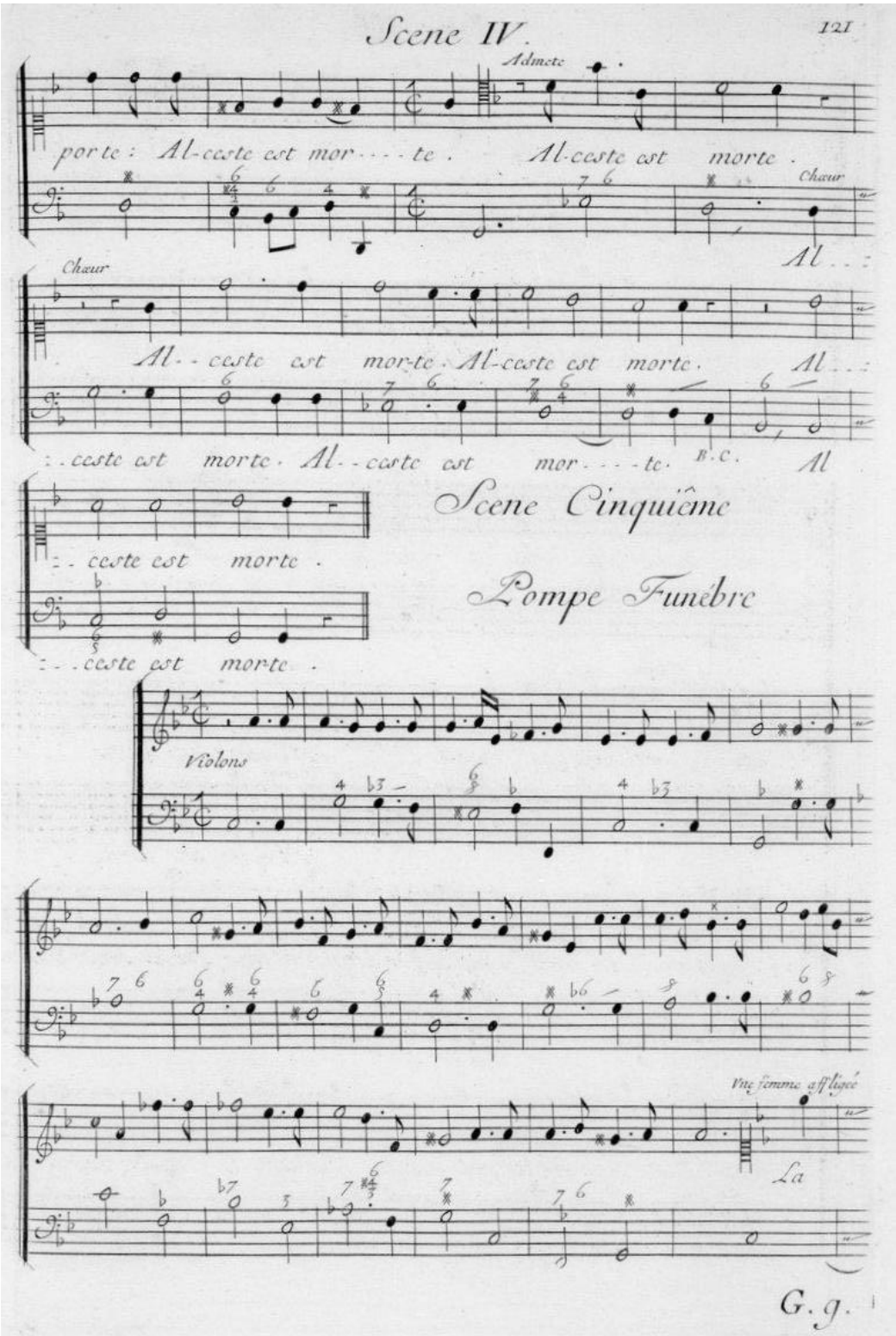
Illustration 3.16: Engraving to Act III of *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen (1709)

529. Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture: The practices and principles of 18th century* [sic] *acting*, with the assistance of Jeanette Massy-Westropp (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987), 38-40. Jelgerhuis is Barnett's central source, since he himself draws extensively from both Le Brun and Engel, offering a retrospective of gestural techniques despite a relatively late publication date of 1827. See J[ohannes] Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en mimiek gegeven aan de kweekelingen van het fonds ter opleiding en onderrigting van toneel-kunstenaars aan den Stads Schouwburg te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1827).

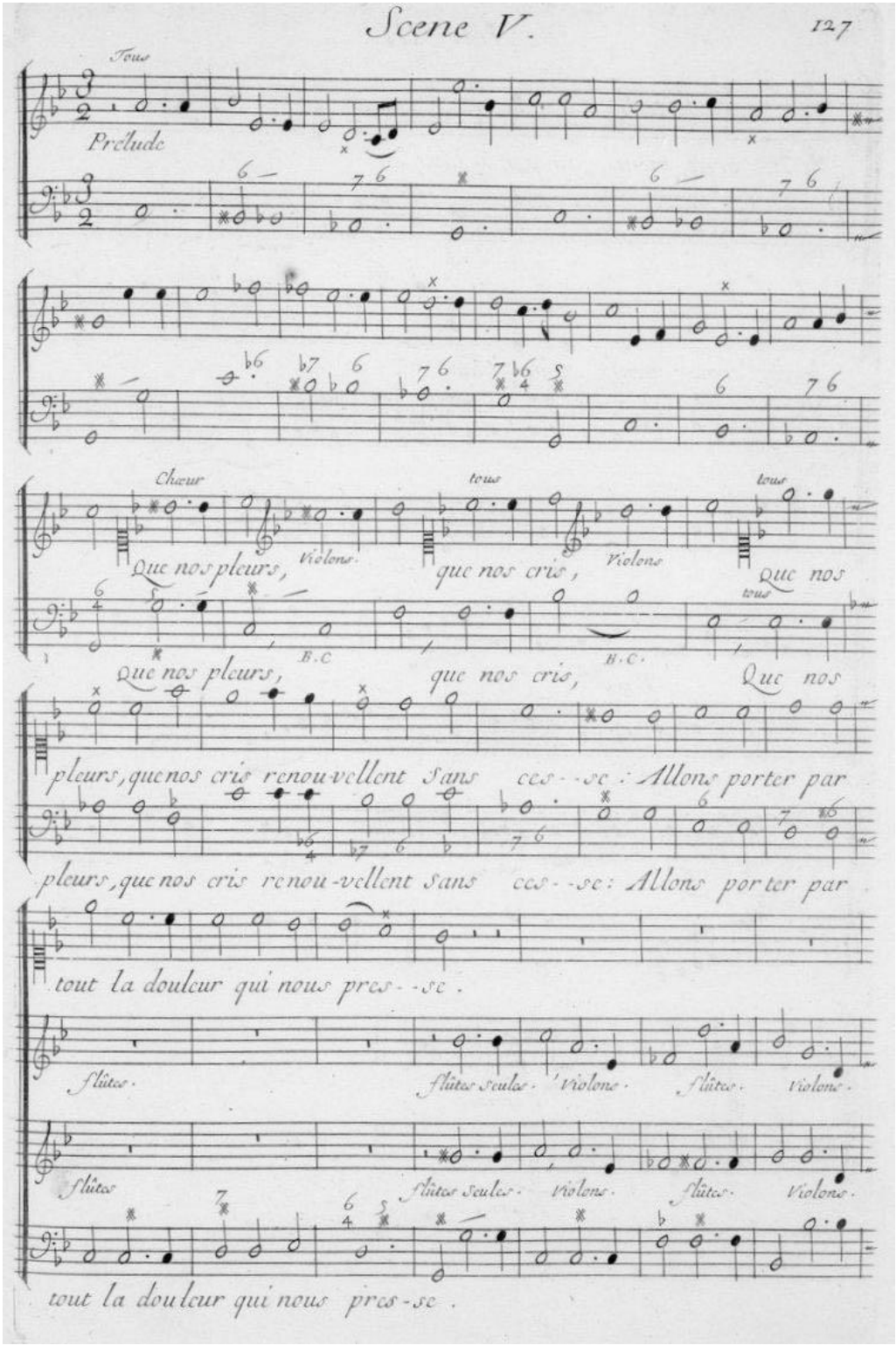
As I have discussed in Chapter 2, Batteux considered musical depiction of a passion to be the higher of the two modes of imitation of which music was capable.[530] And a viewer of the musical notation could not help but have noticed that the entire divertissement of this act amounts to a funeral—one that centers on permutations of highly recognizable motive. Here, "despair" is referenced by the classic baroque musical idiom for lament: the ground bass. The descending pattern first occurs under the chorus's lament that "Alceste est morte," the bass-line tumbling stepwise by an octave to close the scene **(see Ex. 3.4a)**. The descending bass then permeates the next few numbers, undergoing a variety of transformations, including several chromatic, ostinato versions. "Une femme affligée" (just as we saw depicted in the engraving) mourns Alceste's "barbarous death," and the scene eventually culminates in a chaconne-like chorus *en pleurs* (in tears) **(see Ex. 3.4b)**. The sound of this scene, particularly the layered descending pattern in the second stave of Ex. 3.4a, is highly reminiscent of the now much-more famous air, "When I am laid," from Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* of 1688 (which this opera preceded by fourteen years). Here, the affective state of the characters is unmistakably conveyed by the volume through a combination of text, music, and illustration.

530. See pp. 159-161 above.

Example 3.4a: Act III, scenes iv and v from Lully's *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 121



Example 3.4b: Act III, scenes v from Lully's *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 127



The nature of depiction is different yet again in the engraving for Act IV of *Alceste*. Duplessis returns to the convention of depicting active and supernatural events; the engraving depicts a conflation of moments from the following act, in which Hercules boldly enters into the underworld to retrieve Alceste from the realm of Pluto and Proserpine **(see Illustration 3.17)**.

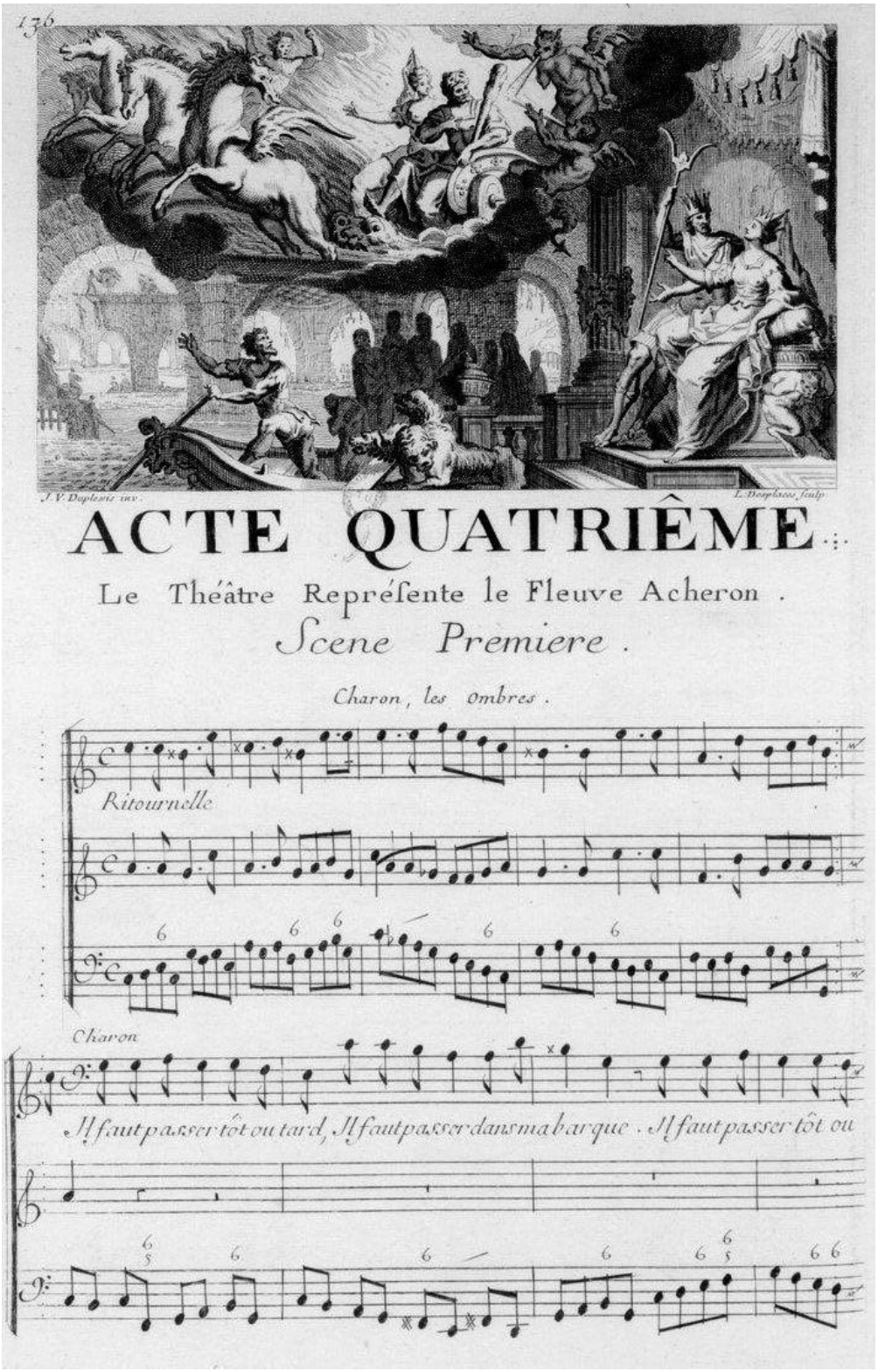
Illustration 3.17: Engraving to Act IV of *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen (1709)

Here Duplessis chooses to show multiple sonic aspects of the scene referenced in Lully's music. The act opens with a comic air in which Charon,

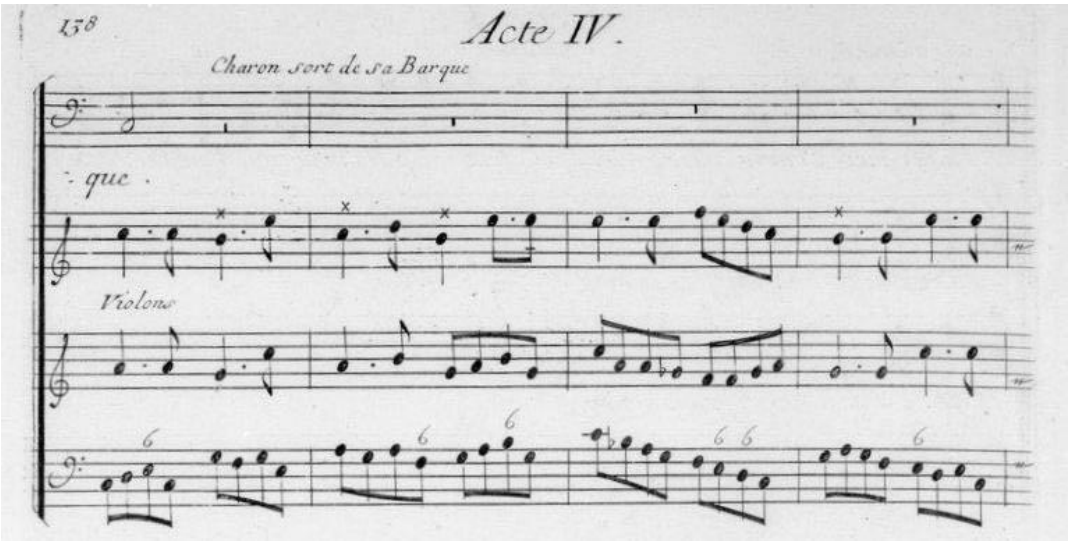
boatman of the river Acheron, sings about how everyone, from "shepherd" to "monarch," must eventually take a trip in his boat to the underworld **(see Ex. 3.5a)**. The engraving, which depicts Charon in the lower left corner, occurs directly above a famous *ritournelle* in which a bubbling bass-line is often taken to represent flowing water (mirrored by ripples in the lower left corner).[531] And, as can be seen under the stage direction "Charon sort de sa Barque," this *ritournelle* is used shortly thereafter to accompany to Charon's disembarking of the boat after (presumably) having crossed the river. **(see Ex. 3.5b)**.

531. Lois Rosow, for example, advocates this interpretation of the bass-line in her article in the *New Grove Dictionary*. "Alceste (i)," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed March 5, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O900072).

Example 3.5a: Act IV, scene i from Lully's *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 136



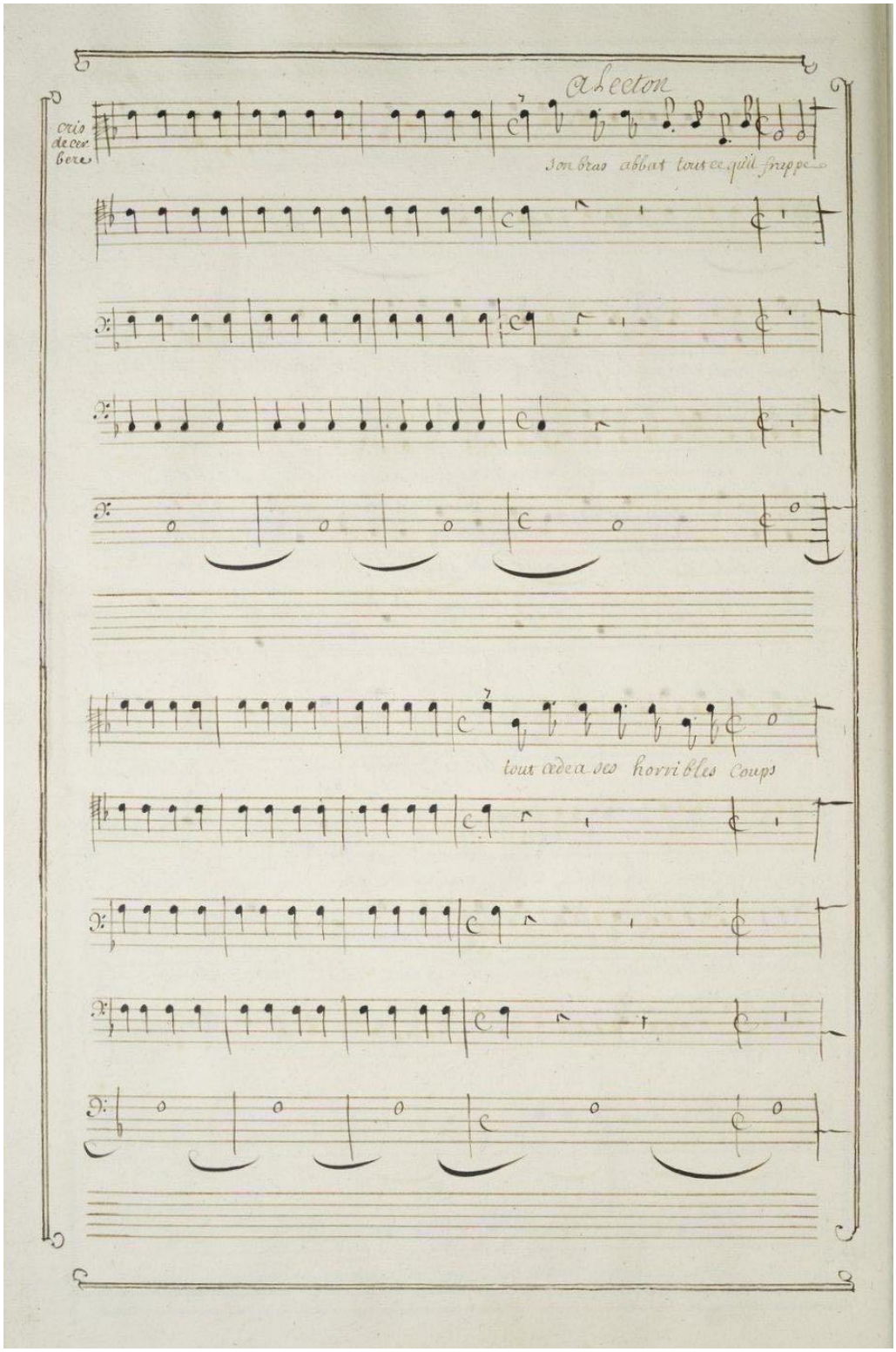
Example 3.5b: Act IV, scene i from Lully's *Alceste*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 138



Curiously, the engraver also puts the three-headed hound, Cerberus, in a conspicuously central position within the illustration. Cerberus actually features very little in the libretto: he is mentioned only in one line as alerting to the sudden intrusion of Hercules with barks capable of assailing anyone who hears it. There is, moreover, no distinct music that could be construed as "representing" Cerberus within the score as it is engraved by Baussen—he is simply referred to in third person by the character Alecton. Despite not being included in the edition, however, performance practice of this scene in the first decade of the eighteenth century seems to have included several "extra" measures in which a male chorus mimics the sound of Cerberus's thunderous barking. The insertion of this effect may be seen in surviving

manuscript scores in the collection of the Bibliothèque ationale (BN Vm2-12 and RES VMA MS-1440) dated to this time period **(see Ex. 3.6)**.

Example 3.6: Act IV, scene iv from Lully's *Alceste* (Bibliothèque nationale RES VMA MS-1440), marked "cris de Cerbere"



At this moment, Alecton is describing the sound of Cerberus's "horrible blows." The effect is very distinctive, consisting of a chorus's low-pitched, wordless vocalization of repeated quarter notes for three measures over a sustained bass (unfortunately, the syllables actually sung by the members of the chorus are not included in either manuscript). And in one case, as can be seen in Ex. 3.6, the effect is explicitly marked, "cris de Cerbere." This suggests a kind of popular special effect, inserted for the benefit of the stage performance, designed to enact these "horribles coups" as forcefully as possible. And given the motive's harmonic stasis, and rigidly homophonic repetition, it no doubt would have stood out dramatically against the simple texture of Alecton's recitative. The fact that Baussen's score lacks this feature, however, would not have require that the engraver avoid capitalizing upon popular cultural memory by drawing attention to a well-known effect. Even in the absence of a direct musical link in the published score, it is probably no accident that the engraving goes out of its way to include a reference to one of the most famous sonic moments of the act. If this is indeed the case, it shows a distinct familiarity with, and sensitivity to, the conventions of the Paris Opéra and the tastes of its audience on the part of the designer of the image.

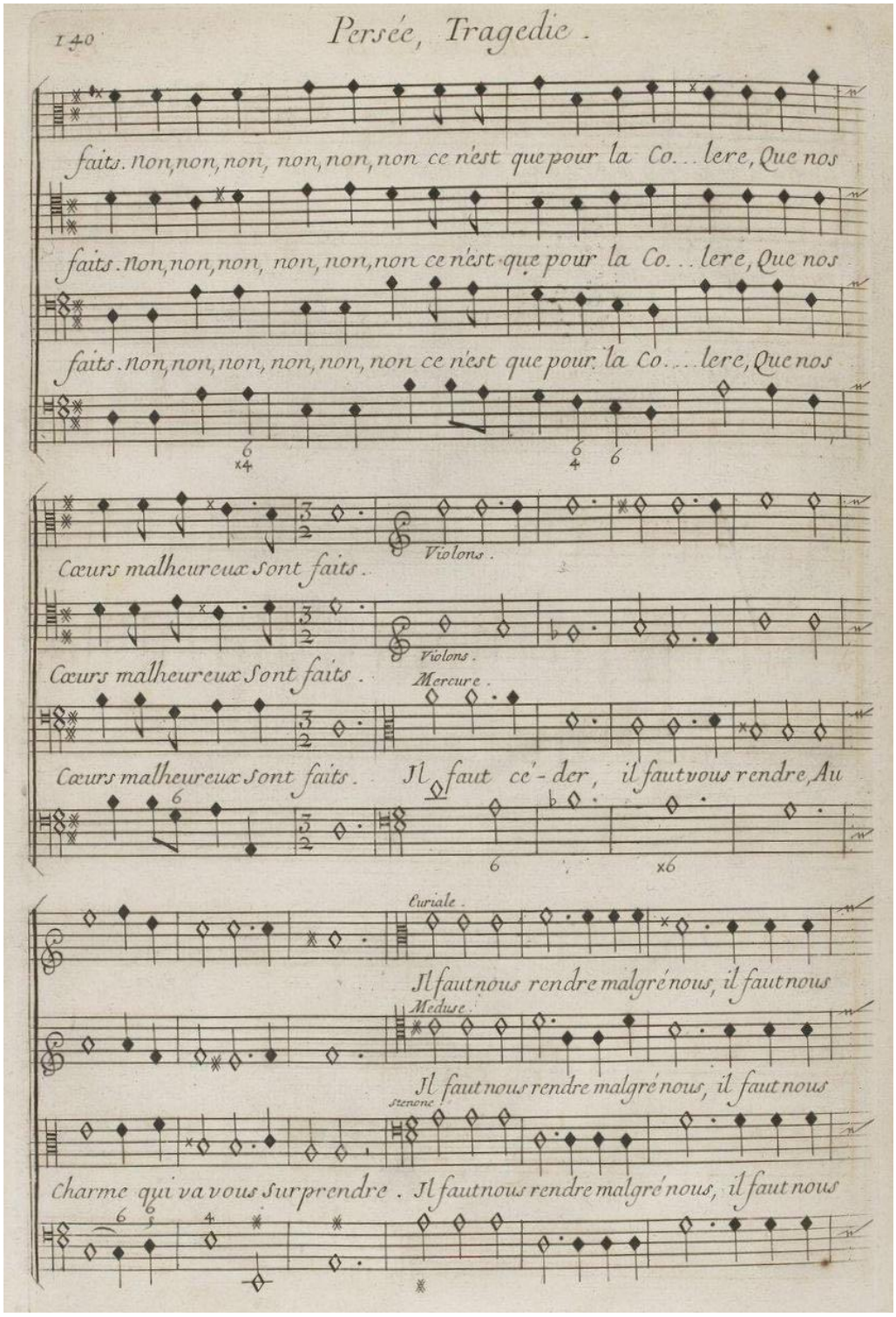
There is perhaps no better opera in which to look for a fascination with the visually spectacular than *Persée* (premiered in 1682), famous in its day for its extensive use of the *merveilleux*. And the illustrations supplied by Duplessis in 1710 make thorough-going use of subjects supported in the opera by a kind of music of the supernatural. The engraving for Act III, for example, represents a composite of all the most fantastic moments of the act, and is tightly tied to its dramatic and musical events. The scene is set in the lair of the Gorgons, where Perseus attempts to slay Medusa with the aid of Mercury **(see Illustration 3.18)**. In Duplessis' depiction, Perseus has managed to cut off Medusa's head by looking at her through the reflection in his shield; here he flies away with a helmet that makes him invisible and Medusa's head in a sack, while Mercury fends off the remaining Gorgons.

Illustration 3.18: Engraving to Act III of Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen (1710)

In the lower left, we see Medusa's headless body, still reclined in a position of sleep after a *sommeil*. This sleep-scene amounts to a kind of musical battle that plays out in the score, waged between Mercury's tranquil, hypnotic triple-meter and the Gorgons' militant, duple-meter **(see Ex. 3.7)**. Mercury repeatedly entreats the Gorgons to sleep, but the latter refuse to submit to the soporific effect of Mercury's music with square, rhythmic repetitions of "non, non, non, non…" Eventually, however, their music is supplanted by Mercury's lilting triple meter—they are actually forced to take

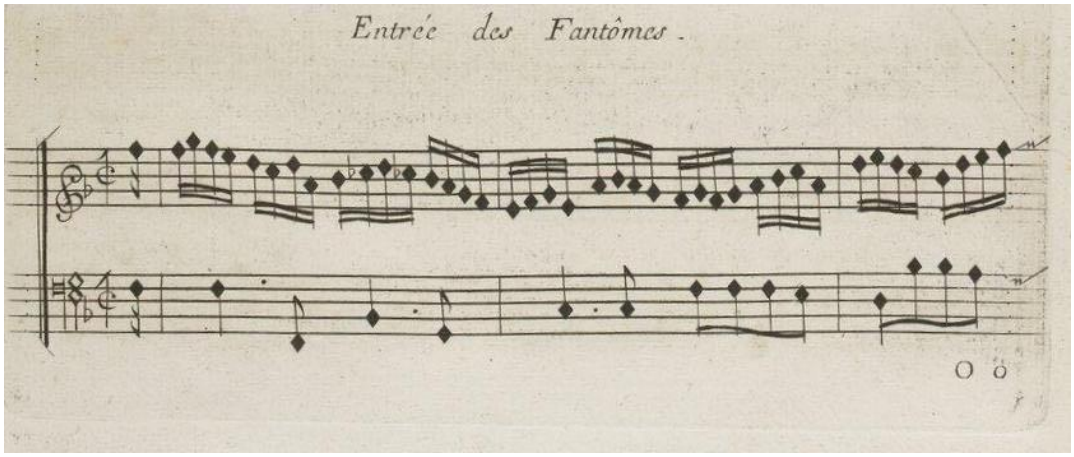
on his music—and they fall asleep. Their final transition from duple meter to triple is visible in the last stave of Ex. 3.7.

Example 3.7: Act III, scene ii from Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 140

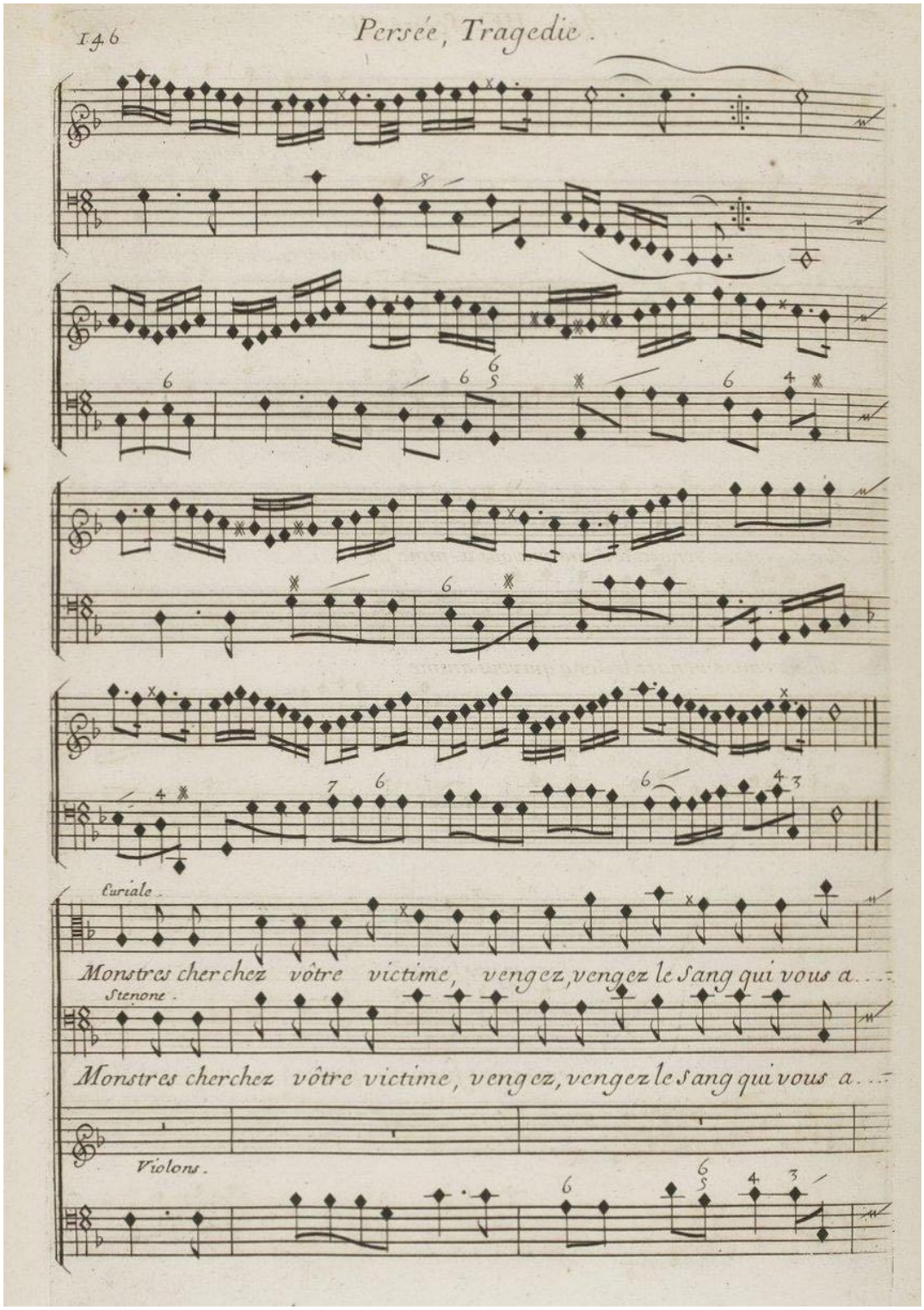


On the left of the engraving, where the dragon-like figure appears, Medusa's spilled blood has given birth to monsters, another quintessentially supernatural feature of French baroque opera **(see again Illustration 3.18)**. Here they have their own distinct music within the act, an *entrée* full of continuous sixteenth-notes **(see Ex. 3.8)**; the excitement is manifest in repeated ascending *tirades* as the demons arise, while the remaining Gorgons, awake once more now that Medusa is slain, call upon them to exact vengeance.

Example 3.8: Act III, scene iv from Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen, pp. 145-146

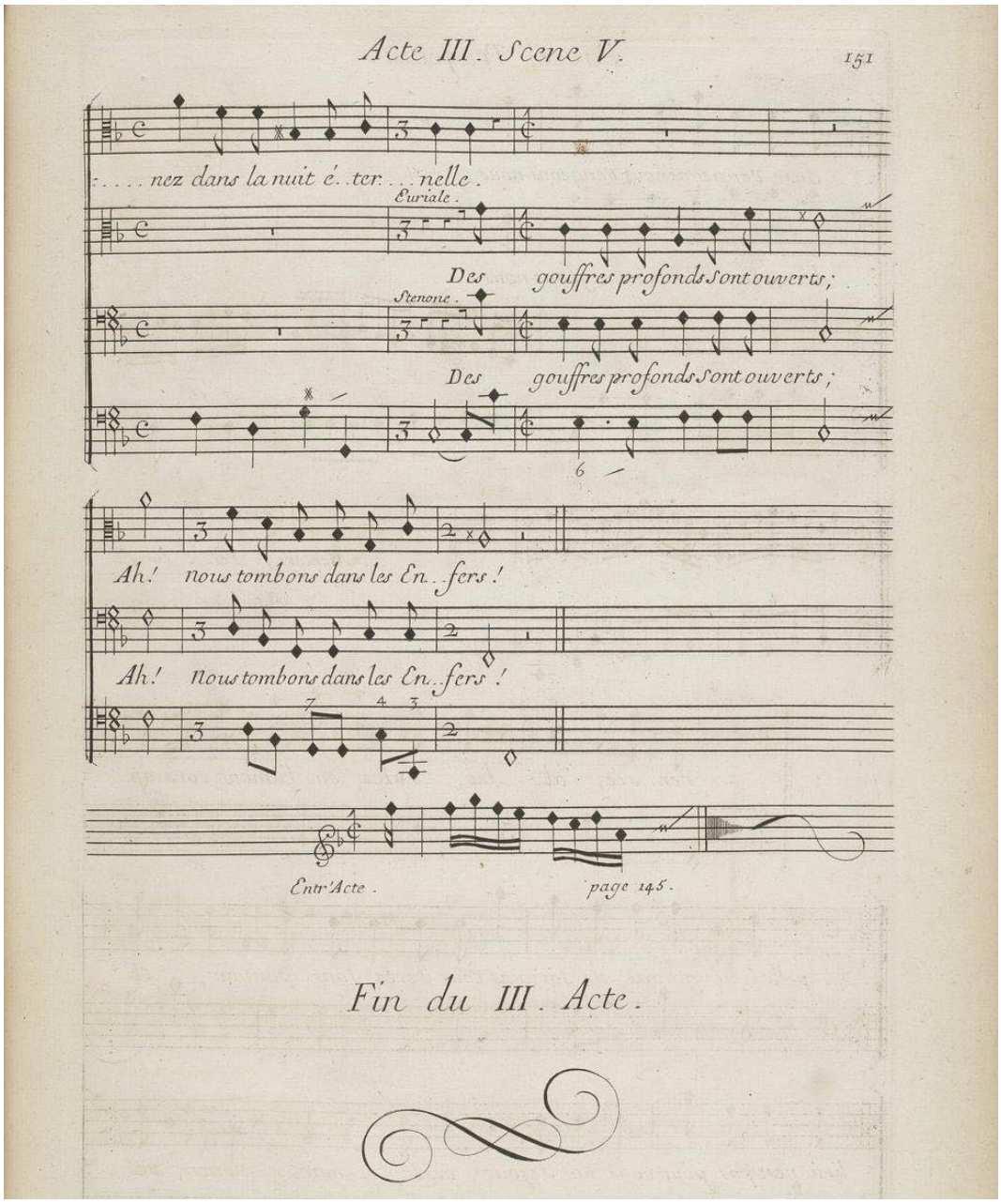


Example 3.8 (Continued)



On the right, meanwhile, Mercury condemns the remaining Gorgons to the "eternal night," and we see them sinking down into the flaming abyss **(see again Illustration 3.18)**. The act then closes with the Gorgons tumbling into the musical depths **(see Ex. 3.9)**.

Example 3.9: Act III, scene v from Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 151



Act IV of *Persée* is, if anything, even more dramatic, offering a combination of the most fantastical musical tropes of the era: a monster *and*

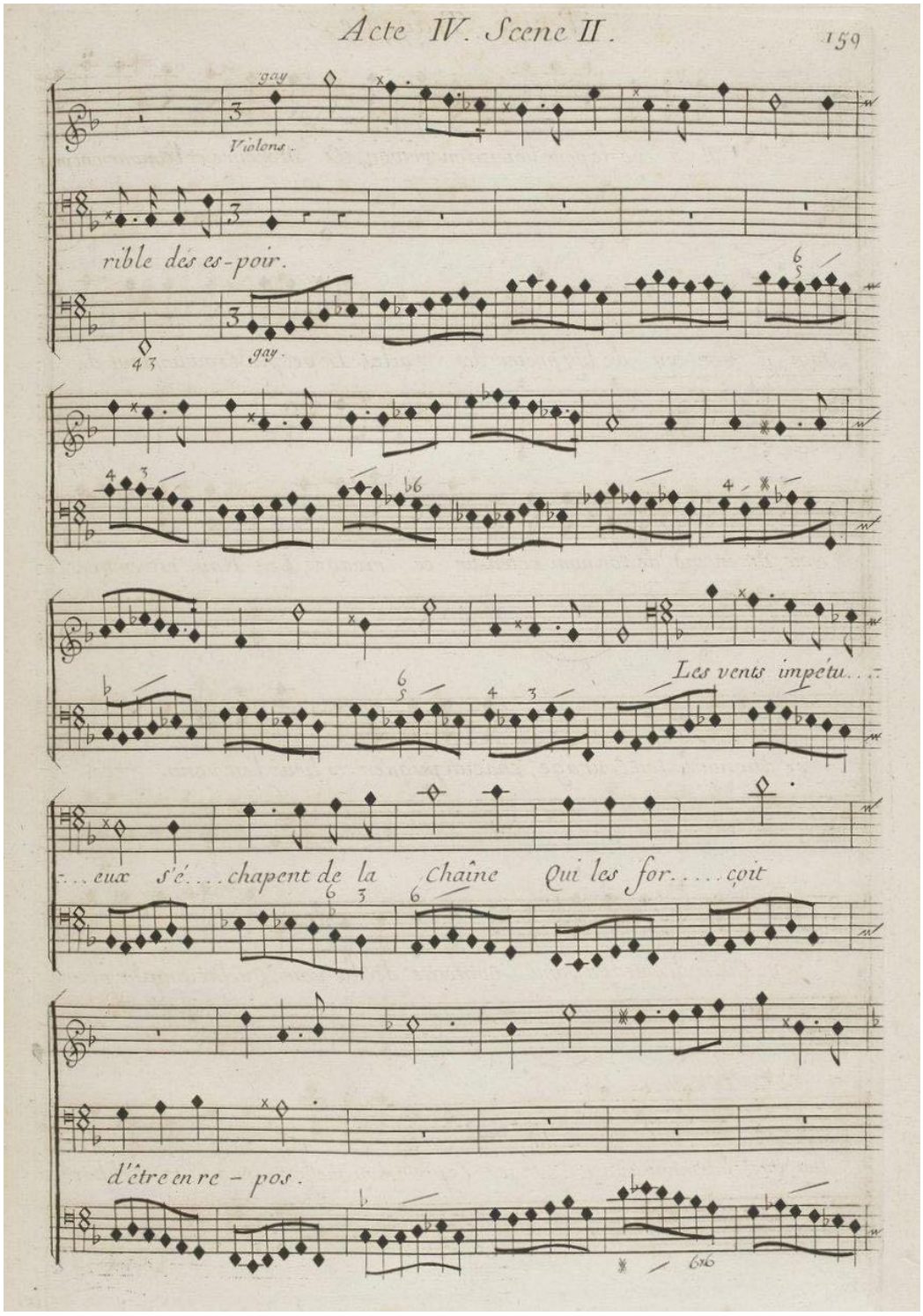
a tempest. Naturally, Duplessis's engraving depicts Perseus flying through the air attacking a sea monster in the storm **(see Illustration 3.19)**.

Illustration 3.19: Engraving to Act IV of Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen (1710)

And Lully's music provides ample sonic representation, beginning with the "impetuous" winds of the "tempête soudain," which first stir in the depths of the bass-line as running eighth-notes **(see Ex. 3.10)**. Interrupting the singers, the bass rises a tenth and swirls about the octave above for

seventeen measures, before slowly falling back down below the vocal lines (visible beginning in the first stave of p. 159).

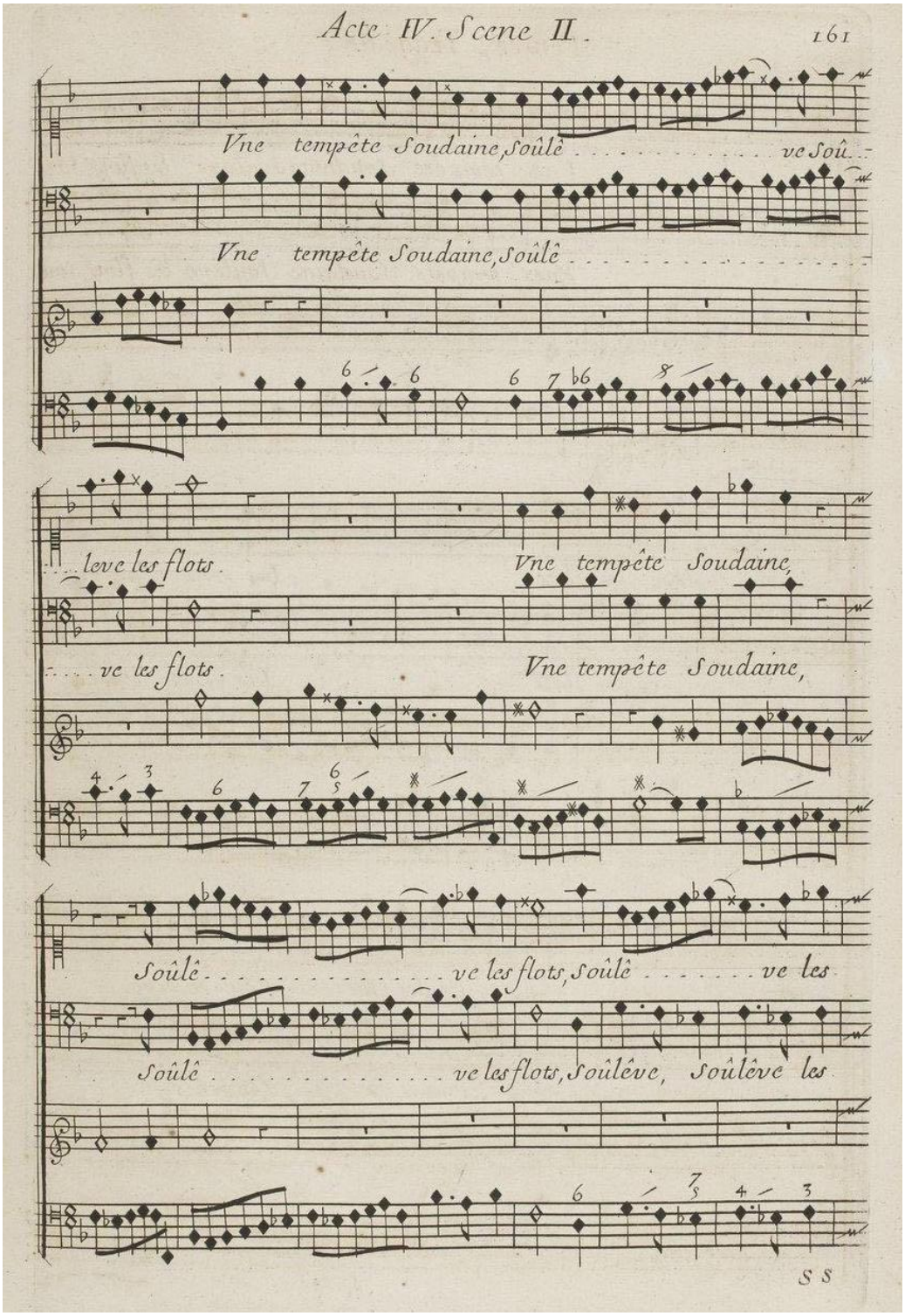
Example 3.10: Act IV, scene ii from Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 159



But shortly thereafter, the vocal lines themselves begin to participate: they are swept into the motion of the bass precisely as the singers express the fact that the winds are making the waves "rise" **(see Ex. 3.11)**. This interaction operates on a larger level as a metaphor for the passions of the onlookers in the plot, who, of course, are involved in complex love triangles with one another. Their response to the storm is to declare that "amorous and jealous hearts are a hundred times more troubled than [the sea]."[532]

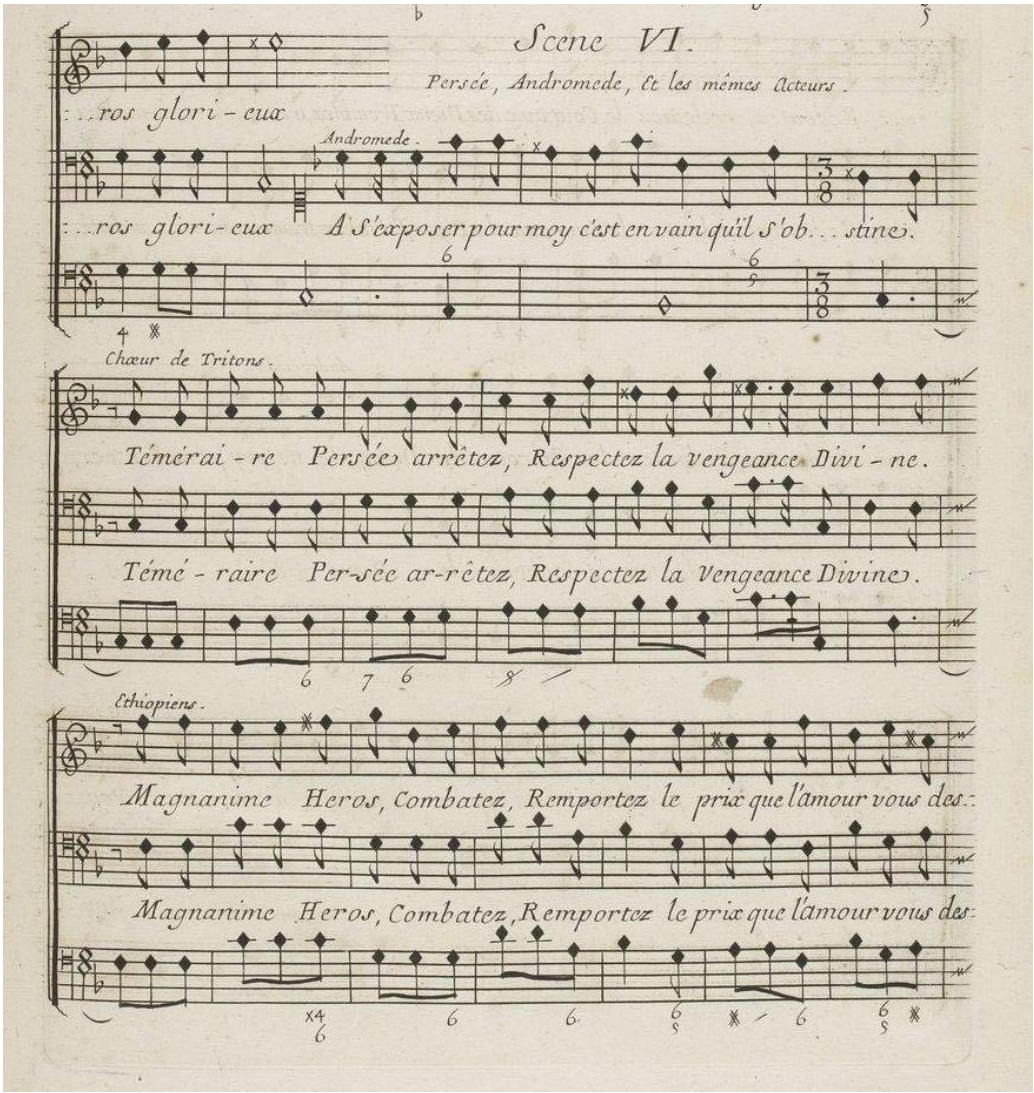
532. The text reads, "Coeurs amoureux et jaloux sont plus agitez que vôtre onde, Les Coeurs amoureux et jaloux sont cent fois plus troublez que vous [Mer]." See Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Persée* (Paris: H. de Baussen, 1710), 163.

Example 3.11: Act IV, scene ii from Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 161



Out of this bedlam, a monster rises to consume Andromeda, who Tritons (visible on the lower right) have abducted and chained to a rock **(see again Illustration 3.19)**. In this act, the monster itself is spoken about in third person (that is, described by the other characters) and has very little of its "own" music, but its vile nature is suggested associatively by the air of Phinée, who cheers the beast on, preferring to see Andromeda (his betrothed) consumed than in the arms of his rival Perseus. A battle then plays out musically through the eyes (and mouths) of two choruses, who war sonically with one another, spurring on the monster and Perseus by turns **(see Ex. 3.12)**. A chorus of Tritons instructs Perseus to respect the divine vengeance embodied by the monster, while a chorus of Ethiopians calls upon Perseus to kill the beast. Each sing their text in rapid-fire triplets, and their alternation becomes faster and faster. The mayhem of the battle finally reaches a musical peak in three-note exchanges delivered by each chorus, eventually chanting "Arrêtez, Combatez, Arrêtez…" Perseus, of course, prevails, and with the interjection of a final melodic gasp (visible in the third stave of p. 189), the monster seems to slide back into the sea **(see Ex. 3.13)**.

Example 3.12: Act IV, scene vi from Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen, pp. 183-184



Example 3.12 (Continued)

184 Persée, Tragedie.

Tritons. Ethiopiens.

...ti-ne. Té-mérai-re Per-sée, arrêtez. Magnanime Heros Combat...

...tine. Té-mérai-re Persée arrêtez. Magnanime Heros Combat...

Tritons. Ethiopiens. Tritons.

...tez, Arrêtez, Combatez, Ar-rêtez, respectez, la vengeance Di-vi-ne.

...tez, Arrêtez, Combatez, Ar-rêtez, respectez, la vengeance Di-vine.

Ethiop. Tritons. Ethiop.

Arrêtez, Combatez, Arrêtez, Combattez, remportez le prix que l'a...

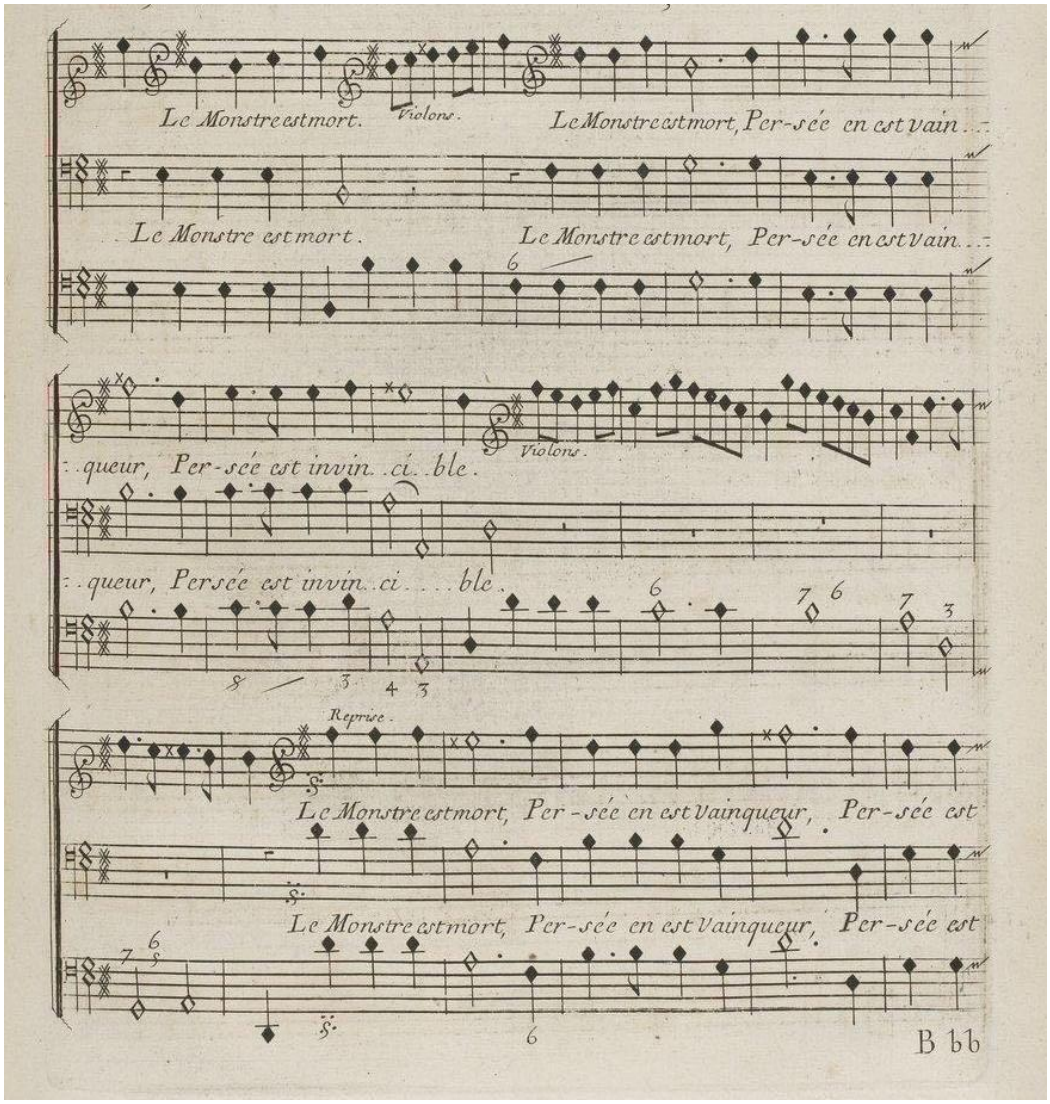
Arrêtez, Combattez, Arrêtez, Combattez, remportez le prix que l'a...

Tritons. Ethiop. Tritons.

...mour vous desti-ne. Combattez, Arrêtez, Combattez, Arrêtez, Respec...

...mour vous desti-ne. Combattez, Arrêtez, Combattez, Arrêtez, Respec...

Example 3.13: Act IV, scene vi from Lully's *Persée*, ed. H. de Baussen, p. 189



If we see the decorative engraved images inserted into these scores as doing no more than attempting to represent plot events, then their interpretation is straightforward. But I would argue that, for viewers of these editions who had witnessed a live production, these prints function partly as

interpreters of lived events with memorably pictorial and affective music. For those who had not heard Lully's music in the flesh, the prints act as a bridge tying the text and musical notation into a single object that attempts to recapture and reenact the liveness, the multi-sensory experience, of the opera. And this suggests that we should resist the temptation to view these as "simply" musical texts, mere conveyers of the necessary notation to record (and revive) a musical work. In fact, their manifold nature as objects implies a distinct attempt to *perform* the operatic experience; in the process, they become aesthetic "works" in-and-of themselves.

Kate van Orden has observed that, "from the very outset, printed texts have been remaking social life."[533] As these editions demonstrate, printed texts, by their very participation in social life, also remake *history*. These works clearly played an important role as objects of cultural memory. If, as Patricia Ranum has argued, Foucault and his copyists were "participating in the creation of a veritable 'museum' of Lully's works during the 1690s,"[534] then it is logical to see the second editions of Lully's operas as extensions of this museum-building process. As objects responsible for conveying traces of the past to succeeding generations, they both memorialize and

533. Kate van Orden, "Introduction," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, Kate van Orden, ed. (New York: Garland, 2000), xii.
534. Ranum, "Lully en trio," 319.

monumentalize, offering in very tangible terms a *re-inscription* of France's Golden Age.

The Baussen editions reveal clues about the patterns of use of operatic scores amongst their audience. Those patterns were shaped in fundamental ways by the visual aspects of the musical product, and by a larger audience taste for the visual in the composition itself. The editions, as reduced scores, were designed for realization at the keyboard by the non-professional aficionado, and they no doubt enjoyed this type of use. But their extraordinary visual nature also speaks to a desire to treat such objects as collectibles, the possession of which causes social and cultural prestige to accrue to the owner. Indeed, the emphasis these scores place on visuality as a whole transmutes the broad cultural value of Lully's music into one of material ownership for the privileged individual. Part of that privilege was the ability to commune with Lully's music through private contemplation, much as was the pattern for contemporary collectors of engraved prints. The embedding of images within the musical score facilitates that musical communion by enacting the process of imitation twice: the user of the volume is treated to parallel depictions of a variety of subjects in both visual and musical terms, ranging from supernatural events to specific passions. Such private contemplation of the music could thus be accomplished

through the eye, or some combination of the processes of viewing, playing, and or/remembering past sonic experiences (i.e., performances of Lully's operas). The Baussen editions thus testify to an oft-overlooked mode of use of musical editions; that is, the consumption of music through forms of seeing and "reading."

CHAPTER 4

VISUALITY AND THE INSTRUMENTAL *PIÈCE DE CARACTÈRE*

In the previous chapter I explored the position of Lullian operatic reprints within the book-publishing and engraving-collecting cultures of early eighteenth-century France, with the aim of establishing a sense of the ways in which music could be "visual" for listeners and consumers. I have shown how lavish illustrations could work in tandem with imitative instrumental music to enhance the desirability, collectibility, and intelligibility of music as a purchased product. In the following chapter, I will examine the use of engraved illustrations in instrumental pieces outside the context of a large-scale staged work, taking their appearance in some character-piece publications as an optimal confluence of "depictive" goals within musical culture of the day. This confluence offers the possibility of imagining potential connections between musical and visual spheres, and allows us to explore the ways in which the musical and illustrative content of a given musical publication could have inflected the interpretations of contemporary users and listeners.

The chapter that follows progresses in a series of small sections. I begin by re-examining what, if any, relevance the comments of important

theorists like Dubos and Batteux might have had for the amateur instrumental repertory, particularly character pieces. I then attempt to explore some of the potential dangers associated with assuming that character pieces are by default "depictive," and I outline contemporary implications of the word "caractère." Finally, I offer an overview of the development of engraved illustrations within volumes of French instrumental works for keyboard, paying special attention to moments in which literal or conceptual connections might be perceived. This ultimately leads to discussion of two of the most important composers who routinely offered musical publications with an emphasis on the visual to the public, Michel Corrette and Jean-François Dandrieu. Chapter 5, designed as a partner to the present chapter, will attempt to apply the very general framework established in here in a case-study of visuality in Dandrieu's *Premier, Second,* and *Troisième Livres de pièces de clavecin.*

Aesthetics of Instrumental Music Outside the Operatic Context

As I have outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, Dubos and Batteux have much to say on the status of instrumental music, even if they are at times equivocal about its ability to actually express the passions in the absence of words. It should, moreover, be noted that they are at times inconsistent with

themselves (particularly Batteux) as they attempt to translate opinions on sonic and pictorial matters into prose form. Indeed, the frequency with which they seem to contradict themselves points to the difficulty in discussing this kind of aesthetic subject for both us and them.

Dubos is willing to acknowledge the power of instrumental music to move the listener, even if these sounds consist only of "simple imitations of inarticulate noise," and are therefore "mere bastard sounds."[535] But he upholds the value of instrumental imitation of sounds and natural phenomena only in the context of operatic *symphonies*, the general term by which he refers to predominantly instrumental music within the opera.[536] Indeed, such musical imitations (whose value is to be judged based strictly on probable verisimilitude[537]) are inseparable from, and valid only in conjunction with, a larger context:

> These musical pieces, which make so sensible an impression upon us when they constitute a part of the theatrical action, would afford but

535. Abbé [Jean-Baptiste] Dubos, *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting, and Music with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Theatrical Entertainment of the Ancients*, trans. Thomas Nugent (London: John Nourse, 1748), 1:365. "Mere bastard sounds" is Nugent's translation of "*Ne soient que de simples imitations d'un bruit inarticulé, & s'il faut parler ainsi, des sons qui n'ont que la moitié de leur être* [sic]*, & une demi vie.*" Emphasis original. Abbé Jean-Baptiste Dubos], *Reflexions critiques sur la poesie et sur la peinture*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jean Mariette, 1719), I:640. But Dubos himself is actually quoting Longinus, and Nugent has instead followed Boileau's 1674 translation, which reads "…ne sont que des images et de simples imitations de la voix, qui ne disent et ne persuadent rien, n'estant, s'il faut parler ainsi, que *des sons bastards*, et non point, comme j'ai dit, des effets de la nature de l'homme." My emphasis. Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours*, in *Oeuvres diverses Du Sieur D**** (Paris: Chez la Veuve de la Coste, 1674), 80. See also p. 113, fn. 216 above.
536. See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "SYMPHONIE," in *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: chez la Veuve Duchesne, 1768), 467. See also p. 90, fn. 154 above.
537. Dubos, *Critical Reflections*, trans. Nugent, 370-371.

> very little pleasure if they were to be heard as sonatas, or as detached scraps of symphonies, by a person who never heard them at the opera, and who would consequently pass judgment on them, without being acquainted with their greatest merit; that is, with the relation they have to the action, in which they play, as it were, their part. [538]

Batteux, on the other hand, is less concerned with specifying whether imitative instrumental music belongs only in the context of opera. He is much more focused on asserting that music must signify, or have a '*sens,*'—and that signification derives from the fact that all musical sounds find their model, or "the beginning of the expression" in nature.[539] It is on this basis, as discussed in Chapter 2, that he can posit the existence of two types of music: one that imitates "unimpassioned" sounds, which corresponds to landscape painting; and one that imitates "animated" sounds, which corresponds to portrait painting.[540] As I have described, Batteux then moves to providing examples (presumably of the first category) which the composer might endeavor to paint—a thunderstorm, a brook, a zephyr, or the rumbling of the earth—along with supernatural topics, such as the "trembling of a Shade as it exits the tomb."[541]

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538. Ibid., 372.
539. [Charles Batteux], *Les beaux arts reduits a un même principe* (Paris: Durand, 1746), 265.
540. Ibid., 266. "Il y a deux sortes de Musique: l'une qui n'imite que les sons & les bruits non-passionés: elle répond au paysage dans la Peinture: l'autre qui exprime les sons animés, & qui tiennent aux sentimens: c'est la tableau à personnage." See also my discussion of this quotation in Chapter 2, p. 158.
541. Ibid., 266-267. "Le Musicien n'est pas plus libre que le Peintre: il est par-tout, & constamment soumis à la comparaison qu'on fait de lui avec la Nature. S'il peint un orage, un ruisseau, un Zéphir; ses tons sont dans la Nature, il ne peut les prendre que là. S'il peint un objet idéal, qui n'ait jamais eu de réalité, comme

Although Batteux does not state outright that this type of depiction is acceptable only within the context of French opera, it is impossible not to notice that the examples he provides are the subject of countless numbers in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century *tragédies lyriques*. Indeed, the scenario he cites in which a spectre exits a tomb is explicitly dramatic (and *merveilleux*) in nature, and, as we have seen, "storm" music was by this time a well-worn topic in opera.[542] We should be little surprised, then, when Batteux takes it as a given that the *symphonie* is capable of signifying, even if it has only a "half-life" (nor, for that matter, should we be surprised when he immediately—and very conventionally—reminds us that music with words is nevertheless still one step superior!):

> Music, being significative in the symphony, where it has only a half-life, only half of its being—what will it then be in song, where it becomes the painting of the human heart?[543]

This statement acts as a point of transition for Batteux, in that he leaves his discussion of the first type of music (that which imitates "unimpassioned" sounds), and turns to the second type (that which stems from the "sentiments"). Linguistically, he appears to differentiate between the two

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seroit le mugissement de la Terre, le frémissement d'un Ombre qui sortiroit du tombeau…" Unfortunately, Batteux offers us no examples of the second category (portrait painting) in the immediate vicinity of his comments on landscape and portrait painting in music.

542. See also p. 159, fn. 331..

543. Ibid., 267. "La Musique, étant significative dans la symphonie, où elle n'a qu'une demi-vie, que la moitié de son être, que sera-t'elle dans le chant, où elle devient le tableau du coeur humain?"

with the terms *symphonie* and *chant*.[544] For Batteux, it is the latter, "song," which operates according to the logic of discernible passions, although evidently those passions need not necessarily be given explicit names by the listener (such as "love," "joy," or "sadness," etc.) in order to be discerned.[545] This necessarily places song in a higher category of musical signification.

For Batteux, the ability to signify is central to music's capacity to have what he terms "character" (*caractère*), the absence of which is a marker of "the worst of all musics."[546] He implies that the foundation of this character lies in the modeling of all musical sounds on Nature,[547] and is one of the necessary components of "expression."[548] But ultimately, he says character is to be found in the "subject" of the music:

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544. It must be noted that the word "chant" seems to have had multiple uses in the eighteenth century. Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de Musique*, for example, lists three senses. The most basic meaning of *chant* is the actual act of forming and varying sounds with the voice (i.e., singing), but Rousseau also acknowledges that in some contexts in French music, *chant* may refer specifically to the melody line. Finally, he tells us that in the most common sense, especially when "mixed [with instruments] in a *sypmhonie*," the word *chant* refers specifically to vocal music or distinct vocal parts (as opposed to instrumental parts). I believe it is this latter meaning Batteux intends to suggest when he places the word "chant" in contradistinction to "symphonie." See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Chant," in *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris: chez la veuve Duchesne, 1768), 82-83.
545. Batteux, 268.
546. Ibid., 265. "La plus mauvaise de toutes les musiques est celle qui n'a point de caractère."
547. Ibid. Batteux follows the above comment on character with the statement, "There is no sound in Art which does not have its model in Nature, and which must not be, at least, a beginning of [the] expression, as a letter or syllable is in a word." ("Il n'y a pas un son de l'Art, qui n'ait son modéle dans la Nature, & qui ne doive être, au moins, un commencement d'expression, comme un lettre ou une syllable l'est dans la parole.")
548. Ibid., 271.

> The fundamental character of the expression is in the subject: it is this which marks the degree of elevation or simplicity of the style, of the gentleness or forcefulness that suits it.[549]

It is clear that the kind of "character" or "subject" Batteux intends here is one of the passions (he cites "joy" as one of his examples), but the multiple senses of the word *caractère* are revealed by the footnote into which he then launches. (I include the footnote in its entirety both here and in Chapter 1, since it is crucial to a discussion of musical depiction.) Here he excoriates composers who stoop to painting ideas that are "accessory" to the subject, such as a brook or zephyr—subjects that he has already validated elsewhere as "image[s] musicale[s]." But, crucially, he offers some reconciliation to this apparent contradiction: such tone-painting is permissible as long as the images are subsumed by, and founded within, the "general character" of that which is being expressed:

> Our Musicians often sacrifice this general Tone, this Expression of the soul which must be exuded throughout the entirety of a piece of Music, to an accessory idea [which is] almost indifferent to the principal Subject. They stop to paint a brook, a zephyr or some other word which makes a musical image. All these particular expressions must come back into the Subject: & if they preserve their own

549. Ibid., 271. "Le caractère fondamental de l'expression est dans le sujet: c'est lui qui marque au style le dégré d'élévation ou de simplicité, de douceur ou de la force qui lui convient." See also my discussion of this quotation and its context in Chapter 2, pp. 159-160, fn. 333.

> character, it must be founded, as it were, in the general character of the sentiment which is expressed.[550]

For Batteux, then, musical depiction retains aesthetic viability in select contexts, even if it is subsidiary to, or simply one element of, the higher task of expressing the passions. Indeed, to sum up (much as I have done in Chapter 2), it would appear that he considers various levels of "character" to exist: a lower type involving the imitation of concrete things and natural phenomena (i.e., musical or tone-painting), and a higher type that he terms the "caractère général du sentiment" (see quotation above). I would add here, however, that the way he aligns these categories with the terms *symphonie* and *chant* suggests that the lower type consists primarily of instrumental music, while the latter has (predominantly) words, or at least a clear, verbal reference (usually in the form of a title) to an "impassioned" subject (such as the name of a passion itself, or even the name of a specific individual in a musical portrait in whom passions can be said to occur). Thus, the painting of brooks and breezes may be a valid component of instrumental *symphonies*, as an important means of supplying the music with a sense (*sens*). But in *chant musical*, such effects *must* be harnessed in pursuit of

550. Ibid., fn. "a," 271-272. "Souvent nos Musiciens sacrificent ce Ton général, cette Expression de l'ame qui doit être répandue dans tout un morceau de Musique, à une idée accessoire & presque indifférente au Sujet principale. Ils s'arrêtent pour peindre un Ruisseau, un Zéphyr, ou quelqu'autre mot qui fait image musicale. Toutes ces expressions particulieres doivent rentrer dans le Sujet: & si elles y conservent leur caractère propre, il faut que ce soit en se fondant, pour ainsi dire, dans le caractère général du sentiment qu'on exprime."

expressing a higher level of "character": a passion.[551] In effect, Batteux articulates two different modes by which one understands music: a mode in which musical painting is an aesthetically valid tool for providing at least some meaning (especially in the absence of lyrics); and a higher mode that aspires to the representation of human emotions, in which such painting is inappropriate or allowable only under the very strictest of circumstances.

Although Batteux never explicitly states it, according to the metaphor he has already introduced, the lower, painterly mode would seem to correspond with what he has called "landscape painting"; the higher, sentiment-based kind would thus be aligned with "portrait painting." Under his logic, then, I see the repertoire discussed in this dissertation as classifiable in the following way: instrumental *symphonies* in the operatic context concerned with expressing storms or monsters, as well as character pieces with titles referring to objects, actions, events, places, natural phenomena, and animals (usually birds), would fall under the "landscape painting" category. Character pieces with titles referring to persons (that therefore allow the composer the potential to express a passion), or vocal music with lyrics devoted to the representation of human emotions, would fall into the

551. Further implications of the word "caractère" will be explored in the next section of this chapter.

upper, "portrait painting" mode.[552] The majority of the discussion that follows is concerned with the lower—and thus more frequently dismissed—of these two categories.

Character Pieces: The Complexity of Titles, "Caractère," and Musical Painting

Batteux's theory on the power of instrumental music to "signify" is suggestive when when held up to the other, non-operatic vehicle through which French audiences would have encountered overt tone-painting in the early eighteenth century: *pièces de caractère*, or *pièces caracterisées*.[553] The notion of viewing music as either a kind of "landscape painting" or "portrait painting," as Batteux proposes, provides a very useful framework for thinking of eighteenth-century character pieces as—at least at times—comparable to discrete visual, and even staged, scenes. Removed from a larger dramatic context, character pieces must rely on the connotations of their title and some brand of musical allegory should they opt to be truly

552. In this, I follow David Fuller, whose discussion in the *New Grove* article on "François Couperin" makes use of Batteux's *sons passionées* vs. *sons non-passionées* distinction to differentiate between those of Couperin's character pieces that may be thought of as "portraits" or even "self-portraits," from the more conventional type of character piece, concerned with anything from "bluntly naive" representations of natural phenomena to self-referentially describing their own compositional processes. David Fuller, et al., "Couperin," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed August 6, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40182pg4).
553. David Fuller locates the coining of the actual term "pièces caractérizées" (*sic*) in the preface to Marin Marais's fourth book of viol pieces (1717). See Fuller, "Of Portraits, 'Sapho' and Couperin: Titles and Characters in French Instrumental Music of the High Baroque," *Music and Letters* 78, no. 2 (May, 1997): 169.

imitative. This depictive quality in turn supplies the character piece with an aesthetically valid *sens*, a simple but crucial means by which the listener can comprehend the meaning of music without lyrics. Indeed, the very nature of their name in French suggests that perhaps character pieces might, on an individual basis, be thought of as distillations, component pieces, or "expressions particulières," of the larger type of passion-based *caractère* Batteux demands of more complex forms of music (namely, opera).

I hasten to add here that I do not imply that all character pieces are necessarily "depictive," nor that they are by default concerned with visuality above all else. In fact, pinning down character pieces is notoriously difficult for the very fact that they may offer a wide range of types of references to objects, feelings, or ideas outside the music (or, at times, even techniques within the music). Thus, attempting to retrospectively define what exactly a "character piece" *is*, and whether or not it constitutes a genre, is far from simple. The *New Grove Dictionary* defines it simply as "a piece of music … expressing either a single mood (e.g., martial, dream-like, pastoral) or a programmatic idea defined by its title."[554] The remainder of the *Grove* definition, however, adopts a very nineteenth- and twentieth-century point of view: the author, Maurice Brown, mentions only that the genre was

554. Maurice J. E. Brown, "Characteristic [Character]-Piece," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online.* (Oxford University Press, accessed July 23, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05443).

"anticipated" by pieces of Rameau and Couperin.[555] In fact, much modern literature seems to use the term "character piece" to refer very loosely to an eighteenth-century, French, secular work for keyboard, possessing a title that refers to something beyond the music itself (i.e., something extramusical, or even programmatic), or to salient gestures of the composition itself, or some combination of the above features. But even this loose definition excludes pieces written for other instruments: *pièces de caractère* cannot be taken as synonymous for *pièces de clavecin,* for notable examples of titled works also occur in eighteenth-century repertoire for wind instruments (such as Michel de la Barre's *1er livre de pièces*, Op. 4 [1702] and Hotteterre's *Premier livre de pieces Pour la Flute-traversiere, et autres Instruments*, Op. 2 [1708/1715]) and trio-sonata-like ensembles (such as Couperin's *Les Nations* [1726]). And, of course, although the term *pièces caractèrisées* seems to have been coined in France in the early eighteenth century (i.e., a relatively specific composerly milieu),[556] titles that may or may not suggest a kind of imitation can also be found across some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century repertories(most notably, the works of Clément Janequin).[557]

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555. Ibid.
556. See fn. 553 above.
557. Janequin is in fact most famous for his imitative chansons, including *Le chant des oiseaux, La chasse, Les cris de Paris,* and *La bataille*, all of which employ distinct "onomatopoeic" effects. See Howard Mayer Brown and Richard Freedman, "Janequin [Jannequin], Clément," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed July 24, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14127).

Since it is far beyond the scope of this project, I too will not attempt to draw definitive borders around what constitutes a "character piece." But the crux of the issue in the eighteenth century, and for the purposes of my discussion, lies in the nature of the relationship between the title and the music to which it is attached. In fact, of all their possible features, a title—*not necessarily* accompanied by mimetic musical gestures—seems to be the one relatively stable feature of works we call "character pieces."[558] And as such, my study will be confined mainly to examples of titled works in French keyboard collections, since this body of works alone more than suffices to show the range of types of depiction that may (or may not) be implied by a character piece and its title.

David Fuller, whose work on both character pieces and *pièces de clavecin* remains the most comprehensive, has attempted to parse out the thorny problem of titles in detail. He concludes,

> …the Baroque period yields a few illuminating statements on the subject [of character piece titles], and their message, unfortunately, is that without some such declaration, and in the absence of some obvious cliché of musical depiction like battle fanfares, rustic drones, or bird-like warbling, we cannot possibly be sure what the significance of a given title is, or even whether it has any meaning at all, given the diversity and unpredictability of their approaches.[559]

558. David Fuller's discussion of them, for example, appears to be based on precisely this criterion: his main interest is in pieces with "titles suggesting some kind of imitation," though his discussion of the many types of titles available is one of the most extensive. Fuller, "Of Portraits, 'Sapho' and Couperin," 162.
559. Ibid., 164.

Such uncertainty lies in the fact that, beyond the literally depictive, character-piece titles may belong to any number of different categories, including references to popular tunes, proper names of real people, and names of things, qualities, actions, or types of persons. Even if the title reference is decipherable to us, the intended relationship between the title and the music it introduces—be it relatively "straight-forward" depiction, a politically and economically savvy dedication, simply an *hommage*, or something else entirely—is often far from clear. To suggest, thus, that all character pieces and their titles are "depictive" would be to grossly obscure the diversity of their nature.

Statements from composers themselves on the nature of their titles can be found in the prefatory material of several collections of character pieces, and have been catalogued efficiently by Fuller. They range from the explicit denial of any intended connection between the music and the title, such as Michel de la Barre's warning that his titles claimed in no way to indicate the character of persons or places,[560] to a full embracing of possible connections, such as Couperin's famous claim that some of his titled

560. Michel de la Barre, *1er livre de pièces* (Paris: 1710); translated by David Fuller in "Of Portraits, 'Sapho' and Couperin," 164, as "…I have taken the names either from persons who did them the honour of liking them or from the places where I composed them, without claiming in any way to indicate their character by these names."

movements might be thought of as "kinds of portraits," which were "sometimes […]found to be reasonable likenesses under [his] fingers."[561]

Several other problems make the certainty of the "subject" (as Batteux would call it) of any given character piece difficult to determine with any confidence. More than one composer would ultimately decide to change the titles of his pieces upon republication, perhaps to update them according to the fashion of the day. For example, some of Couperin's trio-sonatas from the 1690s changed titles when published as *Les Nations* in 1726: *La Pucelle* (the Virgin), *La Visionnaire* (the Visionary), and *L'Astrée* (probably a reference to the heroine of Honoré d'Urfé's novel by the same name) became movements referring to national characters, respectively *La Françoise*, *L'Espagnole*, and *La Pietmontoise*.[562] And, according to Fuller, in at least one case titles seem to have been added in the absence of the composer by the copyist of Sainte-Colombe's *Concerts à deux violes esgales* (after 1687).[563] Fascinatingly, the copyist included explanations for his title choices; they range from describing the character of the opening melody, to designations evidently intended to convey the copyist's critical approval.

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561. François Couperin, *Pièces de clavecin* (1713), unpaginated. A full translation of this lengthy passage is supplied in Fuller, "Of Portraits, 'Sapho' and Couperin," 167.
562. Ibid., 165. Above and beyond the questionable premise of their being "depictive," one might further question the status of these works as "French character pieces" insofar as Couperin claimed them to be Italian sonatas, each of which was prefaced by a suite of French dances. See David Fuller et al., "Couperin," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed May 11, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40182pg4).
563. Fuller, "Of Portraits," 166.

The relationship between title and music in French character pieces is thus—to say the least!—slippery. But despite how thoroughly I have attempted to problematize the notion of "depiction," character pieces *were* nevertheless a category in which musical consumers would have encountered music with varying degrees of deliberate reference to the extra-musical, and at times, specifically the visual. For all the caveats presented here, the very notion that a genre of "character pieces" exists (however fuzzy its borders might be) relies on the idea that titled pieces are at least suggestive of *some* brand of imitation—that some reference is constructed between the music and and an external idea. There is, save perhaps for the potential benefits of offering flattery to a patron, little reason to preface a piece with a title unless the composer wishes to suggest that they be read in relation to one another in some manner by the musical consumer. Even to dismiss such titles as a mere lure to entice potential purchasers (an issue Fuller considers briefly[564]) relies on the assumption that the musical consumer might find the juxtaposition of title and music desirable for some purpose.

Whatever the original intent behind the attaching of a given title to a given piece, then, a potential musical purchaser would have had reason to imagine a range of possible connections between the two based on his/her

564. Ibid., 164.

experience and pool of cultural knowledge. A viewer or performer first looking at the score would have confronted both title and piece in a similar state of unfamiliarity. Even in the absence of direct acknowledgment of the connection (such as Couperin supplies in the preface above), the user of the volume was implicitly invited to consider their relationship. The exploration of potential meanings, then, would necessarily be founded on each individual's reading of current literary, pictorial, and social references, as well as clichéd musical gestures.

While debate over the exact relationship between titles and the character pieces they designate is inevitable, we should not, however, assume this meant that the relationship was *necessarily* clearer to the performer or listener in the eighteenth century. And that may not have been looked upon as a bad thing. Indeed, the very multifariousness of the relationship between music and title may have been one of the desirable traits of the character piece as a genre. If the title acted as a method of referring to the ostensible "subject" of a character piece—an aesthetic grounding insofar as this provided instrumental music with a "sense"—this function is not incompatible with the notion of viewing the title as a kind of prompt, by which the listener's imagination and intellect could be spurred into filling in or elaborating this "sense" with greater detail. Some of the value of the title

(in combination with the music), thus, may have lain in its capacity for suggestiveness; indeed, the process of this fleshing-out could have constituted one of the central charms of the character piece genre. Like operatic *symphonies*, then, the character piece acquired meaning associatively—that is, through its positioning alongside other factors that offered an array of connotations. [565] Instead of being brought into connection with characters and drama as happens in opera or ballet, this instrumental music gains meaning(s) for the listener by being in the presence of words (that is, titles or subtitles) and, at times, I will argue, engraved imagery.

Thinking of a title as a kind of nucleus around which more detailed ideas might be imagined by the listener or performer is not a practice that necessarily needs to be confined to those character pieces with overt tone-painting. In parsing out the convoluted aesthetic arguments of the time, Richard Will has noted that musical mimesis tended ultimately to be distilled into one of two basic categories: "expression" or "tone-painting":

> To express meant to imitate emotions, conceived of as the discrete, tangible states of mind called "characters" in the keyboard pieces of Reichardt and others; to paint meant to copy the sounds or motions of storms, running water, wind, birds, and battles, or simply to

565. Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10-11.

> suggest motion per se, especially ascent, descent, swiftness, and slowness. Expression ranked higher from the beginning, declared the proper goal of music in the foundational texts on art as mimesis by Jean-Baptiste DuBos and Charles Batteux.[566]

At times, the border between these two categories could be difficult to distinguish—indeed, for all their condemnation of tone-painting, Will points to a tacit acknowledgement of the difficulty in parsing the two out in later writings by Sulzer and Engel.[567] And titles suggesting the expression of "characters" (that is, the imitation of emotion or "states of mind") required no less "fleshing-out" than titles implying tone-painting. In both cases, listeners would have been familiar with attendant musical gestures implying motion or explicitly visual information: witness, for example, the proliferation of sighing or falling motives in pieces expressing sadness, despair, or crying across the eighteenth century. And as Will suggests, certain familiar *topoi* for which we might conventionally expect to "see" and hear tone-painting, such as storms or pastoral scenes, could at times be deeply intertwined with—or even tantamount to code for—the expression of familiar passions, such as agitation, fear, or tenderness.[568]

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566. Ibid., 130. Although Will's study is primarily concerned with depictive or "characteristic" music in later eighteenth-century Germany and Austria (hence the mention of Reichardt in the above quotation), the portion of his argument dealing with aesthetics is founded in the same early eighteenth-century French writings relevant to my discussion.
567. Will, 133-135.
568. Will, 133.

Although we often treat the word "character" colloquially as embodying abstract and even intangible qualities, patrons of character pieces in early eighteenth-century France, whether amateur performers or listeners, would have been familiar with the notion of thinking of character states in explicitly visual terms. Indeed, the word *caractère*, perhaps one of the most frequently-used and yet frustratingly ambiguous words in eighteenth-century French aesthetic writings, encompassed a slightly different valence of meanings than the modern English term. Jane R. Stevens has attempted to trace *caractère* in French writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[569] Its early uses are closely related to the word's meaning as a distinctive graphic mark or symbol. Beginning with Pierre Le Moyne's *Les peintures morales, ou les passions sont representées par Tableaux, par Characteres, et par Questions nouvelles et curieuses* of 1641, the word is treated as a description of the manifest, outward signs of the inner passions. Drawing on Seneca (among others), Le Moyne defines seven types of character; each description emphasizes above all the observable, and usually visible nature of character. In his fifth type, for example, the passions are displayed specifically by an "*external device,* and the *countenances* as they conform to the constitution and

569. Jane R. Stevens, "Caractère in Eighteenth-Century France," in *French Musical Thought, 1600-1800*, Georgia Cowart, ed. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 23-52.

effects of the passions."[570] Much later in the century, La Bruyère's *Les Caractères de Théophraste traduits du grec, avec les Caractères ou les Moeurs de ce siècle* (1688) made the construction of character portraits, in literary form and otherwise, an extremely popular (if occasionally scathingly critical) pastime amongst the upper classes.[571] Again, the use of *caractère* in this context was a way of classifying individuals based on the representation of their essential natures on the basis of *external* signs.[572]

But it was Charles Le Brun's *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*, first published in 1698, that was perhaps most responsible for popularizing the notion that each passion felt by the human body was accompanied by distinct physical gestures and visual cues. Le Brun sets out under the principle that "whatever causes Passion in the Soul, creates also some Action in the Body."[573] These actions together comprise "expression," a process that "intimates the emotions of the Soul, and renders visible the effects of

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570. My emphasis. Père Pierre Le Moyne, "Avertissement," in *Les peintures morales, ou les passions sont representees par Tableeaux, par Caracteres, et par Questions nouvelles et curieuses* (Avignon: Claude Berthier, 1641), [unpaginated]. "La cinquiesme sortes de Characteres, se fait par des Personnages representez avec un appareil exterieure, & et des visages conformes à la complexion & aux effets des passions." Also cited in Stevens, "Caractère," 26.
571. Stevens, "Caractère," 26. Stevens argues that La Bruyère's book is the point at which "the *caractère* portrait" attained the status of a "widely recognized genre." David Fuller has described the "parlour portrait" as a brief but intense fad in France in the 1650s; he sees La Bruyère's work as another flowering of the genre (in its literary form), driven primarily by La Bruyère's scandalously satirical portraits of real persons. See Fuller, "Of Portraits," 158.
572. Ibid.
573. Charles LeBrun, *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*… (Picart, 1698). I use here the widely circulated 1734 English edition, translated by John Williams as *A Method To learn to Design the Passions Proposed in a Conference on their General and Particular Expression* (London: printed for the author, 1734), 13. All further references are based on Williams's translation.

Passion."[574] And while Le Brun catalogues each passion's inner, corporeal characteristics (such as its effect on pulse), the bulk of his discourse is concerned with the external and visible effects of a passion on the body—which makes sense, given that his interest is one of a painter concerned with the visual representation of figures. Famously, he recorded these expressions in multiple (undated) series of engraved human heads (such as the following examples **[Illustrations 4.1a, 4.1b, 4.2a, and 4.22b]**), along with detailed descriptions of their effects upon the body.

Anger

> When Anger fills the soul, he who feels this passion has red and enflamed eyes, the pupils restless and shining, the eyebrows now lowered, now raised, and contracted against each other. The forehead will appear deeply furrowed, forming wrinkles between the eyes; the nostrils will be open and enlarged, the lips full and turned out and pressed against one another with the under lip raised over the upper, leaving the corners of the mouth slightly open to form a cruel and disdainful grin.
> He will appear to grind his teeth, and to foam at the mouth. His face will be pale in some places and enflamed in others; the veins of the forehead, temples, and neck will be swollen and taut, and his hair standing upright. He who feels this passion gasps rather than breathes, the heart being oppressed by the abundance of blood which flows to its aid.
> Rage and Despair sometimes follow Anger.[575]

574. LeBrun, *A Method*, trans. Williams, 12.
575. Translated by Jennifer Montagu, in *The Expression of the Passions: The origin and influence of Charles Le Brun's 'Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 138.

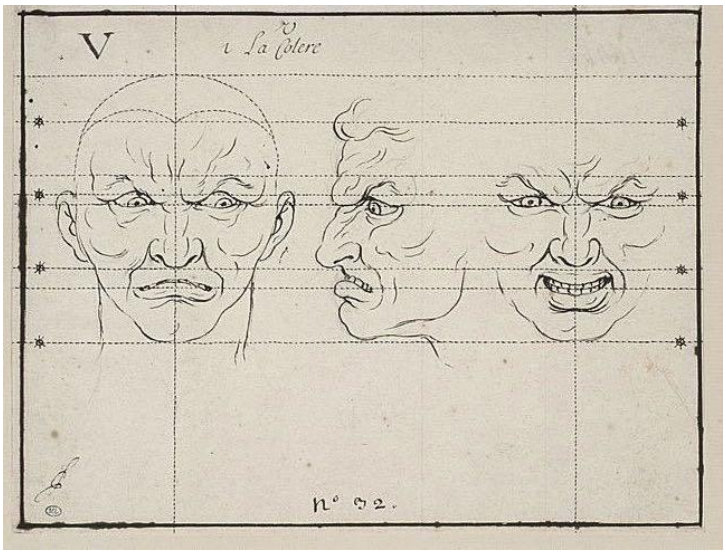

Illustration 4.1a: Charles Le Brun, "La Colere"[576]

Illustration 4.2b: Charles Le Brun, "La Colere"[577]

576. Reproduced from Image No. INV 28311, recto, in the "Album Le Brun Charles," acquired in 1690 by the *Cabinet du Roy*, now preserved in the collection of Musée du Louvre. Reproduction freely-available on the website *Joconde: Portail des collections des musées de France*, accessed July 23, 2015, http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Wave/image/joconde/0320/m503501_d0206670-000_p.jpg.

Despair

Extreme Despair can be shown by a man grinding his teeth, foaming at the mouth, and biting his lips, having his forehead furrowed with vertical folds, his eyebrows drawn down over his eyes, and strongly contracted towards the nose. His eyes will be burning and full of blood, the pupils rolling and hidden now by the upper lid, now by the lower, sparkling and restless. His eyelids will be swollen and livid, the nostrils large, open, and raised up, the end of the nose drawn down, and the muscles and tendons of these parts very swollen, as will be all the veins and nerves of the forehead, temples and other parts of the face. The upper part of the cheeks will appear fat and prominent, but they will be drawn in about the jaws; the mouth will be open and very much drawn back with the corners more open than the middle, the under lip full and turned out, and livid like the rest of the face. The hair will stand on end.[578]

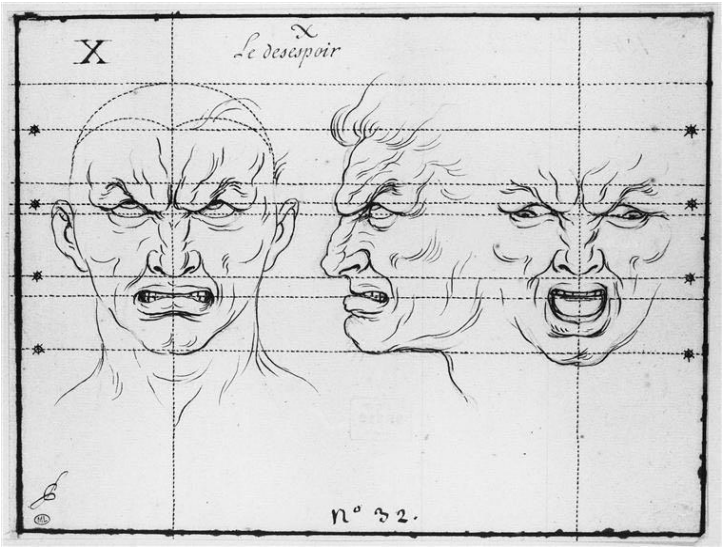

Illustration 4.2a: Charles Le Brun, "Le Desespoir"[579]

577. Drawn from the Audran edition of 1727, freely-available from the Bibliothèque nationale through gallica.bnf.fr.
578. Ibid., 138-139.
579. Reproduced from Image No. INV 28312, recto, in the "Album Le Brun Charles," acquired in 1690 by the *Cabinet du Roy*, now preserved in the collection of the Musée du Louvre. Reproduction freely-available

Illustration 4.2b: Charles Le Brun, "Le Desespoir"[580]

Although Le Brun probably first delivered this lecture to the *Académie* in 1668 (and again in 1678 to rave reviews from the *Mercure galant*), it was not until the early eighteenth century that its influence really became widely dispersed.[581] In the decades following its initial publication, the *Conférence sur l'expression* and its accompanying images became immensely popular, receiving no less than seven reprints in French by 1751, as well as translations and successive reprints in English, Dutch, German, and

on the website *Joconde: Portail des collections des musées de France*, accessed July 23, 2015, http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Wave/image/joconde/0320/m503501_d0206671-000_p.jpg.
580. Drawn from the Audran edition of 1727, freely-available from the Bibliothèque nationale through gallica.bnf.fr.
581. Jennifer Montagu, "Appendix I: The Date and Reception of the Lecture," in *The Expression of the Passions*, 141-143.

Italian.[582] Among the educated classes, then, the notion of "character states" would necessarily bring to mind visible effects on the human body (especially in the theatrical context)—if not, in fact, Le Brun's widely circulated images themselves.

There is thus reason to believe that musical works claiming to offer a portrait of a given "character state" would have had imagined visual associations for the performer or listener (assuming familiarity with the title)—indeed, the very definition of the word "passion" had immediate connotations of visibility and changes wrought upon the body. The mental process experienced by one who encounters a work advertised as offering this kind of passion-based character is thus akin to the "fleshing-out" of details experienced when one encounters a title implying more direct tone-painting. For both categories, the title can function as a cue to the viewer/listener, offering a suggestion as to how one ought to make sense of this instrumental music, but demanding that imagination and intellect fill in the proverbial gaps. Titled character pieces could at times occupy a middle-ground between the relative comprehensibility of texted music and the

582. Jennifer Montagu, "Appendix VI: Editions, Versions and Derivations," in *The Expression of the Passions*, 175-187.

bafflement that supposedly inspired Fontanelle's famous quip, "Sonate, que me veux-tu?"[583]

More important, however, is the fact that these two categories of musical mimesis, expression and tone-painting, align neatly with Batteux's two-music system, which he describes in explicitly visual terms. Tone-painting would thus appear to parallel the music Batteux sees as "imitat[ing] nothing but sounds and noises," which is comparable to "landscape painting."[584] The expression of "characters" (meaning passions), on the other hand, aligns with the music Batteux describes as comparable to "portrait painting," which "expresses animated sounds and stems from the sentiments."[585] Although, as I have outlined above, Batteux figures the latter, higher mode as primarily texted, his two categories fit well when applied to the bulk of character pieces. Indeed, we might posit the existence of two large categories of character pieces: those that are clearly of the first mode ("unimpassioned" and involving tone-painting), and those that aspire to the second mode ("impassioned," involving expression) even without the aid of lyrics (though, of course, with the aid of a title).

I therefore use the word "pictorialism" in very broad terms when dealing with character pieces. The aim with such compositions is not limited

583. Quoted by Rousseau in his article entitled "Sonate," in *Dictionnaire de Musique*, 460.
584. Batteux, 266.
585. Ibid.

to tone-painting, to the depiction of concrete objects, animals, or actions—it is in fact representation more broadly construed. Thus, I treat "pictorialism" here as a means to address the visualness of *both* categories of character pieces, and, as I explore shortly, one that allows us to consider the visual appeal of the musical products that those consuming this music would have encountered.

Title-Pages in Printed Volumes of Character Pieces: An Overview

As a genre, then, we can say that character pieces were judged at least some of the time by their appeal to the visual; indeed, in some cases, visuality constituted the genre's most salient attribute, and therefore furnished its most marketable feature. Given that the representational nature of the ideas on offer was calculated for a particular market, one might say that this musical pictorialism—and here I refer both to aspects of the musical writing and the mien of the physical product—might be thought of as a kind of collective "packaging."[586] From this perspective, visual packaging extends beyond the mere surface of the product, and can be thought of as part of the musical language itself of character pieces. I explore this notion further in the Dandrieu case study offered in the following chapter.

586. See my discussion of this term in Chapter 3, pp. 202-203.

But to discuss the appearance of character-piece collections with due attention to their printed context, one must first attempt to sketch a rough history of engraved illustrations in French instrumental publications of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Chapter 3 has already outlined the increasing inclusion of elaborate illustrations in printed operatic products destined for the amateur music-lover during the first and second decades of the eighteenth century. Following this, the use of finely engraved, title-page imagery appears to have spread to other kinds of instrumental prints produced in France—indeed, in some cases, I will argue, these instrumental editions capitalized explicitly on what became the traditional visual aesthetic of these lavish operatic products.

One of the first groups of publications outside of opera in which such images can be found is collections of character pieces. This is not to assert that character-piece publications *necessarily* included title-page imagery—indeed, the majority do not have more than a stylized print on their title-pages, much as the majority of all eighteenth-century instrumental publications do not—but simply that, when such illustrations did occur in French publications of the time, it was frequently in the context of character-piece collections. The reasons for this are probably twofold: in the early decades of the eighteenth century French character pieces were

ascendent in popularity and thus represented a lucrative opportunity for publishers and composers, and the visuality to which consumers were accustomed in operatic prints translated well to the subjects explored in this smaller-scale, instrumental medium.

If these collections can be thought of as visual "products," then the question is, to whom were they marketed? Most collections of character pieces seem to have targeted amateurs as their audience. Fuller argues that the instrumental character piece must have "proceeded from the same aesthetic animus" as the literary, parlour portrait,[587] and character pieces certainly seem to have had calculated appeal for the same upper strata of French society, providing a suitable repertory for individuals wanting to cultivate the persona of gifted musical amateur in the salon.[588] The musical character piece would also have mirrored the parlour portrait in its fascination with imitating something or someone, and in its general tendency toward playful and artful diversion.[589] Composerly introductions to volumes of titled pieces are also telling in determining audience: not only was it common for prefaces to have a strong didactic element—frequently including charts for the proper execution of *agréments* for consumers who

587. Fuller, "Of Portraits," 161.
588. Fuller goes so far as to acknowledge that, in the most blatant of cases, the use of titles was little more than a publisher's lure for these amateurs, to whom he refers euphemistically as the "musically uninstructed." Ibid., 164.
589. Ibid., 161.

lacked knowledge of the conventions of ornamentation (such as in Dandrieu's *Premier livre [de] pièces de clavecin* [1724])—but composers sometimes emphasized the appeal of the volume for literate, high-society amateurs by staking a very public claim as teacher to important members of this fashionable world (such as François Couperin does in his first book of *Pieces de clavecin* [1713]).

Publication information also offers us a few clues as to the clientèle for these works. The ability to purchase musical publications in general certainly required a degree of financial means; according to Anik Devriès, who documents in detail the economy of music publication in early eighteenth-century France, the cost of engraved music was relatively high compared to other products.[590] Devriès has compiled all the Leclerc publishing catalogues into one large *catalogue général* covering all the works advertised by the LeClercs in the first half of the century; the majority of their prices range between 1 or 2 *livres* (primarily, it seems, for works by relatively obscure composers, or very common items such as collections of *airs*), and up to 10 or 12 *livres* for more popular works (such as Montéclair's sonatas for flute or early editions of Leclair's many books of sonatas for violin).[591] Operatic

590. Anik Devriès, *Édition et commerce de la musique gravée a Paris dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), 52.
591. Other parameters were certainly also involved in the valuation of a given edition. The amateur-friendliness of the music, for example, may also have been a factor in some of the lower prices: works by

publications, however, commanded significantly higher prices: those of Lully ranged between 20 and 24 *livres*, those of Campra between 12 and 30 *livres*, and those of Rameau between 15 and 21 *livres*.[592] Notably, however, very popular collections of *pièces de clavecin* (and by extension sometimes, *pièces de caractère*) by high-profile composers leaned towards this upper echelon of pricing: Couperin's four books of *pièces de clavecin*—perhaps the most famous of all eighteenth-century character pieces save those of C. P. E. Bach—were priced by Leclerc at 16, 18, 20, and 15 *livres* respectively. Being a musical amateur or collector of musical prints could thus quickly become an expensive endeavor. Unsurprisingly, Devriès notes that a strikingly large number of customers were of sufficient social or political stature to be able to purchase their chosen musical publication entirely on credit, usually by means of a third party errand-runner.[593]

Teasing out the professional relationship between composer and any engraved image included in his/her publication (thus specifying a single individual responsible for the choice of prints) is somewhat more difficult. As I have detailed in the previous chapter, composers working with Parisian publishers during the first half of the century were generally expected to

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extremely prolific composers who catered especially to the easy amateur market, such as Boismortier and Corrette, seem consistently to be priced in the 1-6 *livre* range. See Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, 141-146 and 168-171 for examples.)

592. Ibid., 157-158, 217-218, and 242-243. It should be noted that, in many cases, prices rose over time, such that listings in the 1751 catalogue were frequently more expensive than those in earlier catalogues.

593. Ibid., 51.

finance the cost of the production of their own publications.[594] Later, it became common for printers to take on all the expenses of the publication in exchange for "exclusive" rights to publish the composer's work.[595] Unfortunately, little has come to light so far detailing the structure of the agreements between publishers and the actual designers and engravers of title-page images, let alone the degree of influence the composer might have exerted over the contents of that image—though as I outline below, certain examples such as the works of Dandrieu suggest (if only circumstantially) that the composer may at times have been actively involved in seeking out and controlling the imagery attached to his/her musical publication. What is more certain, however, is the high skill-level of the engravers associated with making musical frontispieces in France since the late seventeenth century: Devriès marvels at the technical sophistication of even very early editions of French baroque instrumental music, citing the elaborate frontispiece to Chambonnières's *Pieces de clavessin* of 1670 (see discussion below).[596] It is

594. Ibid., 54.
595. Devriès points to a contract from 1761 between Charles-Nicholas Leclerc and the composer Joseph-Barnabé Saint-Sévin (dit "l'Abbé Le fils") in which Leclerc agrees to bear "all the expenses and all the necessary responsibilities, as much for engraving the work onto plates for which he has also paid the expenses, as for the rendering of the edition complete by the perfection of these same plates and the proofs taken from them." "Le Sr. Le Clerc a fait tous les frais et s'est donné tous les soins nécessaires, tant pour faire graver cet ouvrage en planches dont il a aussi fait les frais, que pour en render l'édition complète ; par la perfection de ces mêmes planches et des épreuves qui en ont été tirées." Cited in Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, 57.
596. Ibid., 8. For a discussion of the circumstances surrounding the production of this volume, see Rebecca Cypess, "Chambonnières, Jollain and the First Engraving of Harpsichord Music in France.," *Early Music* 35, no. 4 (Nov., 2007): 539-553.

unclear at this early stage (and with this particular work) whether the engraver of the music was also the engraver of the title-page, but we know that within short order of this time engraving workshops employed specialists in both musical notation and richly ornamented title-pages.[597]

It is not feasible here to undertake a study of every French instrumental publication of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, so I have limited my purview to keyboard publications (with a few relevant exceptions). There are two reasons for this. First, as I have described above, while character pieces are not always *pièces de clavecin*, keyboard works nevertheless form the bulk—and most studied portion—of the repertory. Second, Bruce Gustafson and David Fuller have compiled a useful catalogue of the French harpsichord repertory between 1699 and 1780, listing all publications (to the best of their ability) between those dates. The material they provide, along with other relevant examples I have uncovered myself, forms the sample on which my study is based. Thus, the outline I present below of the development of title-page imagery in instrumental publications comes with two caveats: it is heavily keyboard-oriented, and it makes no claim to comprehensiveness; rather, it seeks to illustrate general trends.

597. Ibid. Cypess asserts that the engraver of the music and the frontispiece were the same person: Gérard Jollain. However, Jollain came from a family of printers, so we cannot rule out the possibility that it was another member of their atelier with the same name was responsible for either the notation or the frontispiece. See Cypess, "Chambonnières," 547-548.

Selecting only those volumes listed in the Fuller catalogue that contain character pieces and have signed title-pages, and taking into consideration a few other notable illustrated publications, does not reveal that including illustration was the norm for instrumental music. In fact, the situation is quite the opposite: although the vast majority of title-pages featured some type of ornate script, relatively few included an engraved illustration when compared to the entire corpus of eighteenth-century French instrumental music. In some respects this is not surprising, since, as stated above, composers early in the century who wished to be published (especially if they were not widely considered "masters") were usually financially responsible for the initial production of the volumes. Monetary circumstances surrounding the employment of a specialist engraver may well have factored against the inclusion of illustrations for many, if not most, publications. This, however, suggests that those volumes that do include very decorative title-pages were all the more highly valued.

Catherine Massip has addressed the nature of this valuation, noting that volumes of *pièces de clavecin*, more than collections of other genres, were often "very beautiful object[s] ornamented with … frontispiece[s]

commission from a sometimes famous engraver."[598] But she also explains that *pièces de clavecin* volumes evolved in terms of physical format in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and that this too was a factor in their valuation. The earliest printed collections of *pièces de clavecin* retained the oblong format of lute tablature published in the seventeenth century; this is true, for example, of Chambonnieres's earliest volume (see, for reference, Illustrations 4.3 and 4.4 below). But Couperin's volumes of *pièces de clavecin* in the early-eighteenth century were published in the vertical in-folio format, and were much-imitated by other composers. She argues that part of what made such volumes attractive to potential buyers was that, in this format, together with ornate lettering, notation, and illustrations, they mimicked the prestige of custom-made manuscripts.[599]

By the late seventeenth century, title-pages featuring images of the lute and other instruments had long occurred in sporadic musical publications—examples can be found as far back as the beginning of music printing in renaissance Italy—and the woodcut title-page image from Denis Gaultier's *Pieces de Luth … sur trois differens Modes Nouveaux* (c.1669) **(see Illustration 4.3)**, featuring lutes, gambas, recorders, trumpets, a lyre, and a harp, appears

598. Catherine Massip, *Le livre de musique*, Conférences Léopold Delisle (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2007), 63.
599. Ibid., 63-64.

to follow in this tradition.[600] Jacques Champion de Chambonnières's first book of *Pieces de Clavessin* from the following year **(see Illustration 4.4)**, however, appears to mark not only a new level of technical sophistication in the traditional instrumental motif, but one of the earliest such appearances in a keyboard volume with the generic title "*pièces de clavecin*."[601]

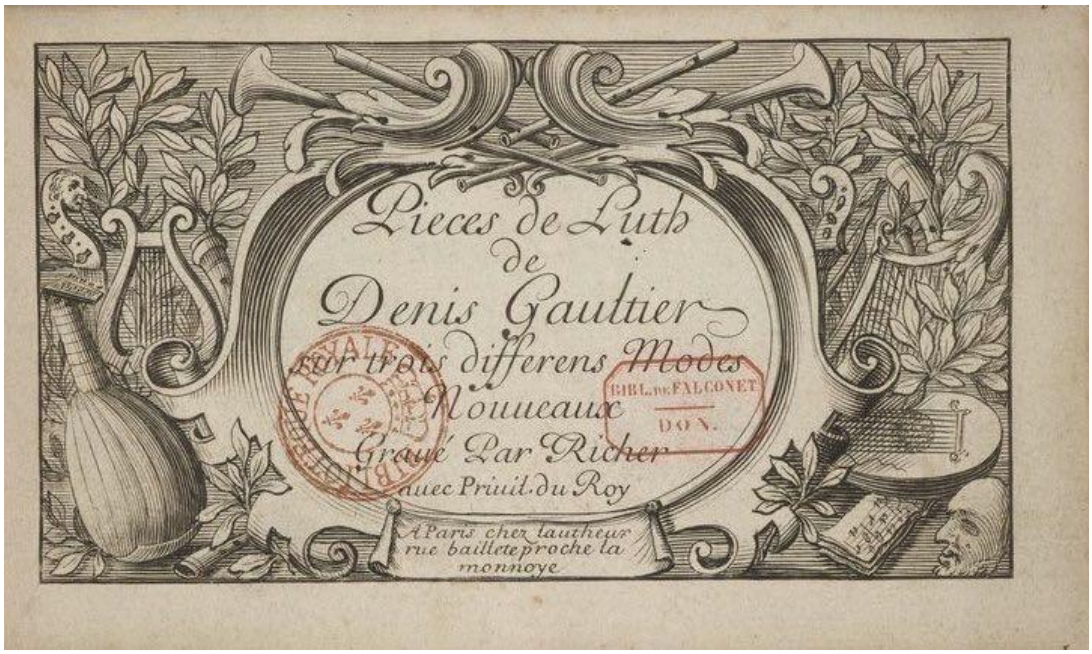


Illustration 4.3: Title-page to Gaultier's *Pieces de Luth* (c. 1669)

600. It should be noted that titled pieces had also occurred in lute collections in France prior to their popularity on the harpsichord. See Fuller, "Of Portraits," 162-163. No "character pieces" *per se* are to be found in the above Gaultier volume, however.
601. Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, 8.

Illustration 4.4: Title-page to Chambonnières's *Pieces de Clavessin, Livre Premier* (1670)

The engraver responsible for this image creates a definite space for the instruments on display, in contrast to the very limited depth suggested by the Gaultier image (which bears more resemblance to a kind of faux-relief sculpture). Jollain has taken pains to create a sense of perspective (most visible in the lines of the keyboards below), and the illustration has both a distinct foreground and background (the latter, a hazy landscape, perhaps painted on a curtain). Even the flying cherubs are given a space of their own: the sheet, curling to give the illusion of depth, marks them as floating in the foreground. Indeed, the only ambiguous part of the image is the

location of the lute, gamba, guitar, and wind instruments, which appear to float mysteriously somewhere between background and middle-ground (or are perhaps are located on a wall, if one construes the landscape as either a painting or tapestry). Although the basic elements of the image (namely, instruments and cherubs) are traditional frontispiece fare, they are arrayed so as to break the flatness of the page in an open space whose borders appear to go beyond the edges of the illustration. And although the works offered by Chambonnières are mainly suites of the traditional French baroque dances, a few bear titles (such as "Sarabande de la Reyne" and "Allemande la Rare") that likewise hint tentatively at existences beyond the page and the confines of notation.

The majority of works to appear in French keyboard volumes—and, for that matter, lute and gamba volumes—for the remainder of the seventeenth century were titled simply according to dance-type, interspersed sporadically with character pieces and *fantaisies*. And during this period (from the 1670s until the beginning of the eighteenth century), title-pages of notable ornament occur relatively infrequently in the French instrumental literature. The bulk of the images on these title-pages are comprised of decorative border designs, usually faux-relief or heavily foliaged. In fact, the title-pages from Chambonnières's second volume of "pieces de clavessin" of

1670 (also engraved by "Jollain") and D'Anglebert's *Pieces de Clavecin* of 1689 are both *trompe-l'oeil* imitations of picture frames.[602] And like traditional border motifs featuring instruments (variations of which may also be found in Gaultier's *Livre de Tablature des Pieces de Luth* of c. 1672 and Le Bègue's *Pieces de Clavessin* of 1677), the image of cherubs holding up a sheet bearing the volume's title seems to have become a regular feature of the lexicon of instrumental title-pages. In contrast, however, to picture-frame-type images, the cherubs and their sheet seem to have offered an opportunity to break out of the flatness of the physical page. Marin Marais's *Pieces a une et a deux violes* of 1686 **(see Illustration 4.5)** is spectacular in this regard: indeed, it is almost as though the designer and engraver, Pezey and Trouvain, were attempting to outdo Jollain. Not only does the image use much more intense shadowing, very closely-engraved lines, and a lavish rendering of folded cloth to create the illusion of roundness and depth, but the cherub on the right cheekily attempts to escape the confines of the image. His upheld index finger intrudes into the space of the viewer from the imagined space of the image, as if to poke through the divide between the entirely

602. Perrine's *Livre de Musique pour le Lut* [sic] of 1680, engraved by the famous book illustrator Jean Lepautre, could also be cited in this regard. But while the centre of the illustration does indeed suggest a picture frame, it is considerably more elaborate than the Chambonnières and D'Anglebert examples, and is covered by a dense and relatively equal distribution of instruments, cherubs, muses, and foliage. Moreover, the "frame" in Lepautre's illustration has its own background, appearing to be outdoors between two architectural columns. See Gottfried S. Fraenkel, *Decorative Music Title Pages: 201 Examples from 1500 to 1800* (New York: Dover, 1968), plate no. 117.

"imitative" world of painting and music (as they were rationalized in French aesthetic thought) and the concrete world of the consumer of the physical volume. In effect, in this case and in examples like the Dandrieu volumes described in the next chapter, one of the potential functions of the musical title-page was to attempt to bridge precisely that conceptual gap for the viewer.

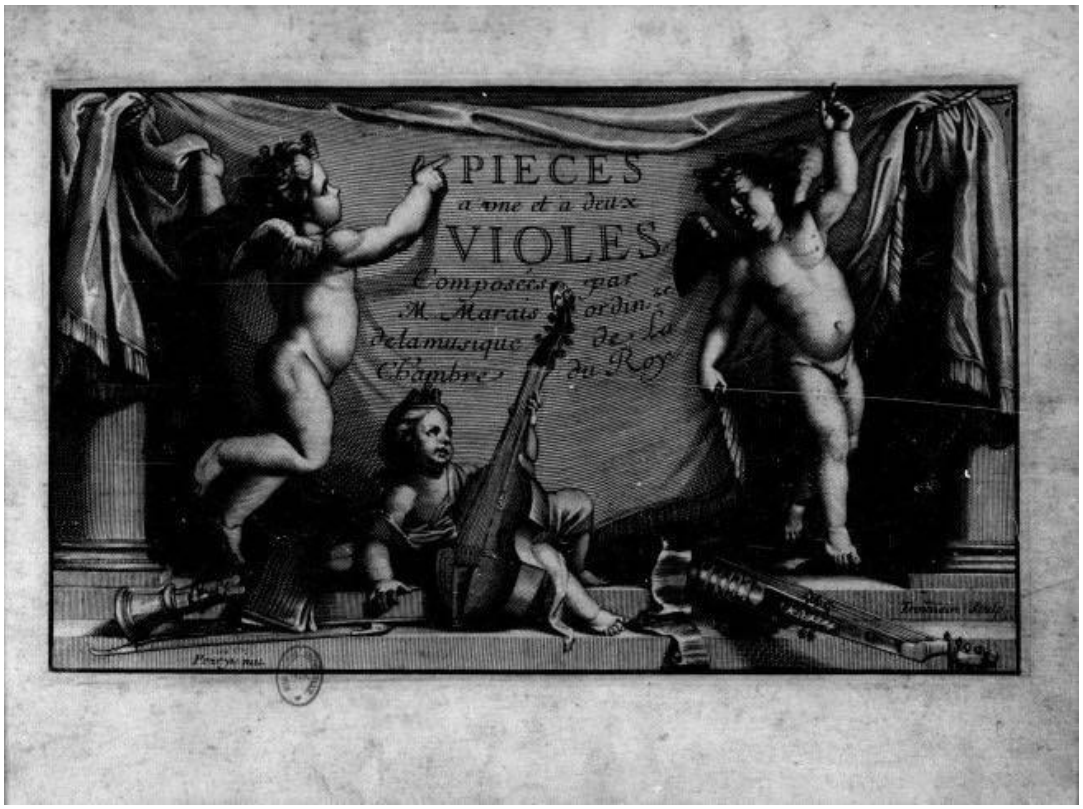


Illustration 4.5: Title-page to Marais's *Pieces a une et a deux violes* (1686)

Although they seem to have been somewhat exceptional in the late seventeenth century, the images from the Chambonnières and Marais volumes can be thought of as setting a precedent for the lavish detail offered by later title-pages. The first decade of the eighteenth century brought with it a distinct increase in the number of musical volumes supplied with illustrated title-pages. While a possible connection between the contents of the music and an appended image is not difficult to imagine in the case of music with words and/or a plot (such as operas, as I have outlined in Chapter 2, or collections of motets[603]), this overall increase had the effect of causing engraved illustrations to be more frequently attached to other instrumental music. Indeed, one has the sense that the inclusion of a lavish image was increasingly becoming an expected feature in the production and sale of prestigious musical editions.

By 1702, even Marchand's *Livre Second [de] Pièces de Clavecin*, published by Christophe Ballard, whose use of imagery was usually confined to small, woodcut vignettes, was supplied with a detailed, frame-like illustration.[604] But no French composer seems to have adopted the illustrated frontispiece quite so whole-heartedly as Jean-François Dandrieu. In fact, Dandrieu can be seen

603. Although they will not feature in my discussion here, examples of the latter include Charpentier's *Motets melêz de symphonie* of 1709 and Lalande's *Motets a I. II. et III. Voix* of 1710.
604. This may have been a *passe-partout*. For more detail on Ballard's practices, particularly with respect to the early Lully opera editions, see Chapter 3, pp. 224-226.

as a central figure in making the inclusion of imagistic title-pages in French instrumental publications a conventional (if, again, not wholly pervasive) practice. Beginning in the first decade of the eighteenth century and continuing for the remainder of his career, nearly every one of Dandrieu's publications featured a title-page with illustrations. This practice was certainly not confined to character pieces; the two printings of Dandrieu's *Livre de clavecin* (1704-1705, and 1705 or later), containing strictly dance movements, were supplied with elaborate frame-like title-pages.[605] The first **(see Illustration 4.6)**, an apparent *passe-partout* by [Martin?] Desmarest[606] and Claude Roussel, renders an enormous array of instruments in the slightly flatter, Louis XIV-style of earlier title-pages. (This image was reused shortly thereafter for Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Premier livre de pièces de clavecin* of 1706, a book also comprised entirely of dance movements, and again for Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Motets melêz de symphonie* of 1709.) The later printing **(see Illustration 4.7)**, however, employs a newer, rococo style, focused on naturalism and shell-like forms. (This version of the title-page

605. The dates of these printings are posited on the basis of the honorifics supplied with Dandrieu's name. See Brigitte François-Sappey, *Jean-François Dandrieu, 1682-1738: Organiste du Roy* (Paris: Picard, 1982), 74.
606. Martin Desmarest was a French portrait- and history-painter active at the end of the seventeenth century. Although I am not certain he was the designer of this image, he seems the most likely candidate based on date, and the fact that his paintings were popular with other important engravers of the early eighteenth century, such as Scotin, Larmessin, and Thomassin. See *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler*, Ulrich Thieme, ed. (Leipzig: E. A. Seeman, 1913), s.v. "Desmarest (Demares), Martin."

was also used for two subsequent books of *pièces de clavecin* which apparently did not achieve circulation.)[607]

Illustration 4.6: Title-page to Dandrieu's *Livre de Clavecin*, first printing (1704-1705)

607. These two books, referred to as "Livre II" and "Livre III" by François-Sappey are known only from examplars in the Dolmetsch library in Halselmere; they are not listed in any contemporary catalogue. See François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 73-75.

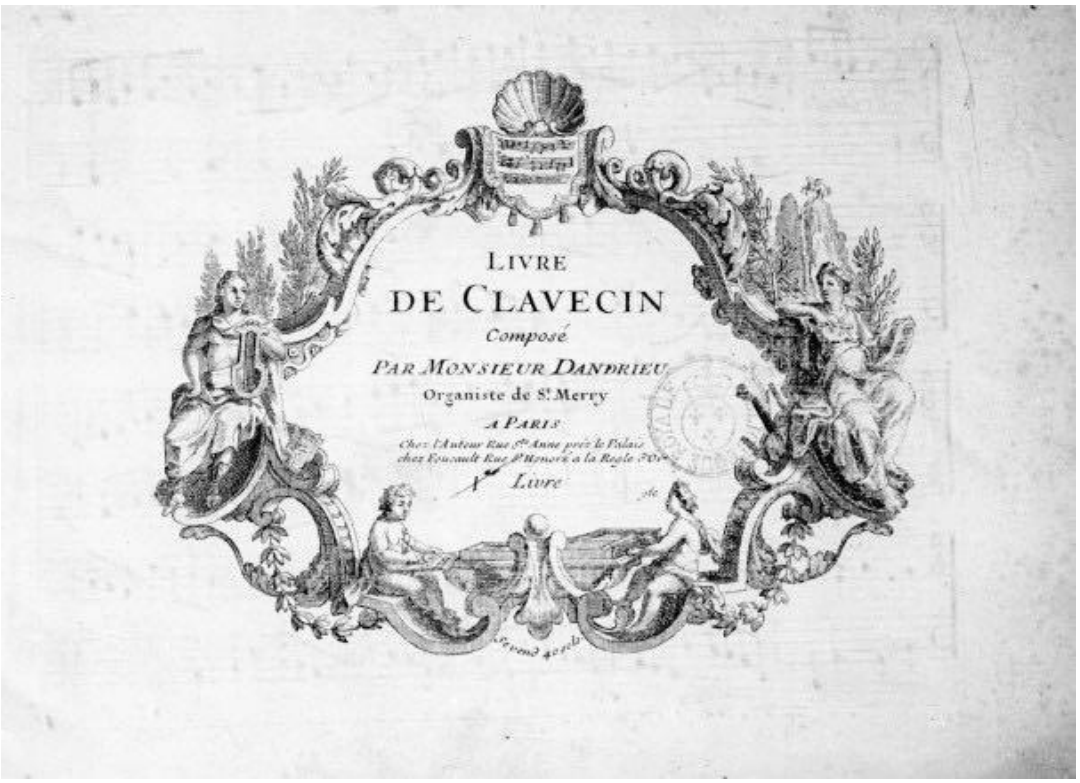
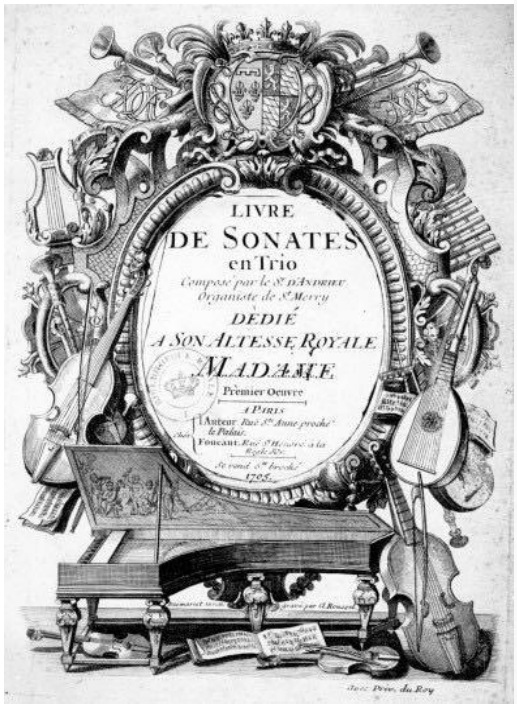


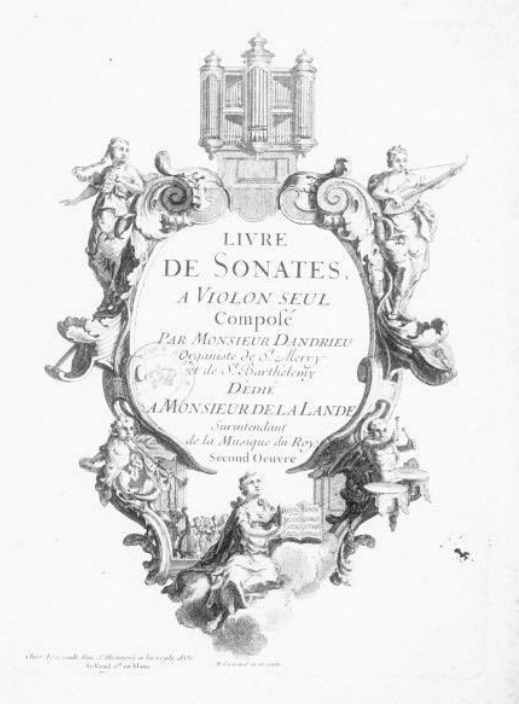
Illustration 4.7: Title-page to Dandrieu's *Livre de Clavecin*, second printing (1705 or later)

In much the same vein, Dandrieu's *Livre de Sonates en trio* of 1705 **(see Illustration 4.8)** and *Livre de Sonates a Violon seul* of 1710 **(see Illustration 4.9)**, were as fashionable visually as they were musically (appearing, as they did, in the wake of the craze for Italian music set off in Paris by Corelli's Op. 5[608]). The title-page of the 1705 edition, again engraved by Roussel after a

608. While it is certainly true that Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas were immensely fashionable for their musical style, it should be noted that some editions of Corelli's Op. 5 also featured visual material, such as the lavish frontispiece offered by Gasparo Pietra Santa in the first Roman edition of 1700. This raises the intriguing possibility that the frontispiece itself may also have been influential; however, I am as yet uncertain as to what extent this particular edition was known in Paris and elsewhere in the early 1700s. The earliest non-Italian edition I have thus far located with an elaborate title-page (although it stylistically very different from Santa's) is Estienne Roger's second edition of c. 1708.

design of Desmarest, offered the viewer an updated take on the frame-like motif, but one so full of carefully-rendered instruments and extravagant filigree as to practically burst off the page, pulling attention away from the frame itself. The title-page of the 1710 volume, engraved by Nicolas Guérard, does much the same; however, with the exception of the organ (which is positioned strategically as the highest of all instruments), it downplays the somewhat old-fashioned instrumental motif in favour of curvaceous cherubs and muses.





Illustrations 4.8 and 4.9: Title-pages to Dandrieu's *Livre de Sonates en trio* (1705) and *Livre de Sonates a Violon seul* (1710)

It was not until the 1720s, however, that a real flowering of the ornate title-page fruitfully coincided with the zenith of the character piece's popularity. The first three of François Couperin's four books of *pièces de clavecin* (1713, 1716-1717, and 1722) were responsible for a sudden swell in popularity of *pièces de caractère* with musical audiences of the 1720s, particularly those works that aspired to a species of portraiture.[609] But before Couperin produced his fourth book (in 1730), Dandrieu seems once again to have sensed the trend and adopted it in earnest, for his *Premier* (1724)*, Second* (1728)*,* and *Troisième livres de clavecin* (1734)— which were in fact his fourth, fifth, and sixth books of works for harpsichord—are comprised almost entirely of titled pieces. These three volumes, and their spectacular title-pages produced by some of the best artists of the day, will be described in greater detail in the case study presented in the following chapter.

Although the three volumes of Dandrieu's maturity form the richest confluence of "visual" music and visual product when it comes to the French character piece, and thus receive the bulk of my attention later, other collections of the time did take advantage of the same aesthetic alignment, even if they did not always draw explicit connections between the content of the image and their musical works. The border, or frame-like motif, of

609. See Fuller et al., "Couperin, François," *Grove Music Online*, accessed November 3, 2013. Also, Fuller, "Of Portraits," 173.

course, continued to be a mainstay of the music publishing industry, and several volumes devoted entirely, or almost entirely, to character pieces made use of elaborate examples. Fiocco's *Pieces de clavecin, premier oeuvre* of 1730 and the *Pièces de clavecin, oeuvre second* (1745) by a composer writing under the pseudonym of "Voltpb" both rely on the heavy square lines of architectural facades and columns, intermingled with *putti*, foliage, and various seventeenth-century-like grotesques.[610] Louis Antoine Dornel's *Pieces de clavecin* of 1731, on the other hand, creates a frame for the text out of a full-page image of a lyre—but the fluid lines of the lyre itself are formed partly by curved, plaster-arms that transform into languid nudes, who in turn give way to leafy fronds along the upper contours of the instrument (**see Illustration 4.10)**. In a sense, music is consumed here as an item of fashion, from its sumptuous, rococo exterior dress (through the co-opting and aestheticizing of a widely-known musical symbol), to the delicate, voguish designations of its inner "meanings" (in the form of titles such as "Les Tourterelles," "Le petit ramage," and "La jeune Muse").

610. The identity of "Voltpb" remains unknown at this point. See Gustafson and Fuller, *Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music*, 248.

Illustration 4.10: Title-page to Dornel's *Pieces de clavecin* (1731)

Since there are no obvious connections between the titles and the elements of the image at the front, one could well raise the question of

whether a viewer of the time would have perceived any precise relationship between such an image and the music in the volume. But the coincidence of these illustrations with the popularity of character pieces does offer us information as to the mode of consumption of music of the day. It seems certain that striking the eye with the spectacular or visually absorbing was, at least for this period, a highly desirable feature of music marketed for the wealthy musical amateur in France. In essence, while the vogue for character pieces was at its peak and French engraving was in its heyday, the appeal of much music hinged on its ability to captivate the eye, to supply an "object" for the mind. Selling music, and in some cases, understanding music, was in many cases about engaging the visual faculties.

Other volumes of music, however, strove to create more literal connections with the contents of their title-pages. As twentieth- and twenty-first century viewers and listeners, it seems only sensible (and therefore perhaps unremarkable) to us that visual representation would be at the very core of most efforts to market a product. But, at least at this time, the representation of some aspects of the contents of a musical volume in illustrated form was by no means a default. It was, rather, a striking exception in a culture in which the "usual" expectation for a cover illustration (if any) was a set of conventional tropes, such as frames, foliage,

and cupids. Such literalism would no doubt have stood out to purchasers of the time to a much greater degree than we are generally likely to recognize.

Michel Corrette's *Six Fantaisies a trois Parties Pour la Viele et Musette, Flûte, et Basse Continuë* (1730), though not a collection of character pieces, borrowed directly from the popular topics of contemporary painting in an effort to directly illustrate the volume's title, effectively enacting the kind of pastoral aesthetic associated with such instruments. The title-page shows two men serenade a lady with a bassoon and hurdy-gurdy in a picturesque landscape, creating, in effect, a miniature version of one of the most highly fashionable settings of the day: the *fête galant*. Nicolas Chédeville's *Amusemens de Bellone ou Les Paisirs de Mars* (1736), however, carries this literalism one step further, connecting the title of the volume with the accompanying illustration, and the illustration directly with the musical contents by means of titles and recognizably militaristic musical gestures. Evidently inspired by a military campaign on which he accompanied the dedicatee of the volume, the Prince de Conty, Chédeville composed a series of both dances and fanfare-like pieces to which he attached character-piece-like names: locations of battles ("Le Dogelsheim," "La Oberulm," and "Le Weynolsheim"), persons ("Le Henry IV"), the actions of gods ("Le Retour de Mars"), and a variety of other topics (such as "Les Plaisirs de L'Isle Adam," and

"L'Amnistie"). The title-page, designed and engraved by Le Bas, shows a series of related scenes played out by cherubs. Once again, the trope of the sheet held aloft by *putti* is used, and all around they carry out the actions of war, riding a horse, beating the drum, and lighting a canon. The same attempt to render pictorial connections between ideas and the sonic contents of the volume also plays out in the first of the three Dandrieu publications discussed in the next chapter's case study; in this respect, the engraving of Dandrieu's *Premier Livre* (1724) may even be thought of as setting a precedent for the Chédeville volume and other later examples.

Perhaps one of the images to offer the most explicit connections between visual and musical content is the unsigned title-page engraving for Pierre-Jean Lambert's *Pieces de clavecin* (1749) **(see Illustration 4.11)**. Here, the engraver uses the exact titles of the character pieces as the basis for his image: "Les forgerons" is matched by a man in a blacksmith's smock, the "Bruit de Chasse" by the image of the goddess Diana, "Les pastourelles" by a scene with two amorous shepherds, "Les nayades" by nudes reclining amongst watery reeds, and "Les sirennes" by two mermaid-like figures.


PIECES
DE
CLAVECIN
Dediés
A MADAME LA MARQUISE
de Thybouto
Comtesse de Mongommery.
COMPOSÉES
PAR
Mr. LAMBERT
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Illustration 4.11: Title-page to Lambert's *Pieces de clavecin* (1749)

It seems highly likely that Dandrieu's *Premier Livre* was influential for Lambert: not only does the cover also render visual the subject of the character pieces in uncomplicated fashion, but Lambert's choice of topics—zephyrs, butterflies, the hunt, sirens, and so on—clearly reflect the most popular choices of his predecessors Dandrieu, Couperin, and Rameau. And, as David Fuller and Bruce Gustafson have noted, Lambert's "Bruit du Chasse" seems to be modeled compositionally on Dandrieu's "Chasse" from the *Premier Livre*.[611] Lambert's compositions make extensive use of tone-painting devices: "Les forgerons" has a couplet containing gestures highly reminiscent of continuous hammer blows; "Les Papillons" consists of rapid fluttering turns in the right hand over a trembling, octave-leaping bass; and the portion of the "Bruit de Chasse" labelled as "Prise" (catch), makes use of skittish *arpeggi* and long arcing runs of sixteenth notes brought down again and again by sections of continuously hammered chords, perhaps to convey the desperate, erratic movements of an animal about to be caught. This music embraces tone painting fully. Lambert's is a volume that is unabashedly about the representation of popular subjects for the user, and the means of their adumbration for that consumer is threefold—visual

611. David Fuller and Bruce Gustafson, "Lambert, Pierre-Jean," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed Aug. 8, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15889).

depiction, sonic imitation, and titular description—and thus calculated to be as multi-dimensional as possible.

French character pieces for keyboard gradually fell out of fashion in the second part of the eighteenth century, while elaborate title-page images remained in use in a variety of genres, both instrumental and vocal; the title-page to Jean-Joseph Cassanéa de Mondonville's *Pieces de Clavecin Avec Voix ou Violon* of 1748 (which, despite the title, contains *petits motets*[612]) remains one of the most commonly-cited examples.[613] As I have outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, critical opinion was increasingly turning against tone-painting as a compositional objective, although the practice maintained an important place in operatic works and, as Richard Will has described, the "characteristic" symphony.[614] Indeed, as the name implies, in many ways the characteristic symphony was the natural successor to the smaller-scale character piece (though the latter tends to imply a stricter level of affective and temporal unity).[615] More broadly, to take into account connotations of the word "characteristic" beyond merely tone-painting, we might say a taste

612. Marc Signorile, "Mondonville, Jean-Joseph Cassanéa de," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed Aug. 10, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/18945).
613. See Walter von zur Westen, *Musiktitel*, 44; and Fraenkel, *Decorative Music Title Pages*, plate 121.
614. Will takes care to point out, however, that these symphonies favoured the term "characteristic" over "painting" or "musikalische Malereien," presumably because the latter had more negative critical connotations. Will, *The Characteristic Symphony*, 8.
615. Ibid., 136-137. Will also suggests that one of the features the characteristic symphony inherited directly from the character piece tradition is the desire to "represent feelings in the abstract." Ibid., 2.

for representation and concern for specification of subject is carried across genres here—but, as symphonic music, this taste began to find more of a home in the burgeoning concert hall than the private salon. Unsurprisingly, title-pages for characteristic symphonies sometimes featured engraved illustrations; indeed, Will's book opens with a view of the title-page to Paul Wranitzky's *Grand Sinfonie caractéristique pour la paix avec la République françoise* (1797), which depicts military officers celebrating and shaking hands on the field.[616] And in at least one case, Dittersdorf wrote of his intention to commission engravings for his Ovid symphonies that would depict the relevant scene for each movement.[617]

My study, focused (primarily) on the keyboard character piece genre, will not extend to later eighteenth-century symphonic music, though it offers an important precursor to the aesthetic issues Will discusses. However, a very few late eighteenth-century examples of non-symphonic, French instrumental music can be found with title-pages that make an attempt to display their subject matter in explicit visual fashion, including Ferdinand Staes's *Idées de Campagne Pour le Clavecin ou Forte Piano avec Accompagnement d'un Violon, Violoncelle, et deux Cors* of 1784. The title-page to this work offers a detailed, picturesque landscape, complete with a cottage and two large

616. Ibid., [unpaginated]. Will also includes the image and a quick discussion of the title-page to Václav Pichl's *Apollo* (177?), which depicts a generalized Classical deity. Ibid., 41-42.
617. Ibid., 54.

curving trees that form a frame around the text. There is no doubt here that the engraving acts as a kind of visualization of the scene suggested by the volume's title. But, aside from the fact that the work has horn accompaniment and might at times be construed as having peasant-like dance rhythms, Staes makes no attempt to connect the music to pastoral content through programmatic titles. The illustration may thus offer a user of the volume a visual setting—perhaps one to be built upon in the mind's eye—but potential sonic connections between the musical content (as it passes over time) and more specific visual events or objects are left entirely up to the imagination.

Michel Corrette's *Divertissemens pour le clavecin; Contenant Les echos de Boston et La Victoire d'un combat naval* (1781), on the other hand, attempts a programmatic rendering of naval combat with incredible specificity. Its lengthy subtitle lays out the many elements at play, and translates as follows:

> *Divertissemens*… containing echoes of Boston and the victory of a naval battle won by a frigate against several united corsairs; in this battle the noise of the weapons, of the canon, the cries of the injured, the laments of the prisoners placed in the depths of the hold, and the joy of the victors, celebrated by a naval party, are expressed through harmony.[618]

618. *Divertissemens… Contenant les Echos de Boston Et la Victoire d'un Combat Naval Remportée par une* **Frégate** *contre plusiers Corsaires réunis; Dans ce Combat on exprime par l'harmonie, le bruit des Armes, du Canon, les cris des blessés, les Plaintes des prisonniers mis à fonde Cale, et l'allegresse des Vainqueurs, Célébrée par une Fête Marine*.

Not only does Corrette assert that all these effects are to be expressed by harmony, but his dedication to the *Duc d'Angoulême* specifies that this is part of a larger visual project, for he describes the entire work as "expressing the *image* of a naval battle on the harpsichord."[619] And musically-speaking, the work engages in all the sonic tropes of a *battaglia* or battle piece, a traditional genre of music that attempts the representation of battle scenes through onomatopoeic effects.[620]Corrette's piece can be seen as part of a late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century vogue for battle pieces, more famous examples of which include Franti□ šek Koszwara's *The Battle of Prague* (c. 1788) and J. B. Vanhal's *Le combat naval de Trafalgar et la mort de Nelson* (1806).[621]

Etched by Blanchon, the title-page to Corrette's *Divertissemens* features the image of several ships firing canons at each other, while another in flames lists perilously and sailors attempt to man the lifeboats. But contrary to the engravings discussed above, Blanchon's image is dark and eschews minute detail, opting instead to focus on the many gradations of shading in

619. My emphasis. Michel Corette, *Divertissemens pour le clavecin; Contenant Les echos de Boston et La Victoire d'un combat naval…* (Paris, 1781), [unpaginated]. Corrette writes, "Monseigneur, Les Victoires que remportent tous les jours les Armes de l'invincible et bon **Roi** votre Oncle, contre les Enemis de l'Etat; m'ont inspiré l'idée d'exprimer sur le Clavecin l'image d'un Combat Naval."
620. Janequin seems to have been a figure especially responsible for the popularizing of this genre through his publication of "La guerre" in 1428 (although it should be noted that precedents for Janequin's piece do exist). See Alan Brown, "Battle Music," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press (http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02318), accessed 20 October, 2013.
621. Ibid.

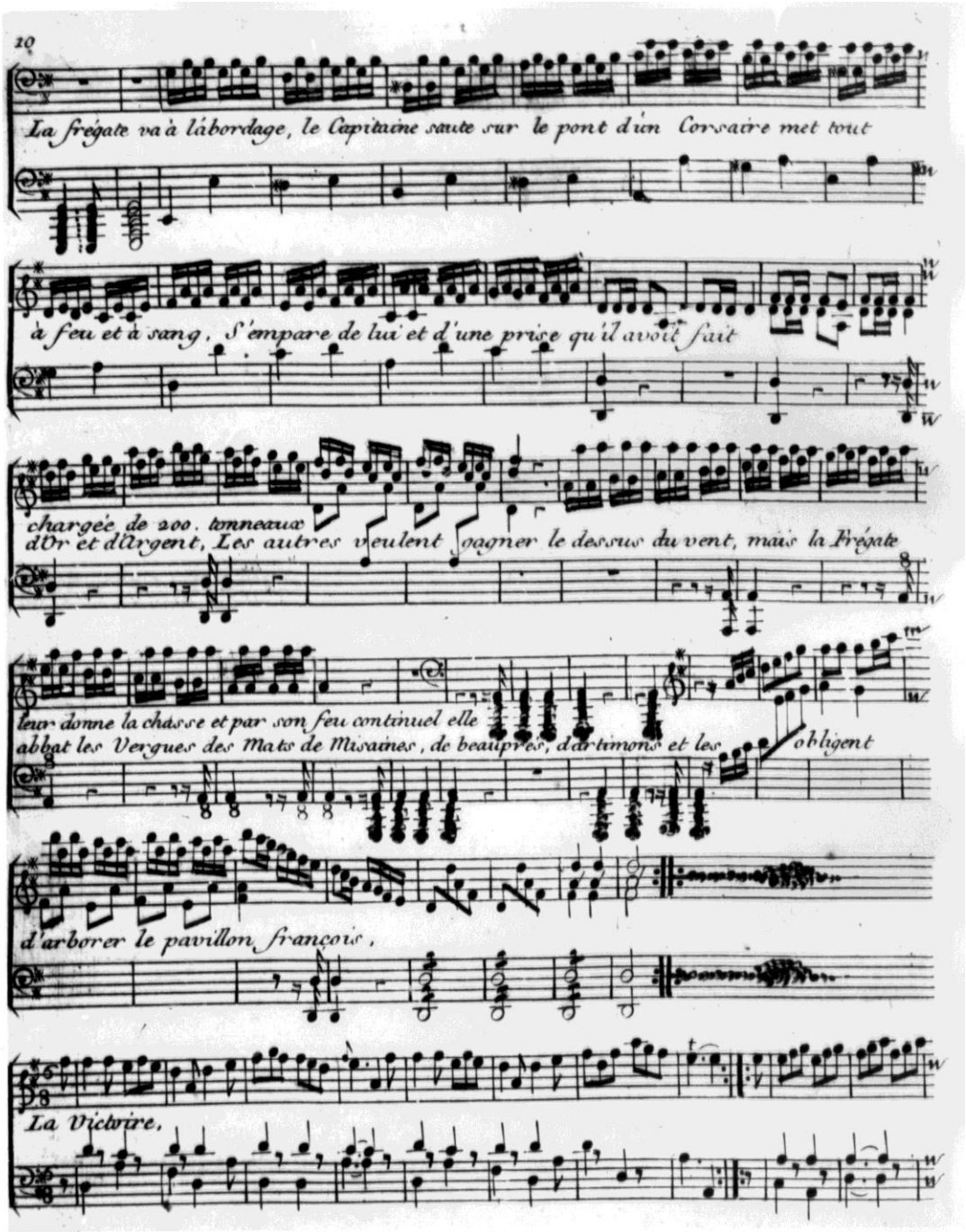
the confusion of sea, sky, and smoke **(see Illustration 4.12)**. Stylistically different from all others listed in this chapter, Blanchon's image almost seems to mimic a water-colour painting.

Illustration 4.12: Title-page image from Corrette's *Divertissemens pour le clavecin* (1781)

Imagination is required—indeed demanded—of the viewer here in order to make sense of the heavy smudges. And Corrette's music is eager to help the volume's user pull images out of the murk with sonic effects, especially the requisite canon blasts and "murmuring of the waters." But to aid the user of the volume in his or her attempt to fully imagine the scene, Corrette employs detailed verbal descriptions alongside his tone-painting. He aligns the music with a narrative of simultaneously-occurring visual events, much as stage directions might do in an operatic libretto. But it is unclear if the text is to be

read aloud, or exists solely for the keyboard player's benefit. Corrette's descriptions range from "general combat" to "the equipping of the sabres and pistols," to lengthy and breathless detailing of the action, at which point the exact temporal correspondence between musical event and words begins to break down in the chaos of it all **(see Ex. 4.1)**.

Example 4.1: Michel Corrette, *II. Divertissement:* "*Combat Naval d'une Fregate contre plusieurs Corsaires Ennemis*," **p. 10**



In effect, this overwhelming amount of detail changes the status of the print as a strictly musical product. Corrette's *Divertissemens* attempts to offer not just a score, but the ultimate multi-sensory product to the user of the volume. Designed to describe the action with as many sensory fields as possible, the musical volume in this case becomes an attempt to convey the *experience* of the actual event. The music becomes just one element of a larger project, for the appeal of the volume as a whole rests with its global focus on the experiential. It represents, thus, both the extreme limit of my investigation chronologically, and perhaps an inevitable outcome of such experiments with a highly visual-musical aesthetic.

One final note regarding the production of French printed products for instruments remains to be made here. The notion of marketing instrumental music with an illustration of some kind seems to have had at least one other parallel effect, in that it lent momentum to the practice of including beautiful engravings in instrumental method books. Indeed, such printed "tutors" were calculated for the same class of well-off amateur musicians who would have constituted the primary market for volumes of *pièces de clavecin*. Instrumental treatises had occasionally included illustrations before—Jean-Jacques Hotteterre's *Principes de la flute traversiere* (1707) is a notable example—but it became an almost standard feature of French

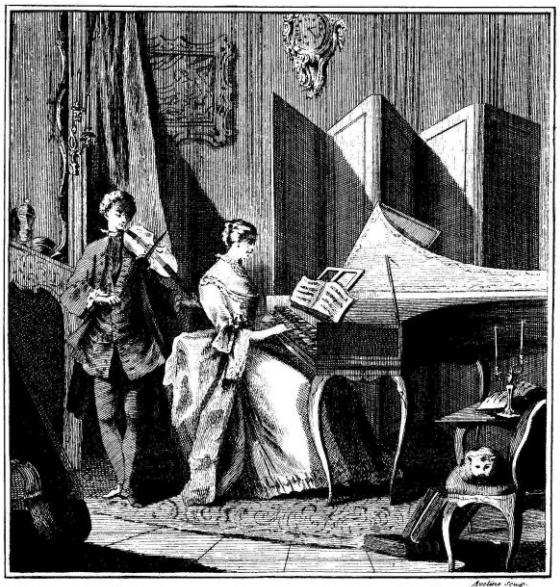
amateur tutors after the blossoming of engravings in French instrumental literature of the 1720s and 1730s. Once more, Dandrieu can be pointed to as having had a hand in the growing trend. Dandrieu's *Principes de l'Acompagnement du Clavecin* of 1719 follows very much in the exuberant and busy style of his other title-page images published between 1705 and 1720.[622] Once again, the illustration is based on a frame-like conceit, but its borders are so rife with activity as to include four, extra mini-scenes, including two pastoral performances on shawms and flutes set in leafy landscapes, and at least one presumed reference to the subject matter of the book itself in the form of a cherub sitting at the keyboard while another holds up printed music.

However, after this point, it was the prolific Michel Corrette who really took up the practice of including engraved illustrations in his publications in earnest—in fact, part of the reason that one can even say that a large number of engravings occurred in French instrumental treatises of the eighteenth century is the fact that his didactic publications were so ubiquitous (and thus form such a large part of the entire corpus). The 1730s saw the first of the many, many method books published by Corrette, most of which were fronted with an illustration of the featured instrument in

622. This is not surprising given that the engraver of the title-page was Guérard, the same employed for the title-page to Dandrieu's 1710 *Livre de Sonates a Violon seul*.

action (or at least, poised for action). *L'Ecole d'Orphée*, Op. 18 of 1738 (a violin tutor) offers not a title-page illustration, but a full-page engraving of a man in fine clothing modeling the playing position of the violin, below which appears a short poem advertising the "secrets" of the volume.[623] As with many of the ensuing instrumental tutors Corrette issued, the engraving is actually signed (in this case, by "J. P. le Bas Graveur du Roy"), suggesting a degree of intentionality was involved in its selection, and perhaps even its production, for the volume.[624] Later publications by Corrette continued to include such full-page—and at times highly elaborate— illustrations, such as those from his *Methode Théorique et Pratique Pour Apprendre en peu de temps le Violoncelle* (1741) and *Le Maitre de Clavecin* (1753) **(see Illustrations 4.13 and 4.14)**.

623. "Toy qui de pouvoir harmonique, Veux faire un jour sentir les merveilleux éffets, D'une docte et simple pratique Puise icy les premiers secrets." Michel Corrette, *L'Ecole d'Orphée Méthode Pour Apprendre facilement a joüer du Violon* (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1738), [unpaginated, facing title-page].
624. We do not know, however, whether these title-pages were deliberately commissioned from the artists by Corrette.



Illustrations 4.13 and 4.14:
Engravings with epigrams immediately following title-pages in Corrette's *Methode…Pour Apprendre…le Violoncelle* (1741) and *Le Maitre de Clavecin* (1753)

While such images did not necessarily act as aids to understanding instrumental music (as I argue they do in the case of some operatic music and character pieces), they most certainly conveyed information about the cultural role and social status of instrumental music, and thus simultaneously shaped and were shaped by how a purchaser of the volume *thought* about music. This made them a natural partner to the images included in publications of musical pieces, insofar as images in instrumental tutors also offered distinct interpretations of class, domesticity and gender roles to the

potential purchaser (such as may be seen in Illustration 4.14[625]), as well as vaguer connotations of musical "inspiration," up-to-date fashion and ornament, and contemporary painterly style (such as might be implied by the facial expression of the cellist, his galant clothing, and the picturesque landscape included in Figure 4.13). Indeed, one senses that these engravings reflect back to the user a carefully-constructed, ideal image of themselves.

As a chapter providing a theoretical and historical bridge between Chapters 3 and 5, the material presented above covers much territory. I have argued that commentary from contemporary music criticism (particularly the works of Dubos and Batteux) may be usefully brought to bear on select non-operatic repertories, namely, *pièces de caractère*. Batteux's desire to group music into "landscape" and "portrait" paintings, taken into consideration with the character piece's overall emphasis on imitation and depiction, provides an ideal framework for approaching the genre.

Nevertheless, the mimetic qualities of the character piece remains a contentious subject, for a variety of statements by eighteenth-century composers make clear that a title appended to a work is not always a guarantor of intentional "depiction." This, however, in no way prevents a

625. The accompanying poem adds an interesting twist to the gender dynamic of this illustration, for while the demure woman at the keyboard is in keeping with many eighteenth-century representations of feminine domesticity, the text suggests much more sensual, and perhaps erotic, themes are in play as well: "According to your whim, divine harmony, I feel with ravishment the rapid fire of genius, or the gentleness of feeling."

player of the music from envisioning relationships (mimetic or not) between the music and its ostensible subject—indeed, I have argued that a user's generic expectations of a character piece would naturally have encouraged the creation of such associations. And while, again, I caution that not all types of representation are necessarily visual, listeners would have been familiar with interpreting both the standard conventions of tone-painting (such as musical gestures that imply motion and direction) and the qualities of "character states" in explicitly pictorial terms.

In the latter part of the chapter, I provide an account of the trajectories of two overlapping histories: the growth of *pièce de caractère* as a subset of the more general *pièce de clavecin*, and the trend toward including more elaborate title-pages in collections of instrumental music. Both were in the process of becoming more popular in the very early eighteenth century, and in the 1720s they fruitfully coincide in the publication of Dandrieu's books of *pièces de clavecin*. I trace this confluence above through the publications of a variety of other French composers, including Chédeville, Dornel, Lambert, and Corrette.

From the examples presented in this chapter, there can be little doubt that both Dandrieu and Corrette played important roles in making the inclusion of various visual elements in instrumental publications a regular

practice. They apparently considered a visual feature of some kind, both in the appearance of the volume and at times within the style of musical composition itself, a critical component of offering works to the educated, upper-class amateur.[626] For this audience, then, the acts of learning, playing, and thinking about instrumental music would have had both sonic and visual implications almost by default. However, one certainly cannot say that all title-page illustrations offer a direct and unproblematic connection to the musical material of the volume (in essence, a simple attempt to make the "subject" of character pieces manifest). While this is indeed occasionally the case, greater significance lies in the layers of meaning the connotations of a given illustration may have added to the music through their mutual proximity. In the following chapter, I take up Dandrieu's three later books of *pièces de clavecin* as an opportunity to experiment with the potential layers of meaning offered to the eighteenth-century user. The three volumes offer an exceptional example for study insofar as they mark the apex of Dandrieu's career as a producer of music for public consumption, and stand perhaps as the set of instrumental publications essaying the tightest and most fruitful collaboration of visual and sonic. Further, the nature of that collaboration shifts over the course of the three books in marked fashion, providing an

626. It should also be noted that many, many more of Corrette's didactic publications than those discussed here also included some form of illustration, including his lengthy series of *Amusemens du Parnasse* method books and popular tune collections.

important window into the changing strategies of a composer presenting these works to a French public of social and financial means in the 1720s and 1730s.

CHAPTER 5

DANDRIEU'S *PIÈCES DE CLAVECIN*: A CASE-STUDY

Few composers of the eighteenth century seem to have so consistently chosen to include imagery with their published works as Jean-François Dandrieu. Yet, in documentary terms, we know very little about Dandrieu's interactions with publishers and engravers, not to mention other contemporaries in business—as his main biographer, Brigitte François-Sappey, and David Fuller both lament, Dandrieu left us precious little documentation of professional activities beyond a record of his participation on two juries and an organ consultation.[627] Nevertheless, the fact that nearly *all* of his original publications—save only the symphonic edition of *Les Caractères de la guerre* produced by Ballard in 1718—presented the purchaser of the music with elaborately decorated title-pages argues strongly that the decision to include such imagery lay in Dandrieu's hands, and was not merely the default practice of any one of his printers (to which he simply conformed). Even Dandrieu's last publication (dated 1739), which appeared

627. François-Sappey notes that we lack even such basic things as birth, baptismal, and wedding certificates; he left no final will or testament, and no portrait of him has come to light. Brigitte François-Sappey, *Jean-François Dandrieu, 1682-1738: Organiste du Roy* (Paris: Picard, 1982), 65. François-Sappey has, however, transcribed many documents concerning his family's financial affairs, but, sadly, none deal with issues of publication. See François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 247-280. See also David Fuller, "Dandrieu (2): Jean-François Dandrieu," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 13 September 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07160pg2).

posthumously (but nonetheless seems to have been prepared by Dandrieu himself), conforms to this trend with a title-page engraved by the well-known Charles-Nicolas Cochin.[628]

Remarkably, however, Dandrieu's tendency to include engravings has elicited little commentary in modern scholarship. Though Paul Brunold noted this trend in 1932,[629] only François-Sappey has devoted enough attention to Dandrieu's consistent use of imagery to attempt to draw conclusions about it. She takes this as evidence of Dandrieu's taste as an artist and the craftsman-like influence of his father, insofar as it suggests Dandrieu had a penchant for creating and selling products of fine quality.[630] Indeed, she uses these proposed aesthetic sensibilities as a means to fend off the harsher conclusions of Brunold on Dandrieu's status as a musician and composer. Further, she combines her assessment of Dandrieu's compositional abilities with this apparent appreciation for painters and engravers in an attempt to argue that, "like Bérain, Audran, Lepautre, Watteau, and Boffrand, [Dandrieu] was a participant in the formation of a new style: the rococo."[631]

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628. See Jean-François Dandrieu, *Premier Livre de Pièces d'Orgue* (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1739). Details surrounding the publication of this volume may be found in François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 80-81.
629. Paul Brunold, "Trois Livres de Pièces de clavecin de J. -F. Dandrieu," *Revue de Musicologie* 13, no. 43 (Aug. 1932): 147-151.
630. Jean-François's father was a well-known leather craftsman. François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 67.
631. Ibid., 245.

Although François-Sappey's valorization of Dandrieu reads as slightly encomiastic (and, at times, defensive), it is certainly clear that Dandrieu desired some kind of consistent engagement with the visual culture. The engravers and image designers from which his title-pages were sourced were usually those regarded as the best of the day, including [Martin?] Desmarest and Claude Roussel, Nicolas Guérard, Charles Simmoneau, Simon Thomassin, Charles-Nicolas Cochin, and—most remarkably—Nicolas Lancret. And the notion that Dandrieu (and, by extension, his audiences) paid particular attention to the presentation of his music is supported by the fact that mentions of his publications in the *Mercure* and other papers often specifically cite the quality of the included engraving (greater detail regarding these comments will be supplied below).[632]

Dandrieu's sudden adoption of the practice of supplying titles for his keyboard pieces in the 1720s appears to have been just as enthusiastic and thoroughgoing as his use of engraved title-pages. While his first three books of *pièces de clavecin* (the latter two of which seem to have achieved only limited circulation[633]) contained only dance movements, those appearing from 1724 onward expunge all dance designations, containing *only* pieces with fanciful titles. Why this shift to character pieces was so sudden and so complete (and

632. Many of these comments are reprinted by François-Sappey. Ibid., 69.
633. See François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 73-75.

why Dandrieu would choose to title his fourth, fifth, and sixth books "Premier," "Second," and "Troisième") remains the subject of speculation. David Fuller and François-Sappey both point to Couperin's books of *pièces de clavecin* as likely sources of influence for Dandrieu's mature collections of the 1720s and 1730s. Couperin's collections of 1713, 1716-1717, and 1722 are often figured as a watershed moment in the history of character pieces, insofar as they represent a turning-away from sequences of dance movements in favor of titles and an intense focus on musical "characterization."[634] And while relatively few composers published collections of harpsichord pieces during the two decades in which Couperin published his four, the period following 1731 saw a flood of *pièces de clavecin* with character-piece-type titles.[635]

So, it is not without reason that Fuller has referred to Dandrieu as "leap[ing] with both feet on to Couperin's title-bandwagon"—not simply because he considers Couperin's harpsichord music "unequalled" in calibre in the eighteenth century, but because by the time Dandrieu published his *Premier Livre* in 1724, Couperin had in fact already produced three books of

634. Although Couperin's first book contains movements with titles, David Fuller sees the second collection as marking the clearest shift in *compositional* style: "…from the second book onwards, Couperin abandoned many of the stereotyped gestures of dance pieces in favor in an attempt to diversify and enrich the character of his music." See David Fuller et al. "Couperin," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed September 24, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40182pg4).
635. David Fuller, "Of Portraits, 'Sapho' and Couperin: Titles and Characters in French Instrumental Music of the High Baroque," *Music & Letters* 78, no. 2 (May, 1997): 173.

harpsichord pieces with titles and they had become well-established cultural reference points.[636] It is certainly possible, thus, to construct a reading in which Dandrieu's *Premier*, *Second*, and *Troisième livres* appear to be a rejection of the classical French dance suite—perhaps even an attempt to efface his own earlier books of harpsichord pieces by means of the new numbering—in order to capitalize upon a lucrative musical trend of the moment. Fuller unambiguously refers to Dandrieu's efforts, based upon his use of titles and banishment of the traditional dance suite, as a direct "imitation" of Couperin—indeed, he presents Dandrieu's actions as the quintessential testament to the cultural impact of Couperin's innovations.[637] And while Fuller's interpretation may seem cynical in that it implies that Dandrieu had not musical quality, but profit, foremost in mind, his reading is gains credence by one inarguable fact: the music in Dandrieu's *Troisième Livre* consists almost entirely of dance movements from his own earlier keyboard books, as well as transcriptions of his own trio- and string sonatas, all updated with fashionable titles.[638] In fact, twenty-eight of the thirty-six

636. Ibid.
637. David Fuller, "Suite," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed September 24, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27091).
638. Ibid.

movements in the *Troisième livre* contain material re-worked or "cribbed" directly from Dandrieu's earlier publications.[639]

François-Sappey, with characteristic positivity, offers that perhaps Dandrieu's apparent "lassitude" in preparing this volume was due to illness during this time in the 1730s, and suggests that his tendency to re-work earlier compositions paled in comparison to the practices of Bach, Handel, and De Lalande.[640] In a sense, however, the question of self-borrowing is immaterial to my concerns. Both François-Sappey and Fuller's interpretations underplay the relevance of Dandrieu's statement in the preface to his *Premier Livre* that his titles were *derived* from the character of the movements to which they were attached (discussed in greater detail below). Whatever negative connotations we might anachronistically attach to the practice of recycling one's own music, the date of composition of these pieces does not invalidate the composer's attempt to translate their musical qualities into a verbal declaration of their character, even if that translation occurred *after* their first appearance in print

Neither Fuller nor François-Sappey consider a third possibility: that, rather than merely riding on Couperin's coattails—a reading that more than anything reflects our desire to see Couperin as a "master"—perhaps

639. François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 152.
640. Ibid., 151-152.

Dandrieu's *Premier*, *Second*, and *Troisième livres* offered a kind of response to Couperin's collections of character pieces. Indeed, one might even see them as an attempt to outdo Couperin in the visual and representational sphere. Fuller's contention that "Dandrieu had little of Couperin's harmonic audacity, complexity of rhythm and texture, endless variety of harpsichord colour, studied naivety, humour, or nobility" privileges a modern way of listening to and judging a composition, and should not necessarily be taken to reflect the entire spectrum of characteristics valued by the eighteenth-century amateur.[641] If, as I have argued in the previous chapter, part of the desirability of the character piece for the upper-class player/listener of the time lay in its attempt to translate sound (without the benefit of lyrics) into a concrete object for the mind's-eye, the three keyboard collections of Dandrieu's maturity (and above all the *Premier Livre*) can be seen as essaying an especially direct approach. While Couperin is celebrated today for attempting to render portraits of actual persons in sound—for his engagement with what Batteux would call "portrait painting" of individuals—Dandrieu's collections privilege a more straight-forward representation of *sons non-passionées* and *sons animées* (and the latter only as far as the imitation of abstract emotional states, not actual persons). This

641. Fuller, "Dandrieu," *Grove Music Online*.

depictive sonic quality is aligned with a concomitant emphasis on visuality in the printed volumes themselves. By contrast, none of Couperin's volumes of character pieces was supplied with engraved imagery. Reframed in the terms of an eighteenth-century purchaser, Dandrieu's volumes may well have been looked upon as a remarkable "one-upping" of the level of visual and sonic representation in the character-piece sphere. This is *not* by any stretch to suggest Couperin's works fail in the field of representation by comparison! Rather, Dandrieu's works may have had value precisely for their direct approach to "depiction" in the most general sense.

Whether this was the perception of contemporaries is unclear. But we do know that contemporaries considered the music of the two composers comparable, even if Couperin's oeuvre was the better-known. Titon du Tillet's *Le Parnasse françois* compliments Dandrieu's compositions for their "harmonious and singing" qualities, stating specifically that they are much in the vein of Couperin's works.[642] In particular, Tillet praises the descriptive nature of Dandrieu's titles as "très-bien caractérisées par la Musique" and "caractérisées avec goût."[643] And he takes special care to mention the visual nature of Dandrieu's publications, telling the reader that "he paid great

642. Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois*, Suppl. ed. (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard Fils, [1743]), 708.
643. Ibid., 709.

attention to the engraving of all his books, which are executed with neatness and beautiful frontispieces in *tailledouce*."[644]

At the very least, then, Dandrieu's collections speak to a consistent desire to offer meticulously-designed products, or what François-Sappey calls a "perfection of presentation," to the consumer of his works.[645] They aspire, particularly in the case of the *Premier*, *Second*, and *Troisième Livres de pièces de clavecin*, to the status of *ouvrages de luxe* in the non-professional's collection of music.[646] And announcements of Dandrieu's new works printed in the *Mercure de France* and *Journal de Trévoux* repeatedly attest to an appreciation for the visuality of the volumes themselves: the announcement for his 1719 keyboard method, for example, was accompanied by the assertion that "if the beauty of the engraving adds something to the perfection of the method [book], one could say that this one is of the most accomplished kind."[647] To leave the material and visual aspects out of our judgment of the mature *pièces de clavecin* collections would thus be to ignore a significant, and apparently desirable, mode of contemporary appreciation.

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644. Ibid. "Il a eu une très-grande attention pour faire graver tous ces livres, qui sont exécutés avec beaucoup de propreté & avec des beaux frontispices gravés en tailledouce."
645. François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 68.
646. David Hennebelle, *De Lully à Mozart: Aristocratie, musique, et musiciens à Paris (XVIIe-XVIII siècles)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009), 217.
647. *Journal de Trévoux* (March 1719): 527-538; cited in François-Sappey, 69."Si la beauté de la gravure ajoute quelque chose à la perfection de la méthode, on peut dire que celle-ci est des plus accomplies."

Functions of the Musical Title-Page

How then ought we to think of the title-page image in such a volume? Assessing the relationship between a title-page or frontispiece image and the remaining content of any book requires imagining multiple ways in which a user might approach them. Margaret Smith and others chart a putative development of the title-page in the early days of printing as a function of the circumstances of mass-production, evolving gradually from a blank, protective overleaf to a simple label (in the stages before binding occurred), to an opportunity for publisher self-promotion.[648] Users of printed books could have expected to regularly encounter woodcut imagery and other decorative elements from the last decades of the fifteenth century onward. Smith identifies rough categories of these early examples based on the intended relationship of the woodcut to the text of the book: namely, as either direct indicator of the subject matter of the book, indirect indicator of the use for which the book is designed, identifier of the printer, or, at least sometimes, as completely unrelated decoration (usually explained as a consequence of a printer re-using the same cut for multiple books).[649]

648. Margaret Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460-1510* (London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2000), 16.
649. Ibid., 75.

For the purposes of this investigation, we might envision the title-page or frontispiece as having at least two possible modes of use for the "consumer" of the volume: introductory and parallel. As is implied by the word "frontispiece," the engraving literally "fronts" the volume: that is, the title-page or frontispiece constitutes an "introduction" or "preface" to the book itself.[650] One function of the title-page is thus to convey introductory information to the (potential) reader through visual means: print and, at times, illustration. And while much of that information is technical (i.e., indicative of the identity of the book, the circumstances of the book's production, its subject matter, dedicatee(s), or intended use), the historical user of a book would have been just as likely to glean *associative* information from the decorative, stylistic, or pictorial elements of a title-page, just as we are apt to do from the packaging of any material product. This is to say, regardless of the "intention" of the publisher (if indeed one existed), there is every reason to think a viewer of a title-page would be capable of supplying their own reading of the juxtaposition of text, decorative elements, and/or illustrations.

650. These are precisely the terms the *Oxford English Dictionary* uses for the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century definition of the word "frontispiece," at which time its meaning seems to have been somewhat interchangeable with "title-page" or "first page of a book or pamphlet." *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "frontispiece," accessed Oct. 6, 2013, http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/view/Entry/74941?rskey=kyTeBP&result=1#eid.

We can think thus of title-page imagery as a potential conditioner or mediator of the initial response of a user to the contents of the musical volume. And the information provided by non-textual elements such as imagery would not necessarily be confined to exposition of the book's contents: the subject matter of an image, the style in which that subject matter is depicted, and the style of surrounding ornamentation would draw upon a whole set of connotations relevant to the viewer. The triggering of that set of associative meanings for the viewer could have been attempted deliberately (if this was indeed the intention of the publisher), but could also always rely upon the entirely coincidental reading of an individual. Either result could inflect the meaning of the publication for its users—even when, as was often the case, the image was only ostensibly a *passe-partout*. The practice of replicating title-page imagery in various musical volumes should not necessarily be thought of as a limiter or devaluer of a given engraving's meanings; indeed, if anything, the association of the same images with multiple genres and styles of music—even when a viewer is aware of the repetition—fosters a plurality of potential meanings.[651]

While calling one mode of use for the title-page "introductory" is relatively self-explanatory, its "parallel" use requires a bit more explanation.

651. See again my discussion of the *passe-partout* in Chapter 3, pp. 204-207.

As we saw in Chapter 3, engravings could function as an important part of recall of an operatic event, but those furnished in instrumental volumes would (for the most part) have had no such link to a staged setting. It seems more likely that in the context of instrumental music—especially works connected to the extra-musical—title-page illustrations would have had a spectrum of different functions over time. The functions might encompass everything from supplying the ever-important object for the mind to contemplate during the sounding of depictive music (as was clearly the case for Lambert's *Pièces de clavecin* of 1749 **[see Ch. 4, Illustration 4.11]**), to acting as an evocative or metaphor-laden spur for the user's imagination (that is, a take-off point); or from suggesting performance means and scenarios, to signifying various levels of cultural and social stature. Given this plurality of fields of meaning, I use the term "parallel" to suggest the perception of an ongoing, mutually-reinforcing relationship between image and music for any given user.

I conceive, thus, of title-page imagery as retaining functionality beyond the user's initial reaction to the illustration. One can imagine that the performer of music from an illustrated volume might return to the title-page in later encounters with the book, intentionally or unintentionally re-enacting connotations associated with the image. And, as discussed in Chapter 3, the

practice of returning to the same image corresponds with our knowledge of engraving collecting in the eighteenth century, which emphasized contemplation of the image for the cultivation of refined taste and (at times) moral probity.

Contemplation of these visual associations furnishes the possibility of inflecting musical performance. Allusions to social class or general indications of the "seriousness" or "lightness" of the subject matter made through imagery would certainly have coloured (and can still colour) the performer's approach to the music—even if such subtle shifts in the style or affect in which he/she renders the music do not come about as the result of a conscious thought-process. And in cases in which titled movements refer directly to, or can be perceived as relating to, illustration at the front of the volume, repeated encounters with imagery may literally have provided the performer with a mental picture to accompany the sound of the music. It is important, however, to clarify that even a seemingly direct relationship between musical and visual subject matter could remain dynamic for the user of the volume: there is no more reason to believe an eighteenth-century consumer's mental image would remain fixed and unchanging from one experience to the next than there is to assume our own interactions with visual and musical art remain static over time. Again, I construe these

illustrations as a jumping-off point for the viewer-performer, such that visual and sonic elements could be in continuous dialogue with one another in the mind of the performer-listener over the length of time in which the music is sounded.

In what follows, I attempt to bring these modes of interaction with imagery to bear on a sampling of repertoire, using Dandrieu's character pieces as the vehicle for my rumination. Dandrieu's three collections of *pièces de clavecin* offer the listener and performer a feast of imagery—not only in sonic translation for the musically-astute ear, but also for the eye. Each of the three successive volumes of *pièces de clavecin* produced by Dandrieu (1724, 1728, and 1734) contain title-pages featuring extraordinarily detailed engraved images. Crucially, however, the nature of the relationship between the images and the music each introduces changes with each volume, suggesting no small amount of attention was devoted to the selection of the engravings. In the analysis below, I attempt to trace these shifts and their potential associative meanings.

Dandrieu's "Premier Livre"

The *Premier Livre* of 1724 advertises its contents explicitly on the title-page. Described as "containing several divertissements, of which the

principal [examples] are the Characters of War, those of the Hunt, and the Village Celebration,"[652] the collection contains, in part, a reworking of a suite of orchestral pieces originally composed for an unidentified opera or ballet.[653] Whether the pieces were in fact performed on the stage is unknown; in any case, before their publication in the *pièces de clavecin*, they had been published independently as *Les caractères de la guerre, ou Suite de symphonies ajoûtée à l'opéra* in 1718.[654] These *caractères de la guerre* constitute the final, extended movement of the collection's first suite. The "Chasse" and "Fête de Vilage" referred to on the title-page also each constitute lengthy, multi-sectional movements; both are contained in the fifth (and final) suite of the collection. As I have mentioned, no earlier collection of keyboard pieces by Dandrieu features descriptive titles for the works contained therein; from the *Premier Livre* of 1724 onward, however, all of Dandrieu's harpsichord pieces bear titles. Not surprisingly, then, in this first volume Dandrieu takes extra care in explaining the significance of these "characters."

Insofar as it is possible to discuss the intended nature of the relationship between title and musical piece, David Fuller has construed Dandrieu's aims as opposite to those of Couperin and Rameau. The latter

652. The full title reads "Premier Livre de Pièces de Clavecin Contenant plusiers Divertissemens dont les principaux sont les Caractères de la Guerre, ceux de la Chasse et la Fête de Vilage."
653. David Fuller, "Dandrieu," *Grove Music Online*.
654. More information on this very obscure publication can be found in François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 89.

two, he suggests, view the composition of the music as following from the idea on which it was based (i.e., the title generates the music); Dandrieu, by contrast, appears to indicate that his titles were to be taken as performance directions (i.e., the music generates the title, which in turn influences the rendering of the music as sound).[655] At the conclusion of the preface, Dandrieu states the following:

> For the names that I have chosen, I have tried to draw them from the very character of the pieces they designate, so that they can determine the style and movement in them, by awakening simple ideas and those acquired through the most common experience, or ordinary and natural sentiments of the human heart; perhaps I have not always succeeded.[656]

The implication that the music preceded the titles, and that the latter are therefore intended to guide the performer to appropriate decisions about style and tempo, seems clear here—and all the more so given that the statement is nested within a section of the text dedicated more generally to performance directions (in fact, it is followed immediately by illustrations of how Dandrieu's idiosyncratic ornament notations ought to be realized).

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655. Fuller, "Dandrieu," *Grove Music Online*. See also Fuller, "Of Portraits," 165.
656. Jean-François Dandrieu, "Prèface," in *Premier Livre* (Paris: 1724), [unpaginated]. "Pour les noms que j'ai choisi, j'ai pretendu les tirer du Caractère même des Pieces qu'ils designent, afin qu'ils pussent en determiner le goût et le mouvement, en reveillant des idées simples et aquises par la plus comune experience, ou des sentimens ordinaires et naturels au coeur humain: peut-être n'aurai-je pas toujours reüssi."

Nevertheless, it would be an oversimplification to suggest that this statement represents the only, or indeed the primary, significance of the titles—even of those given to works entirely by the same composer, published within the same collection. That it reveals only a portion of the impetus behind Dandrieu's titles is made clear in the dedication, in which he states,

> Sire,
> War, which is the occupation of heros; the Hunt, which provides their amusement; the tender Pastorale, image of Peace which is the glory of Kings, have by turns given me the Idea of the principal harpsichord pieces that I take the liberty of presenting to Your Majesty.[657]

Here Dandrieu suggests that precisely the opposite conceptual strategy (that is, working from the idea to the music) underlays the composition of these pieces. There is no reason to assume, however, that such directional relationships between title/image and music are necessarily mutually exclusive. Rather than reading Dandrieu's method of character-piece composition as diametrically opposed to that of Rameau and Couperin, the prefatory material in this volume suggests we should view his stance as relatively fluid—this is, essentially, an acknowledgment that multiple

657. Jean-François Dandrieu, "Au Roy," in *Premier Livre*, [unpaginated]. "Sire, La Guerre qui fait l'occupation des Heros; la Chasse qui fait leur amusement; la tendre Pastorale, image de la Paix, qui fait la gloire des Rois, m'ont doné tour à tour l'Idée des principales pièces de Clavecin que je prend la liberté de presenter à Vôtre Majesté."

significances may coexist behind any given character-piece for both composer and consumer of the music.

We could, of course, question whether we ought to take Dandrieu at his word in the dedication; rhetorically-speaking, the dedication provides the forum in which the composer may conventionally attempt to curry favour and express submission to his/her patron. As such, "truth" content was probably of less import than the charm and overall appeal of the ideas presented in the prose.[658] Yet, whether the dedication was addressed to the king or not, its rhetorical flourishes would have been read largely by the wealthy non-professionals who purchased such a publication, and so it is they too who are being tacitly addressed. And if this is an attempt to enhance the overall attractiveness of the collection, then it is significant to note that it is the notion of imagery—indeed, the very concept of basing music on physical things or actions—that is relied upon to draw in the reader. The allure of the volume as a whole rests on its calculated deployment of the extra-musical—or, to use Dandrieu's own words, on the "ideas" either behind the piece (as the dedication above suggests) or meant to be "awakened" by the piece (as the preface would suggest).

658. For more on the economy of the musical dedication, though in a slightly later period at which dedications to patrons were becoming less common, see Emily H. Green's dissertation, "Dedications and the Reception of the Musical Score, 1785-1850" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2009).

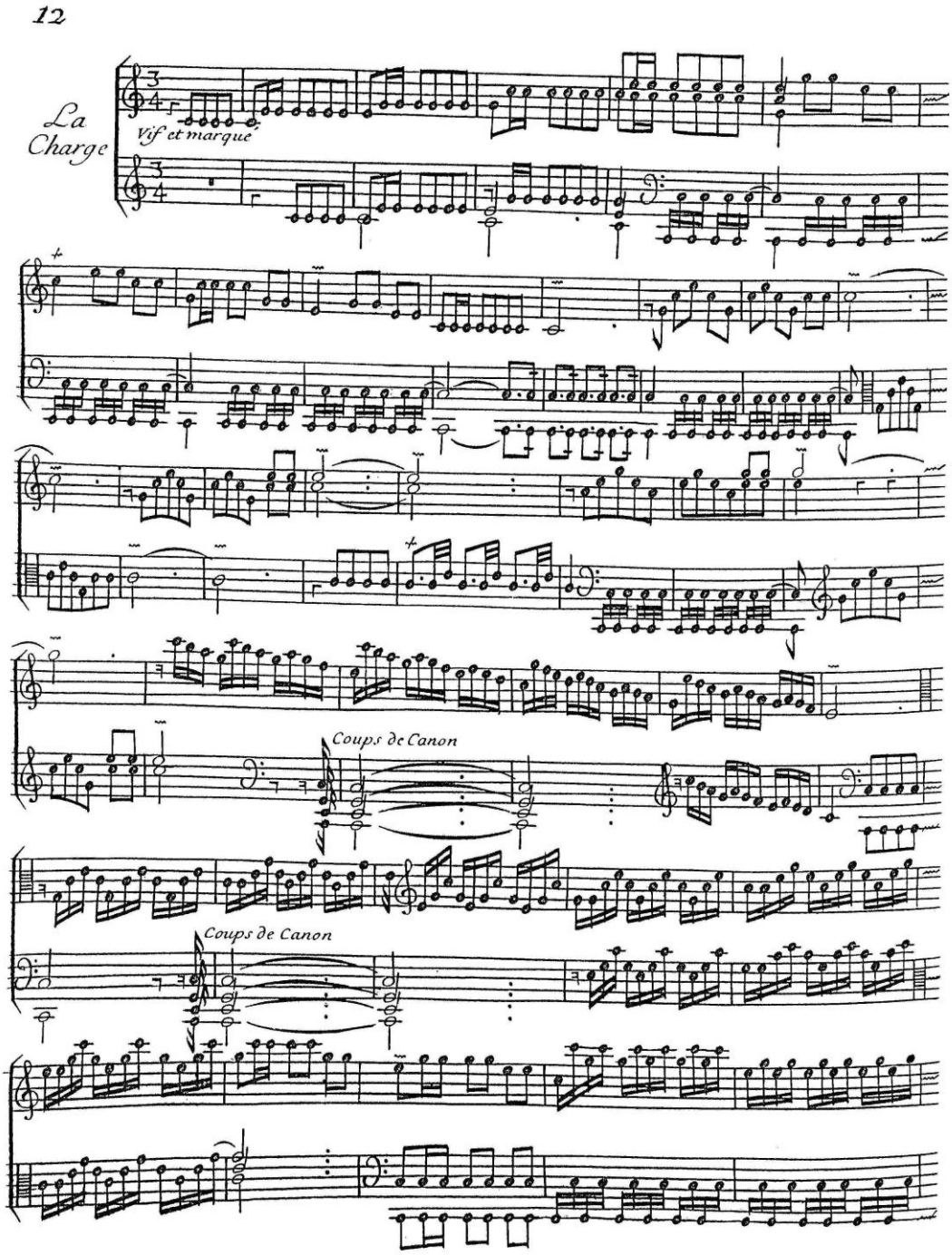
From the amateur's perspective, however, the distinction between the seemingly-opposed notions of "music based on pre-existent ideas" and "ideas drawn from pre-existent music" was perhaps immaterial. Indeed, at one point in the preface Dandrieu offers a kind of elision of the two:

> In the portion of "The Characters of War" which I call "The Charge," there are several places called canon blasts, marked by just four notes which form a perfect accord. But, to better express the noise of a canon, in place of these four notes one could strike [each] time the lowest notes of the keyboard with the flat, [or] entire length, of the hand.[659]

These canon blasts are evident in the fourth and fifth staves of **Example 5.1**.

659. Dandrieu, "Prèface," in *Premier Livre*, [unpaginated]. "Dans le morceau des Caractères de la Guerre, que j'apèle la Charge, il y a plusieurs endroits només coups de Canon et marqués seulement par quatre notes qui forment un acord [sic] parfait. Mais pour mieux exprimer le bruit du Canon, au lieu de ces quatre notes on poura fraper autant de fois du plat et de toute la longueur de la main, les notes les plus basses du clavier."

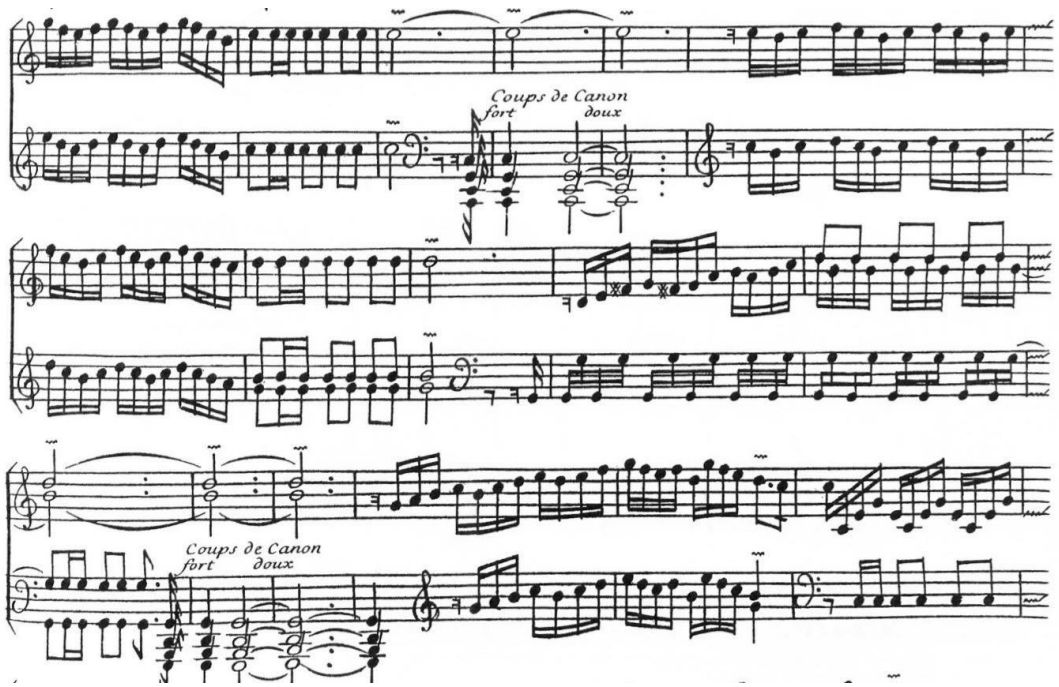
Example 5.1: Dandrieu, "La Charge," from *Premier Livre* (1724), p. 12



We have little reason to doubt Dandrieu when he says that this piece is based on the pre-existent concept of a battlefield: its obsessive exploration of fanfare rhythms and lack of conventional harmonic progression certainly place it outside the realm of conventional musical rhetoric. In fact, the movement consists almost entirely of scalar and arpeggiated realizations of the tonic, C major, and is largely harmonically static. Its musical language as a whole thus follows closely in the tradition of the *battaglia* or battle piece, a centuries-old genre of both vocal and instrumental music that attempted the representation of battle scenes by means of onomatopoeic effects.[660] And, in strict terms, these are not imitative of the visual, but the sonic. Even without Dandrieu's explicit label, "coup de canon," the rapid registral shifts in the left hand and sustained dotted half-notes at each of these moments would undoubtedly draw the listener and performer's attention to these low crashes as special sonic events in their own right. The two final iterations of the pattern even go so far as to suggest a gradual distancing effect, juxtaposing the percussiveness of the "fort" attack with a sustained "doux" echo (perhaps performed on the upper manual) **(see Ex. 5.2)**.

660. As mentioned in Chapter 3 (fn. XX), Janequin seems to have been a figure especially responsible for the popularizing of this genre through his publication of "La guerre" in 1428 (although it should be noted that precedents for Janequin's piece do exist). See Alan Brown, "Battle Music," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 20 October, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02318).

Example 5.2: Dandrieu, "La Charge," from *Premier Livre* (1724), p. 13



But the very fact that these moments are labeled "coups de canon" implies that, as notated events on the page, they are limited in their ability to convey the full impression of the canon blast that Dandrieu has in mind. For the listener to truly "get the picture" (that is, understand the extra-musical idea from the music), an extended technique is needed: the cacophony of low notes created with the flat of the hand described in the quotation above. Dandrieu's instructions thus position the performer as translator: the job of the user of this volume is to both comprehend the external "thing" the music is supposedly based upon (whether visual or not) and render it—or, in

Dandrieu's words, "express" it—such that the listener may understand this extra-musical "thing" from the sound itself. For Dandrieu, the performer's task, regardless of which came first in the compositional process, is to bridge where necessary (or possible) the conceptual gap between subtitle and sonic material. [661]

While, as extra-musical content, the canon blasts are primarily sonic in nature, in many (though not all) instances, the "ideas" which are to be conveyed hinge upon a visual component—that is, they allude to content sensible partly by the faculty of sight, or envisioned with the mind's-eye. And upon first opening the volume, the force of the lavish frontispiece, flowery dedication, and detail-packed preface placed in immediate succession would no doubt have communicated to a viewer that the *Premier Livre* would contain music powerfully fascinated by the visual.

Having discussed Dandrieu's conception of what a character piece was, I turn now to the images contained in the volume. The title-page itself **(see Illustration 5.1)** is an illustration designed and engraved by Charles Simonneau. Known in his own right for his self-standing engravings, Simonneau was by the 1720s also a senior hand at reproducing the works of

661. However, while striving for this expressive objective is relatively uncomplicated when the performer and listener are one-and-the-same person, it does *not* necessarily obviate the need for the title to be announced to audience members unable to see the score—particularly in cases where the extra-musical concept is less obvious than a canon blast.

artists such as Le Brun and Coypel.[662] In a culture in which the use of *passe-partout* title-pages was the easiest recourse for book publishers, the creation of a new work by a well-known engraver for a particular publication would likely have involved extra expense; it was, in other words, a consciously-undertaken decision on the part of the publisher and author/composer. And the announcement of the edition in the *Mercure de France* focuses almost entirely on the frontispiece, in which, it says, "War, the Hunt, and the Country Celebration are very well characterized."[663] As I show shortly, few such specially-commissioned engravings seem to have been tailored to the musical contents of the volume with the specificity of this work.

662. Maxime Préaud, "Simonneau," Grove Art Online Oxford Art Online (Oxford University Press, accessed April 10, 2012, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T078862). See also *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Ulrich Thieme, ed. (Leipzig: E. A. Seeman, 1913), s.v. "Simonneau, Charles."

663. "Livre de Pieces de Clavecin, contenant plusiers divertissemens…," *Mercure de France* (Jan. 1724): 96-97. This announcement is also noted by Emily H. Green as being particularly concerned with the quality of the engraving. She sees argues it is relatively typical for its time and place in that it aims to "emphasize the skill of those associated with the work—in this case the composer and engraver—in order to assure the public of its quality." See Emily H. Green,"Dedications and the Reception of the Musical Score, 1785-1850" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2009), 53.

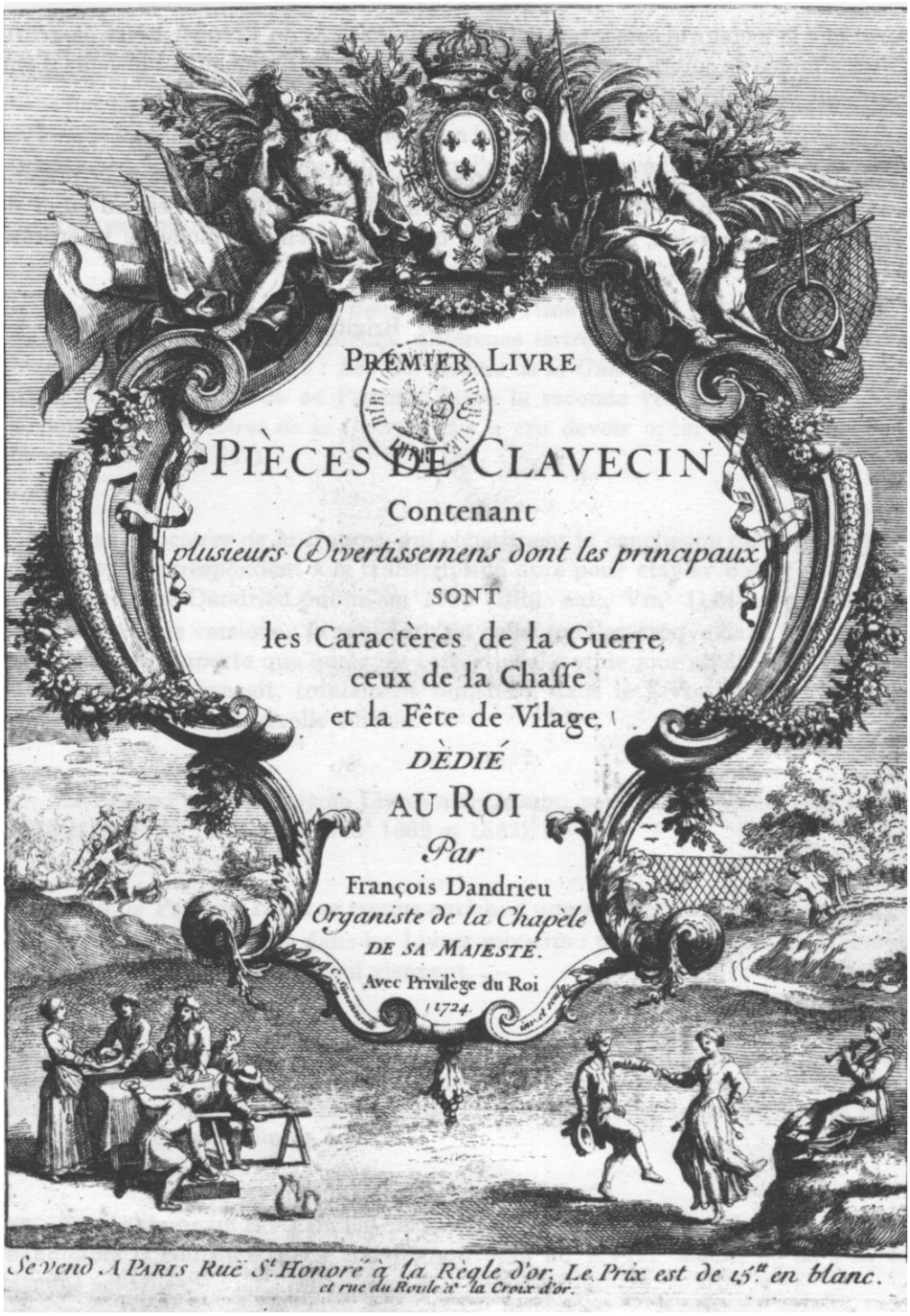


Illustration 5.1: Title-page to Dandrieu's *Premier Livre de Pièces de Clavecin* (1724)

In keeping with the title of the volume, which specifically refers to "les Caractères de la Guerre, ceux de la Chasse et la Fête de Vilage," Simonneau represents each of these circumstances in small vignettes within the larger image. The gods Mars and Diana recline on top of the ornate frame containing the title, the former with a Roman battle helmet surrounded by flags; the latter complete with spear, hound, net, and hunting horn. Set amidst lavish foliage, each presides over their respective vignette: Mars over the battle scene, and Diana over the hunt. The third vignette, a village scene consisting of a peasant feast, dancers, and a shawm-player, spans the bottom of the title-page.

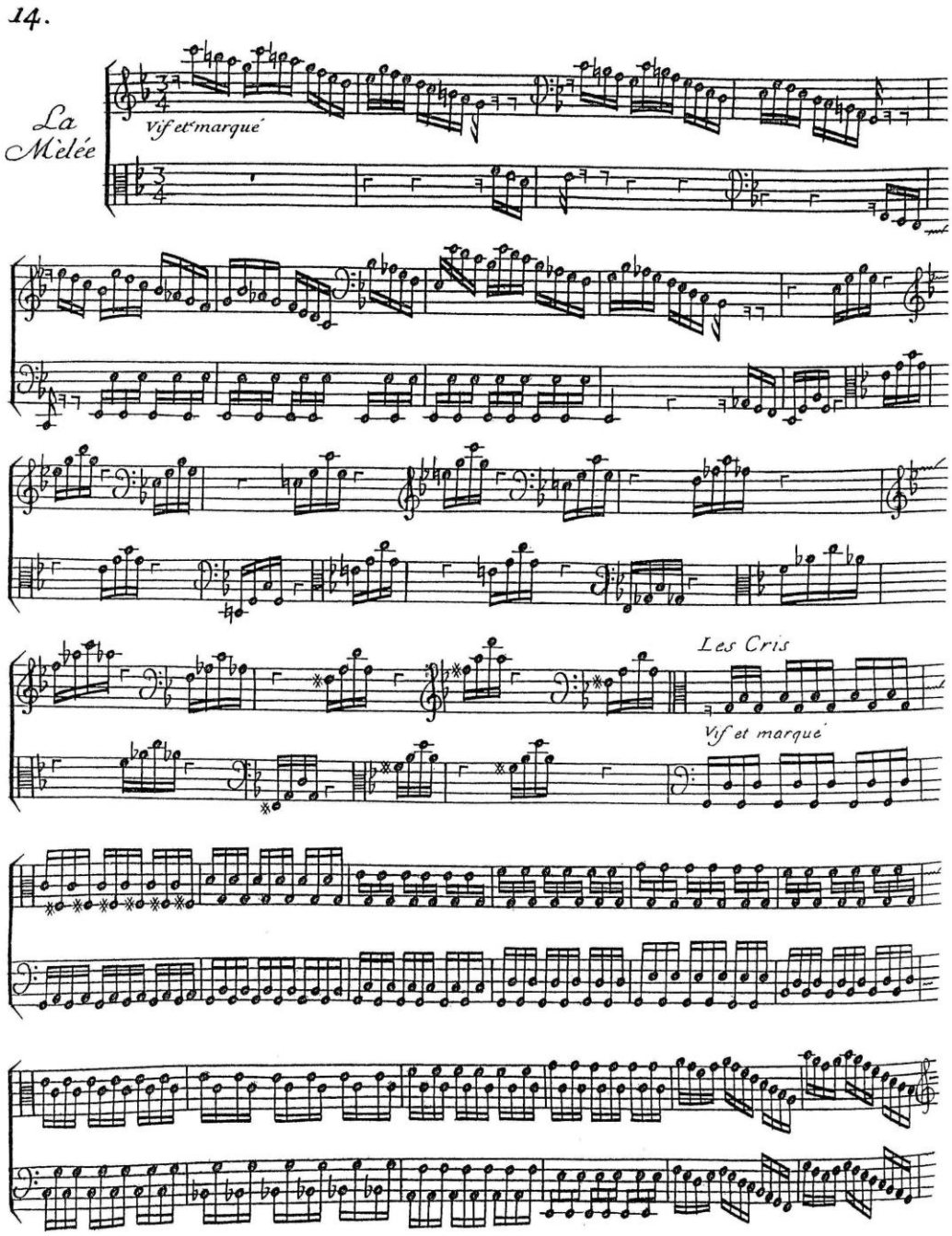
Though remarkable in-and-of itself for the elaborateness of its rococo filigree, the most notable aspect of the title-page is the extreme literalness with which it announces the volume's content to the viewer. Changes in the early printings of the volume confirm that this relationship was intentional. A copy preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale (Res. Vm^7 347), believed to be from an early run of the volume, lacks the battle scene; evidently, Simonneau and/or Dandrieu changed it upon reprinting to ensure the vignette explicitly corresponded with "les Caractères de la Guerre." This surviving early print contains representations of only the peasant and hunting scenes; in the vignette under Mars is simply a landscape of hills and

trees. Upon the reissue of the volume, which François-Sappey places sometime between 1734 and 1737, the word "Premier" was added to the title and the landscape vignette was replaced with the battle scene (which remains the best-known, and most widely reprinted, version of the title-page today). François-Sappey takes this, along with other minor textual changes between surviving copies of the *Premier Livre*, as evidence that Dandrieu took the time to correct the volume with each pressing.[664]

In this updated version of the print, we might see parts of the vignettes as offering to the viewer direct thematic references to movements—even multiple movements—within the collection. Two men in combat on horseback might well suggest to the viewer the subject matter of "La Mélée," which immediately follows "La Charge," and features a rapid-fire exchange in the form of a series of back-and-forth hand crossings, replete with frenetic, sixteenth-note runs and the sounds of the combatants' cries **(see Ex. 5.3)**.

664. François-Sappey, *Dandrieu*, 77.

Example 5.3: Dandrieu, "La Mèlée," from *Premier Livre* (1724), p. 14



Given the disordered jumble of men and horses in the background of the vignette **(see Illustration 5.2)**, the viewer might be equally inclined to connect it to "La Cavalcade," a movement not from "Les Caractères de la Guerre" of the first suite, but sandwiched instead between "La Fête de Vilage" and "La Chasse" in the fifth suite. The fact that the image may have more than one musical reference point within the collection, however, does not detract from its specificity; rather, it further anchors the correlation of visual and aural across the contents of the entire volume. In this case, "La Cavalcade" might be thought of as part of a trio of movements that places all three elements of the volume's title in direct juxtaposition with one another, while hearkening back to the more extended exploration of the sounds of warfare in "Les Caractères de la Guerre." Music with a visual correlate on the title-page thus bookends the volume by providing an end to both the first and last suites.

Illustration 5.2: Detail of title-page to Dandrieu's *Premier Livre de Pièces de Clavecin* **(1724)**

The pastoral scene might be construed as offering a similar double-reference. While the gavotte, gigue, and menuets of "La Fête de Vilage" easily conjure images of dancing peasants much as they are depicted on the title-page, we might be equally inclined to hear the "low" instrument movements of the fourth suite ("Les Fifres" and "Les Chalumeaux") as hearkening back to the opening image (indeed, the woman in the lower right of the engraving appears to be playing either a chalumeau or shawm). More difficult when it comes to determining a musical analog, however, is the "Chasse" vignette, which depicts a method of hunting birds by frightening them into nets **(see Illustration 5.3)**. If anything, the movements making up "La Chasse" (each alternately labelled "bruit de chasse" and "fanfare"), all of which feature galloping triplet eighth-notes, would seem to suggest a chase involving hunters on horseback. Why the hunting vignette should not refer with the same literalness to the music as the other elements comprising the title-page—or, indeed, should feature such an uncommon hunting technique—is a mystery. Its inclusion might possibly have been the result of Simonneau's decision to follow the model of a particular painting with which he was familiar, or it may suggest that overall conceptual correspondence (i.e., of hunting, in general) was, in the grander hierarchy, simply of greater value than the specificity of the reference.

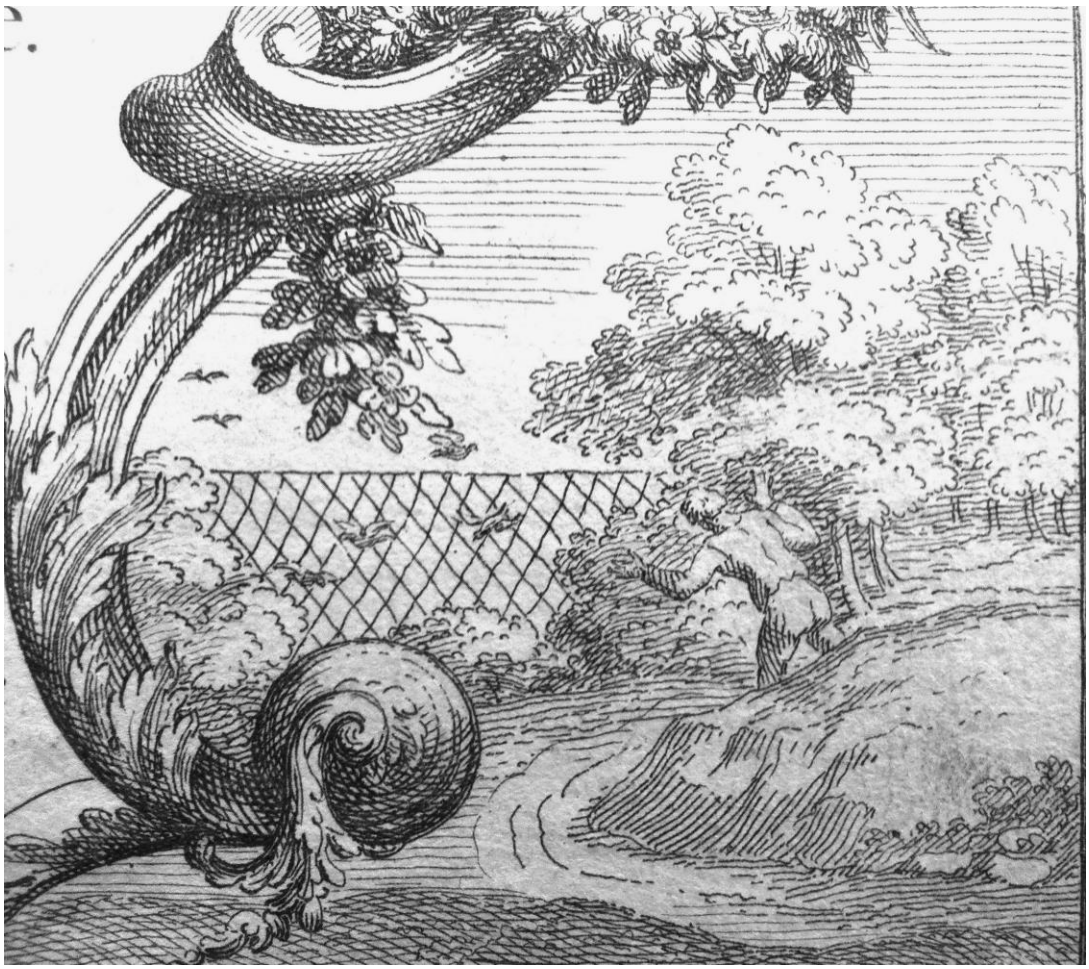


Illustration 5.3: Detail of title-page to Dandrieu's *Premier Livre de Pièces de Clavecin* (1724)

There is, however, a more convincing explanation to be found. A viewer of the volume might well understand resonances between the bird-hunting image on the title-page and the final, multi-movement piece of Dandrieu's second suite: "Le Concert des Oiseaux." Long associated with sexuality, from decorous courting to the most explicit of circumstances, the visual theme of hunting, trapping, and catching birds could have

connotations of love for the contemporary viewer. In seventeenth-century Netherlandish art, amorous scenes with birds had manifestly sexual associations—indeed, the Dutch word for "bird" ("vogel") also functioned as slang for the male anatomy, and its form as a verb ("vogelen") was a euphemism for intercourse.[665] In early eighteenth-century French artwork, birding scenes were a popular subject matter, but, according to historian Elise Goodman, generally lacked the explicit erotic connotations of earlier Dutch works.[666] Works of Watteau, Lancret, and Boucher tend instead to treat bird-catching, usually marked by visual cues such as cages, strings, and nets, as a symbol for love's ability to entrap, emphasizing instead the lightheartedness and *galanterie* of pursuing the opposite sex, or the "captivity" of the beguiled lover.[667] This paralleled the adoption of bird hunting as a favoured countryside pastime of the upper class, as evidenced by publications such as Louis Liger's *Amusemens de la campagne* of 1709, in which "petites chasses" are vaunted as delightful and innocent amusements.[668]

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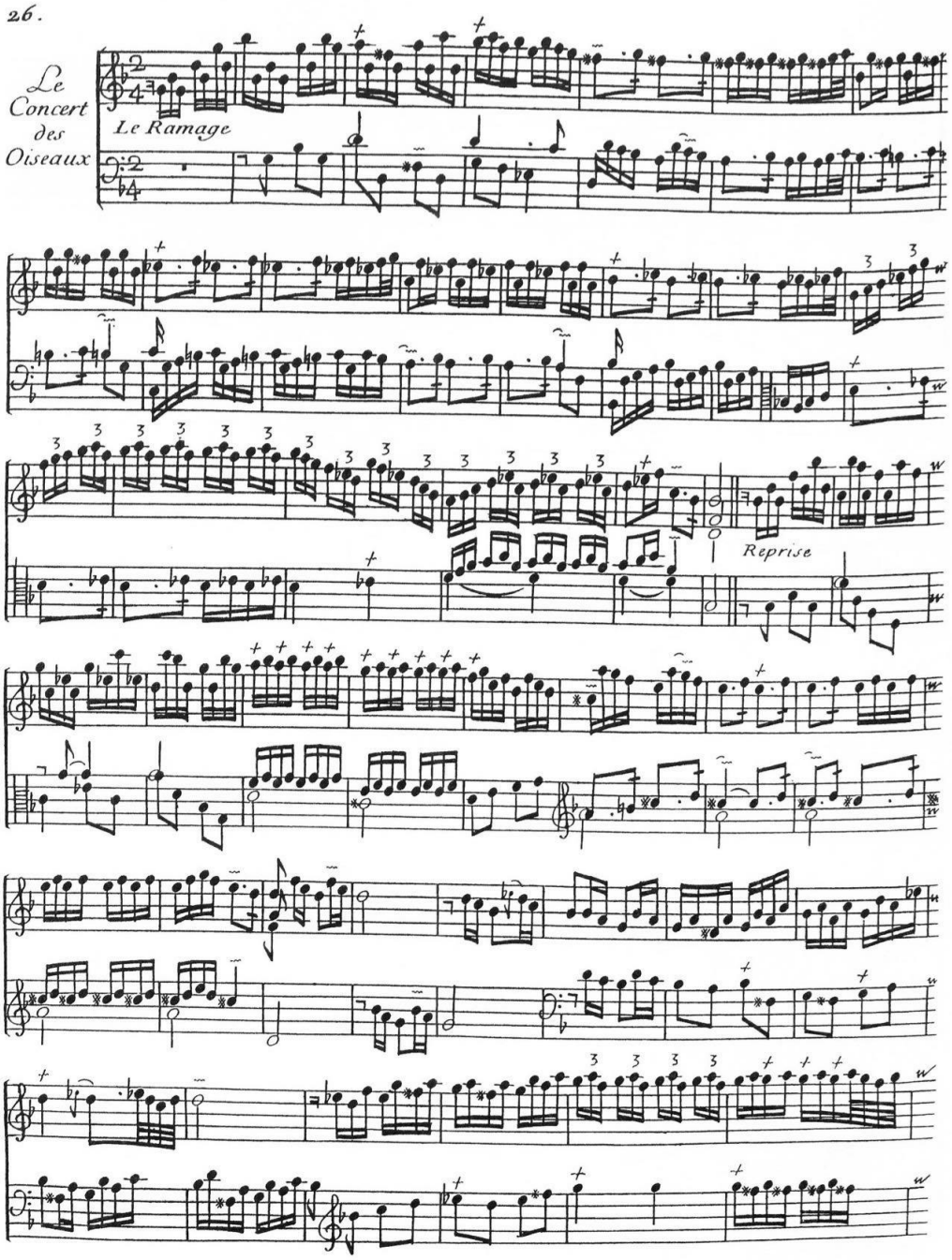
665. The double meanings of "birding" and "fishing" have been explored at length in the art history literature, most notably by E. De Jongh in "Erotica in vogelperspectief: De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 3, no. 1 (1968-1969): 22-74.
666. Elise Goodman, "Les jeux innocents": French Rococo Birding and Fishing Scenes," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 23, no. 4 (1995): 251.
667. Ibid., 261.
668. Louis Liger, *Amusemens de la campagne, ou nouvelles ruses innocents* (Paris: Chez Claude Prudhomme, 1709); reprint: (Paris: Chez Savoye, 1753), 4. See also Jean-Luc Bordeaux, "The Epitome of the Pastoral Genre in Boucher's Oeuvre: 'The Fountain of Love' and 'The Bird-Catcher' from 'The Noble Pastoral,'" *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 3 (1976): 88.

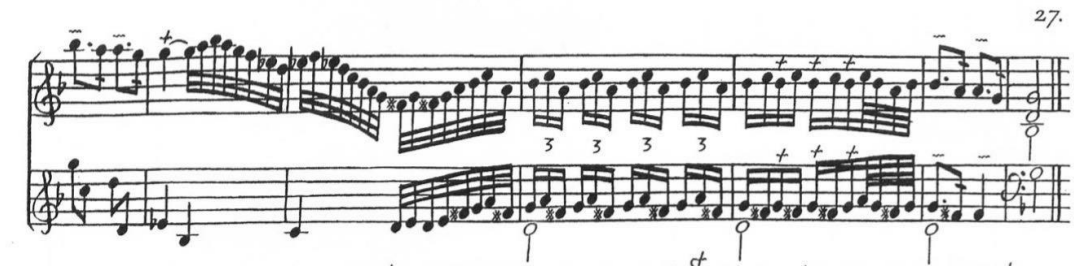
This network of associations probably explains the fact that "Le Concert des Oiseaux" is comprised of movements subtitled "Le Ramage," "L'Amour," and "L'Hymen." Although it might seem strange to modern readers, only one of the movements from "The Concert of the Birds" actually has a subtitle that references birds ("Le Ramage"—literally "warbling"). This movement is also the only one of the three to indulge in what might obviously be termed "tone-painting." Its frenetic sixteenth-note runs and circlings (see esp. the third and sixth staves of **Ex. 5.4**), and insistent repetitions of the same ornamented pitch (visible esp. in the fourth stave), partake of a musical vocabulary for bird song recognizable since at least the Renaissance.[669] In fact, the sequential repetition of these ornamented pitches—namely the descent from F-sharp (mm. 5-8), through E (mm. 9-12), and D (mm. 13-14)—structures the majority of the melody of the first half of the piece

669. Just as is the case with battle pieces, Janequin was one of the composers most responsible for popularizing onomatopoeic bird songs. His most famous examples include "Le chant des oiseaux" and "L'alouette." Howard Mayer Brown and Richard Freedman, "Janequin [Jannequin], Clément," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* (Oxford University Press, accessed July 23, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14127).

Example 5.4: Dandrieu, "Le Ramage" from *Premier Livre* (1724), p. 26-27



Example 5.4 (Continued)



While the movement's title and these musical gestures undoubtedly cued listeners in to the notion of birds "twittering" or "warbling," the word "ramage" may also connote a dense pattern of foliage. The complexity of the musical texture Dandrieu supplies here—with its mirroring and passing of motives between the hands, and obsessive breaking of the melody into arpeggiation (esp. mm. 1-4, 21-24, and 37-42)—offers just as much a sonic analogue to such a mottled backdrop as it does to a general sense of "fluttering." Dandrieu draws both on conventional musical gestures and the connotations of a specific word in order to imply the frenzied twittering of many birds hidden amongst a tangle of leaves and branches. Scene thus set, Dandrieu turns directly to movements with titles referencing Love in general, and the specific coupling of matrimony.

In exploring these relatively obvious thematic correspondences between title-page and music, it is not my intention to imply that forming a direct, one-to-one association between particular pieces and particular images in the

mind of the listener/player/viewer is the sole, or even necessary, outcome of encountering the volume. In other words, this is not simply a matter of attempting to cause the listener to imagine the frontispiece illustration while playing depictive music (although such a thing is certainly plausible), nor of causing the viewer to "hear" the music when looking at the frontispiece. The significance of these relationships lies in the fact that the music and image are mutually reinforcing agents in the volume; in effect, they act as prompts, or starting points, for the listener or player, encouraging the user of the volume to imagine by habit a tangible subject of some type for each piece of music. The nature of that subject could vary widely in terms of its concreteness or abstractness; the matter of central import was that the music had a *meaning*. That meaning, though perhaps not fully intrinsic to music in the manner in which aesthetic theorists of the time would demand, was constructed in part by both consumer and composer through elements drawn from sound, visuality, and, of course, text.

The title-page to Dandrieu's *Premier Livre* is thus uniquely integrated with the contents of the volume in a way that suggests that the collection, as a whole, presented a carefully calculated package to its audience. Through the title-page's text and engraved vignettes, the collection describes not only its contents to the viewer, but announces itself as a purveyor of vivid

imagery. The volume as physical object is thus designed to appeal to multiple senses, a fact which would have appeared even more remarkable to the viewer or performer familiar with Dandrieu's earlier published collections of keyboard works, given their complete lack of character-piece-type titles.

Such visuality certainly represented "savvy" marketing, capitalizing on the fashion for titled pieces that erupted in the wake of Couperin's collections. This catered directly to amateur keyboardists of a privileged class—most especially those whose tastes were shaped by the image-laden *symphonies* of French opera, which, as outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, enjoyed aesthetic sanction precisely for the fact that such visuality mitigated the thorny problem of instrumental music's supposed incomprehensibility. The process here of making music concrete—in essence, of transforming "music-as-sound" into "music-as-product"—exploits the accretion of appeals to the other senses, and *this* type of character piece presents an ideal genre with which to highlight such sensory cross-referencing. As Dandrieu's second and third volumes show, however, not all character pieces shared the same concern with the concrete.

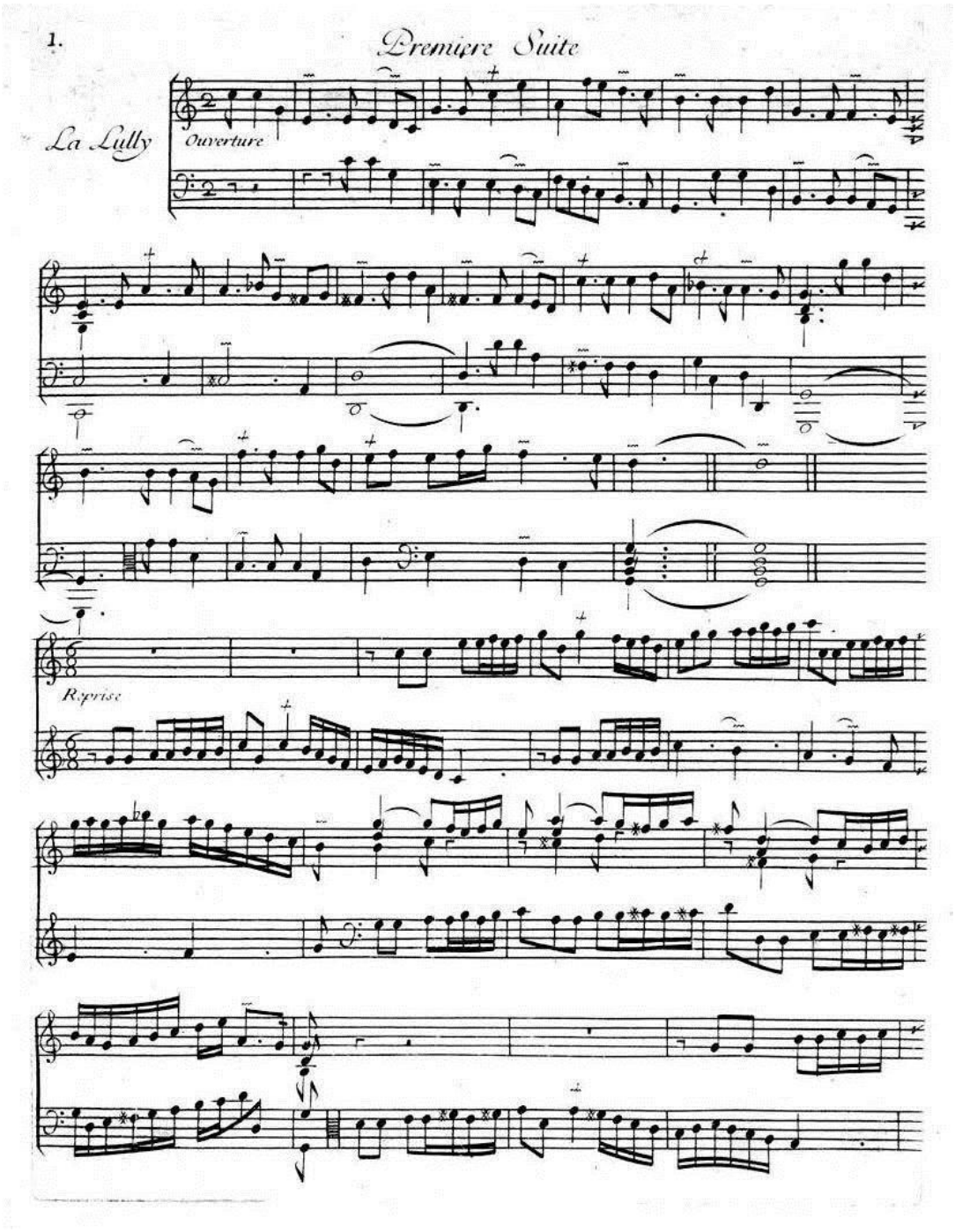
The "Second Livre"

While Dandrieu's *Second Livre* (of 1728) also bounces sound and image off one another within the material product, the tone of both musical and pictorial works therein shifts markedly. The *Premier Livre* had contained a relatively balanced mix of pieces concerned with abstract character types or passions (such as "La Plaintive," "La Contrariante," "La Coquète," "L'Agréable," "La Sensible," etc.) and those that might be construed as more literal depictions of animals, objects, or actions (such as "Les Tourbillons," "Le Concert des oiseaux," "Les Cascades," "Les Zéphirs," "Les Papillons," as well, of course, as substantial sections of "Les Caractères de la guerre"). The *Second Livre*, however, does away with nearly all depictions of animals, actions, and objects—with the exception perhaps of "Les Dominos," "La Lyre d'Orphée," and "Le Caquet" (the cackle). Instead, the volume is almost entirely taken up by character types and persons: "La Magicienne," "L'Amant plaintif," "La Fidèle," "La Timide,"and so on.

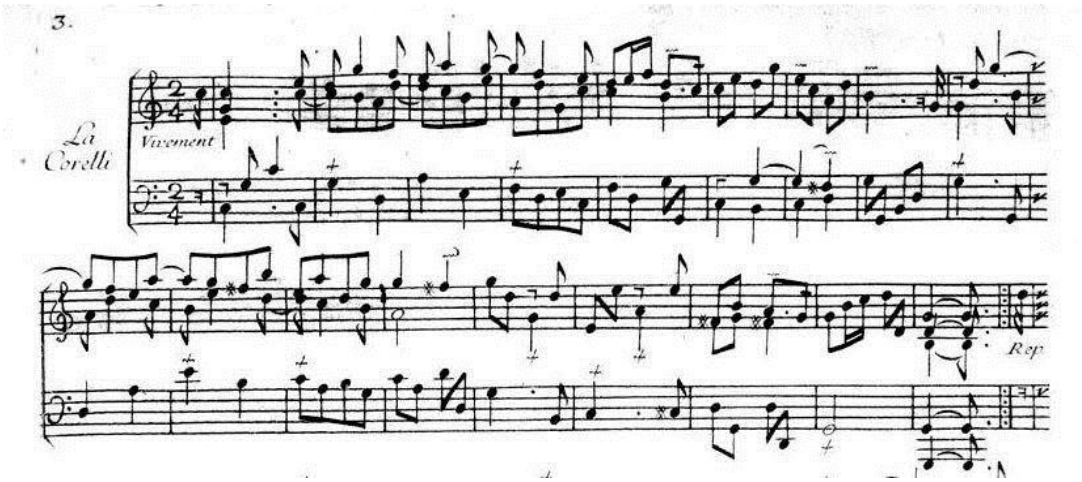
There is thus a distinctly upward aesthetic and registral shift in the type of imitation implied by Dandrieu's titles in the *Second Livre*. The type of musical representation on offer here is less specifically visual in nature. The "low" forms of depiction so frequently and famously criticized by

eighteenth-century theorists—which typically fall under the umbrella-term "tone-painting"—are conspicuously absent here. Instead, the volume opens with a distinct gesture toward more musically venerable topics, offering back-to-back movements entitled "La Lully" and "La Corelli," after the composers popularly revered as the founders of the French and Italian musical styles **(see Ex. 5.5, 5.6a, and 5.6b)**. Indeed, these movements are more about musical style itself as a topic, rather than any kind of depiction of the men they are named after: "La Lully" is in fact a French overture, with both the characteristic dotted opening section and a faster, fugue-like section, while "La Corelli" features rapid arpeggiations, syncopation, and, in the *double*, virtuosic right-hand finger-work. These two works act, just as the Baussen editions did as a whole, as a means of mythologizing music history.

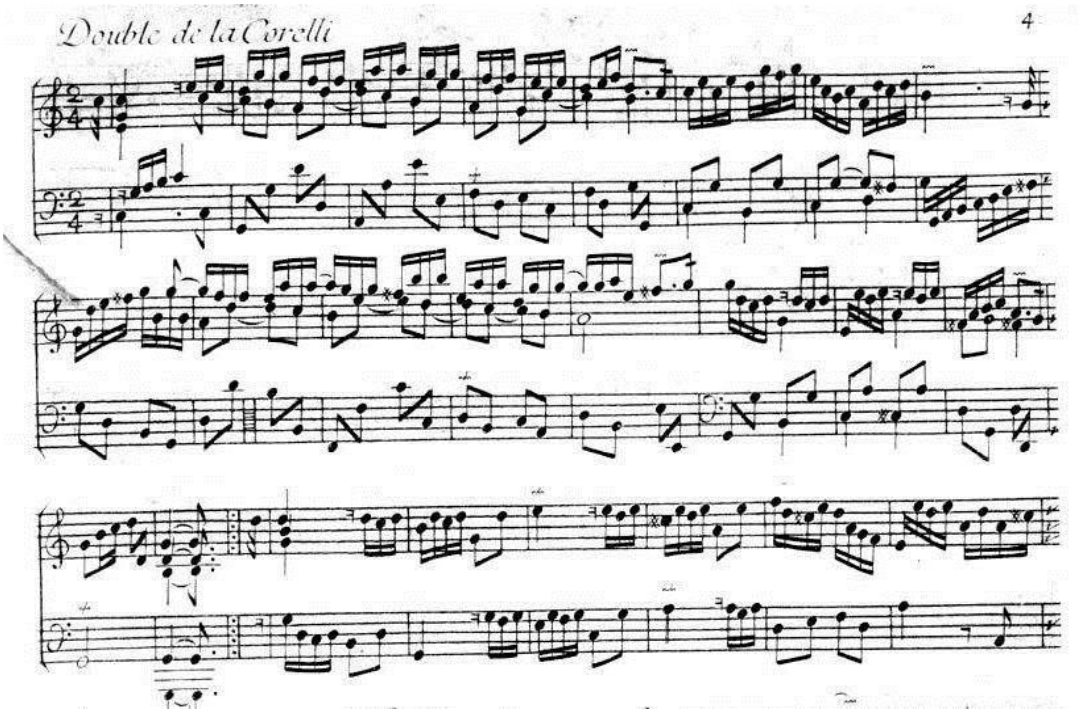
Example 5.5: Dandrieu, "La Lully" from *Second Livre* (1728), p. 1



Example 5.6a: Dandrieu, "La Corelli" from *Second Livre* (1728), p. 3

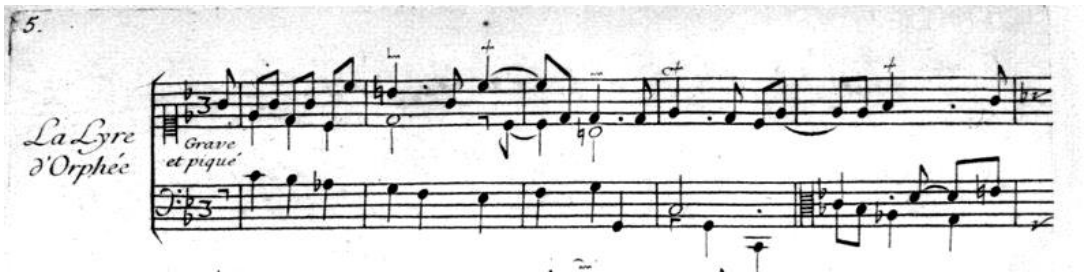


Example 5.6b: Dandrieu, "La Corelli" from *Second Livre* (1728), p. 4



Juxtaposition of musical greats is followed immediately by a turn to the mythological—in essence, a one-upping of the level of grandiosity. Indeed, *La Lyre d'Orphée* proposes a musical resolution of sorts to the first two movements, insofar as it implies recognition of aesthetic levels above, and perhaps impartial to, more mundane musical disputes (in particular, the popular debate over the superiority of the French and Italian styles) **(see Ex. 5.7)**. And *La Lyre d'Orphée*, marked "grave et piqué," certainly offers an increased air of seriousness, suggested by the modal shift from the C major of *La Lully* and *La Corelli* to C minor, and the descending, *lamentoso* bass line which underpins its first four measures.[670]

Example 5.7: Dandrieu, "La Lyre d'Orphée" from *Second Livre* (1728), p. 5



670. In fact, this is its most forthright statement of the descending bass line in the movement; later versions are varied by diminution and inversion. In its most elaborate iteration, the pattern is transferred to the tenor voice, where it descends continuously for an octave and a fifth over the entire second half of the movement.

This generally elevated tone and distance from literal depiction persist elsewhere in the volume. Later movements, in addition to the more general character types abundant in Suites III-V (such as *La Timide*, *La Fidèle*, *L'Amant Plaintif*), continue to draw upon mythological topics and upper-class entertainments: examples include *La Sirène* and *La Bacante* from Suite VI, and perhaps most strikingly, *Le Concert des Muses* and *La Mascarade* from Suite II.

A similar tone suffuses the volume's dedication to the Prince de Conti, which deploys mythological references as a means by which to both laud the patron and justify the collection. Minerva, goddess of wisdom, acts as a symbol of the king's support of artistic and scientific endeavors:

> Attentive to the advice of Minerva, Your Most Serene Highness devotes his first years to the study of the sciences and fine arts; the Muses, though naturally timid, must not fear displeasing him, under whatever form they choose to present themselves. It is this reflection, Monseigneur, which has made me so bold as to offer you this book of *pièces de clavecin*, in which I have tried to capture the nicest and most gracious characters to which Music is susceptible. But were I to succeed as much as I would wish, could I flatter myself that these Pieces would amuse at least [enough] for some of Your Most Serene Highness's time? This warrior ardour inseparable from the Noble Blood which flows through your veins, will soon make you prefer the noisy concerts of Bellone [goddess of war] to the concerts of Polyhymnia [goddess of poetry, hymn, and pantomime]. Nevertheless, since Heroes have even more need of relaxation than other men, I would be too happy if I dared to hope to procure some of it sometimes for Your Most Serene Highness with this foible marked by the ardent zeal and profound respect with which I am, **to Your Most**

> **Supreme Highness, Monseigneur**, the very humble and Obedient Servant, Dandrieu.[671]

As I have suggested above, dedicatory or *avertissement* texts should be taken with no small grain of salt in terms of their "truth" content; they do, however, offer us clues to the social economy and individual agendas underlying the musical product. Taken together with the distinct shift in the *type* of imitation hinted at by the titles of these works, there is little doubt that the volume as a whole aimed at a more elevated aesthetic tenor than its predecessor. This is not to suggest that any volume with a dedication to a royal patron attempted by *default* to achieve "high" aesthetic status, but it is likewise difficult to imagine that the volume's primary viewership—upper-class amateurs who, by necessity, would have been attuned to the intricacies of social positioning in French society—could have missed the combined effect of these cues. The title-page participates in making these issues explicit.

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671. Emphasis original. Jean-François Dandrieu, [Dedication], *Second Livre de Pièces de Clavecin* (Paris: chés le Sr. Boivin, 1728), [unpaginated]. "Pendant qu'atentive aux conseils de Minerve, Votre Altesse Sèrènissime consacre ses premieres anées à l'étude des Sciences et des Beaux Arts, les Muses quoique naturélement timides, ne doivent pas craindre de lui deplaire, sous quelque forme qu'elles osent se presenter. C'est cète rèflexion, Monseigneur, qui m'a fait prendre la hardiesse de vous ofrir ce Livre de Pièces de Clavecin, ou j'ai tâché de saisir les caracteres les plus aimables et les plus gracieux dont la Musique soit suceptible. Mais quand j'aurois rèüssi autant que je l'ai souhaité, pourois-je me flater que ces Pièces amusassent au moins pour quelque tems Votre Altesse Sèrènissime? Cète ardeur guerrière insèparable du Sang August qui coule dans vos vaines, vous fera bien-tôt prèferer aux paisibles concerts de Polymnie, les bruyans concerts de Bellone. Cependant come les Hèros ont encore plus besoin de dèlassemens que les autres homes, je serois trop heureux si j'osois espèrer d'en procurer quelquefois a Votre Altesse Sèrènissime par cète foible marque du zèle ardent et du profond respect avec lequel je suis **De Votre Altesse Serenissime, Monseigneur**, Le tres humble et tres Obeissant Serviteur Dandrieu."

Like the *Premier Livre*, Dandrieu's *Second Livre* features a title-page of unusual lavishness **(see Illustration 5.4)**. As before, the engraving was done by a well-known artist: in this case, Charles-Nicolas Cochin (probably *le père*, 1688-1754), famous as an interpreter of Watteau and Chardin. (Indeed, Cochin was of sufficient stature to be made an associate member of the Académie Royale in 1729—the year after this volume was published—and a full member in 1731.[672]) But unlike its predecessor, the *Second Livre* greets the viewer with a title-page designed by one of the most fashionable artists of the day: Nicolas Lancret. Celebrated as a painter of genre scenes, Lancret was in the 1720s an up-and-coming artist who specialized in the relatively new category of the *fête galante*. In fact, after his mentor Watteau, Lancret was to become the dominant force in genre-scene production in early eighteenth-century France, and the degree to which he was patronized by European royalty (most notably Louis XV) would eventually far outweigh that of both Watteau and Chardin.[673] Lancret drew heavily on the seventeenth-century popular print tradition for themes and motifs—unsurprising perhaps, given that his earliest training was as an engraver[674]—and his own works translated

672. Christian Michel, "Cochin (ii): (1) Charles-Nicolas Cochin I," *Grove Art Online*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed April 28, 2012, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T018350pg1).
673. Mary Tavener Holmes, *Nicolas Lancret 1690-1743*, Joseph Focarino, ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991), 12.
674. Tavener Holmes, *Lancret*, 19.

readily into the engraved medium, garnering them a pervasive popularity across social strata.

Illustration 5.4: Title-page to Dandrieu's *Second Livre de Pièces de Clavecin* (1728)

To front a volume of music with one of Lancret's designs was an action with meaning: it was to declare both the importance and the fashionableness of the cultural product as a whole. In effect, it was to appropriate the cultural weight of a popular icon to forcefully announce the *Second Livre* as stylistically up-to-date, as keeping pace with the latest mode. Until recently, it was thought that Lancret's designs for the title-pages of this volume and the *Troisième Livre* (for which he was also responsible) were unique— that is to say, not copied from another of his better-known paintings, despite the fact that both illustrations are marked "N. Lancret pinx. [pinxit]" ("Painted [by] N. Lancret"). Catalogues of Lancret's oeuvre have traditionally treated the title-page as an independent, self-standing work, but Mary Tavener Holmes has recently indicated that the original painting of one of the two designs (she does not mention which) has been located in a private collection.[675] Whether the design represented a special commission for Lancret, or was the product of some other circumstances, is unknown at this point.

This frontispiece goes beyond a straight-forward depiction, much as the music in the volume attempts a different level of depiction (that of *caractère*). The fact that the meaning of the frontispieces was not taken literally was

675. Tavener Holmes, *Lancret*, 151, fn. 74.

mentioned in the announcement in the *Mercure de France*, which identifies the title-page as a "very beautiful allegorical frontispiece" that "responds to the beauty of the work [as a whole]."[676] The central scene of the title-page for Dandrieu's *Second Livre*, in which three elegantly dressed figures dance amid spectators in a woodland setting, directly adopts the conventions of the *fête galante*. Inaugurated as a category by the Académie in 1717 especially for paintings of Watteau, the *fête galante* was an extremely popular topos at this time; its recognition by the Académie reflected not only its intense cultivation in the first few decades of the eighteenth century, but also signaled a dramatic increase in the aesthetic stature of genre scenes. To feature a *fête galante* was not a neutral action either: not only did this most fashionable of subject matters contribute to the marking of this volume as up-to-date, but its popularity meant that it was rife with social implications. Georgia Cowart's recent work on *fête galante* scenes in opera-ballet convincingly argues that the subject matter became a symbol of a modernist, and most importantly, *public* utopia.[677] In contrast to the courtly *fêtes* of Louis XIV, Cowart argues that *fête galante* scenes onstage in the first decade of the eighteenth century began to be associated with *libertinage d'esprit*, artistic

676. "SECOND LIVRE de Piéces [sic] de Clavecin, composées par M. Dandrieu…," *Mercure de France* (October 1728): 2254.
677. Georgia Cowart, "Watteau's "Pilgrimage to Cythera" and the Subversive Utopia of the Opera-Ballet," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 3 (Sept. 2001): 463.

freedom, and "social egalitarianism."[678] Thus, while *fêtes galantes* ostensibly depicted divertissements for the private pleasure of royalty and the nobility, by the early eighteenth century *staged fêtes* had begun to have meaning and appeal (and, perhaps at times, political resonance) for consumers across a broad swath of French society with social and financial means.

The *fête galante* included in the title-page to the *Second Livre* is small relative to the size of the entire engraving, but it is nevertheless the focal point of the image, not only because it is located close to the centre, but because the gaze of the muse and the lines of the surrounding curtains direct the viewer's eyes to it. Despite the detail of the some of the surrounding images (most notably the curtain, the robes, and the ornate floral frame for the title of the volume), the *fête* and the dancers are clearly of greatest moment here. The lavish dress and stylized movement of the dancers (perhaps performing a minuet?) might suggest that this is the depiction of an upper-class gathering, but this is belied by the presence of a mythological figure holding a trident slightly in the foreground. In fact, it seems we, the viewers, are witness to a staged entertainment of sorts featuring noble or upper-class characters.

678. Ibid.

This is an image that acknowledges the "staginess" of the *fête*—indeed, on one level, it is literally being staged. The artifice of the scene is further driven home by the fact that we, in essence, see a stage within a stage. But we are not the only witnesses; this title-page plays with multiple layers of viewership. Below the *fete* appears to be a theatre audience in silhouette—and this scene is in turn revealed to us by yet another foreground layer occupied by the muse and cherub.

These many layers of viewership nuance what this *fête galante* represents: in addition to its traditional revelry in idyllic, pastoral sociality, this *fête* is the self-conscious rendering of a scene with formerly upper-class and royal connotations as entertainment for a wider audience. But specific class associations of the *fête galante* (as the province of the "elite") are broken open; we are offered a peek into an idealized world with "high" connotations, but as a privilege offered to everyone—to a *public*. In a sense, then, this image implies that the volume as a whole is about being offering a view of high culture to a multiplicity of social strata. This notion works in tandem with analogous pieces in the volume (such as "La Lyre d'Orphée" and "Le Concert des Muses"), the overall reduction in literal musical depiction, and the tone of the dedication in aiming to strike a "higher" overall register. Taken together, these elements suggest a preoccupation with

making accessible what may have been popularly viewed as the elegant, elite, or learned aspects of contemporary French culture. And of course, balancing perceived accessibility, prestige, and "trendiness" would have been a goal very much in tune with necessity of making a product appealing to as broad a market as possible.

The relationship between the illustration that fronts the volume and the music within thus parallels the shift in titles we see in Dandrieu's *Second Livre*. Where the titles and the music itself offer an overall move away from the direct musical depiction of animals, actions, and objects, the title-page engraving does away with a direct representational relationship between the imagery and the ostensible subject matter of the pieces in the volume. This is in distinct contrast to the directness with which the vignettes in the title-page to the *Premier Livre* announce the subject of some of the pieces within. In the *Second Livre,* the role of pictorialism in both the illustration and musical works is primarily to mediate the aesthetic register in which it was hoped the volume would be received by aligning the product with contemporary fashion and social ideals.

The "Troisième Livre"

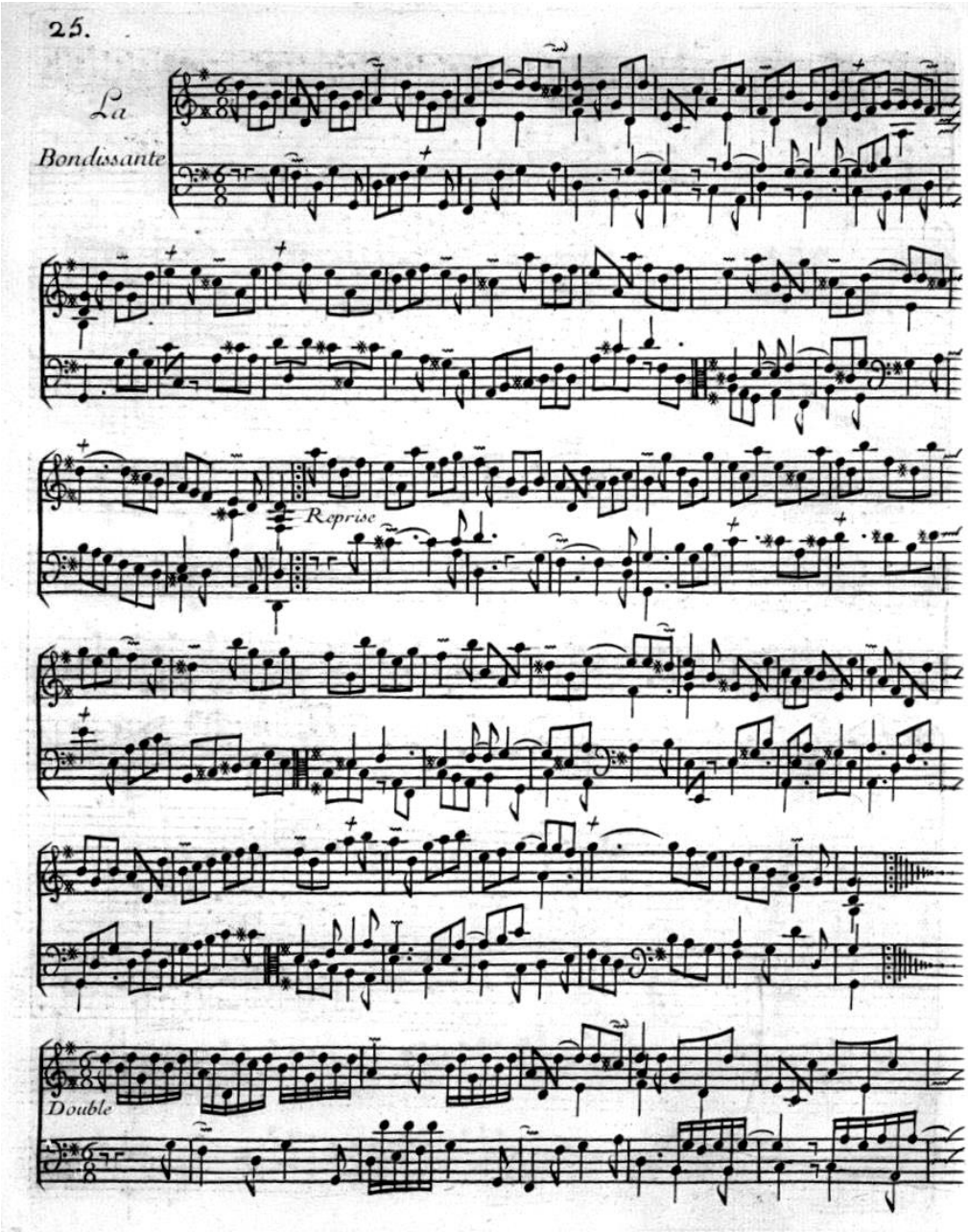
Dandrieu's *Troisième Livre* (1734) continues to eschew the literal depictive quality so emphasized in the *Premier Livre*. Like the *Second Livre* of six years earlier, which had done away with nearly all representations of animals, objects, or actions, the *Troisième Livre* focuses almost entirely on less tangible character qualities ("La Majestueuse," "La Constante," "La Modeste," "La Brillante," etc.), and, in at least two cases, character types ("L'Arlequine" and "L'Amazone"). The latter two movements, however, seem to lack idiosyncratic musical gestures that would explicitly link them to their titles.[679]

In fact, only two works from the *Troisième Livre* bear titles that seem to imply an obvious depictive quality: "La Champêtre" from the *Deuxième suite* and "La Bondissante" from the *Cinqième suite*. In the latter case, the motion suggested by the title ("bounding") is evident everywhere in the music: both melody and bass leap constantly, supplying nearly constant arpeggiation of the harmony **(see Ex. 5.8)**. But in offering such a literal musical analogue to the action suggested by the title—or, for that matter, a title that is such a

679. Indeed, one wonders whether these movements might have received their titles through use elsewhere as theatrical dances, or whether we are simply dealing with that infamously "problematic" character piece with no apparent connection to its title—"problematic," that is, for us, since the obscurity of the connection between title and music was not necessarily a problem for contemporary users. As I have suggested above, the many possibilities that a very loose connection implies may in fact have been one of the desirable features of character pieces.

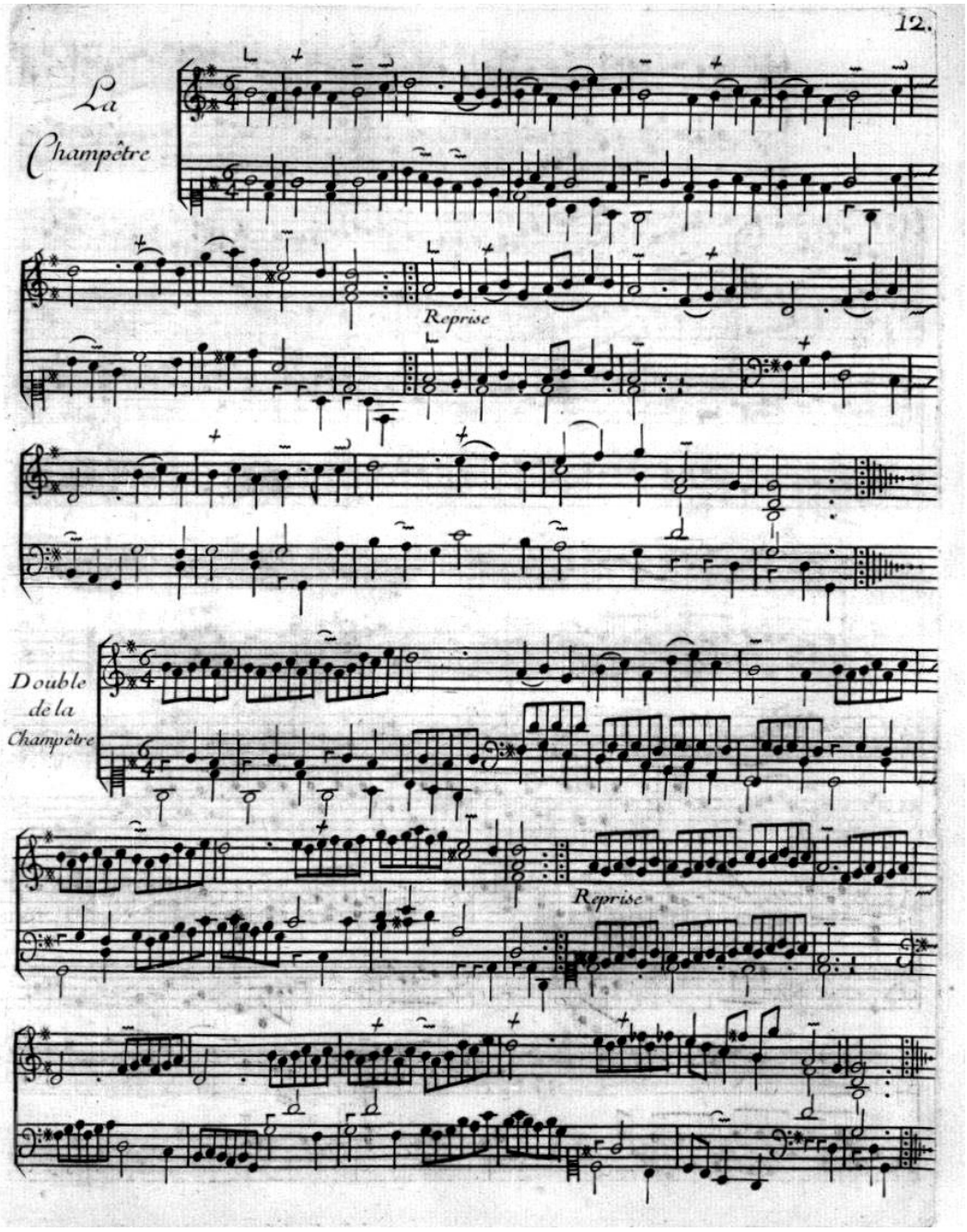
literal translation of what is happening musically—"La Bondissante" is surprisingly isolated in this volume.

Example 5.8: Dandrieu, "La Bondissante" from *Troisième Livre* (1734), p. 25



In the case of *La champêtre* **(see Ex. 5.9)**, pastoral associations are suggested by the music's resemblance to a contredanse in 6/4 and by the somewhat odd—and perhaps heavy or clumsy-sounding—doubling of the melody in the tenor voice throughout much of the piece. The *Double* is even more explicit: reiterations of the same pitch in the bass (mm. 1, 4-5, and 8-10) and rhythmic open fifths between the bass and tenor voices (mm. 12-16) play on the bucolic associations of the bagpipe.

Example 5.9: Dandrieu, "La Champêtre" from *Troisième Livre* (1734), p. 12



As the most imagistic piece in this collection—or at least, as the piece that most clearly calls to mind peasant dancing and bagpipe accompaniment—it is difficult to think that a casual user of the book would miss the resonance of the piece with the volume's title-page **(see Illustration 5.5)**. Indeed, for a user who views the title-page first and then proceeds to the notation contained in the book, *La Champêtre* acts, in effect, as an overt "re-sounding" of the themes of the engraved image.

Like Dandrieu's *Second Livre*, the volume is fronted by an image designed by Lancret, engraved this time by S. H. Thomassin. And as with the previous book, the fact that the design has been reproduced from one of Lancret's paintings is advertised by the phrase "N. Lancret pinx." But while imagery in the first volume was marked by literalness, and in the second by a general elevation in aesthetic tone and focus on artifice, the illustration for the *Troisième Livre* is more fully absorbed in an idealized, fictional reality. The image is divisible into three frames: in the foreground Cupid hands a lyre to the three muses, seated on a low cloud; in the middle-ground and to the side is a peasant celebration, replete with dancers and pipers; and in the background is an expansive vista, capped by a distant Pegasus rearing skyward at the top of Mount Parnassus.

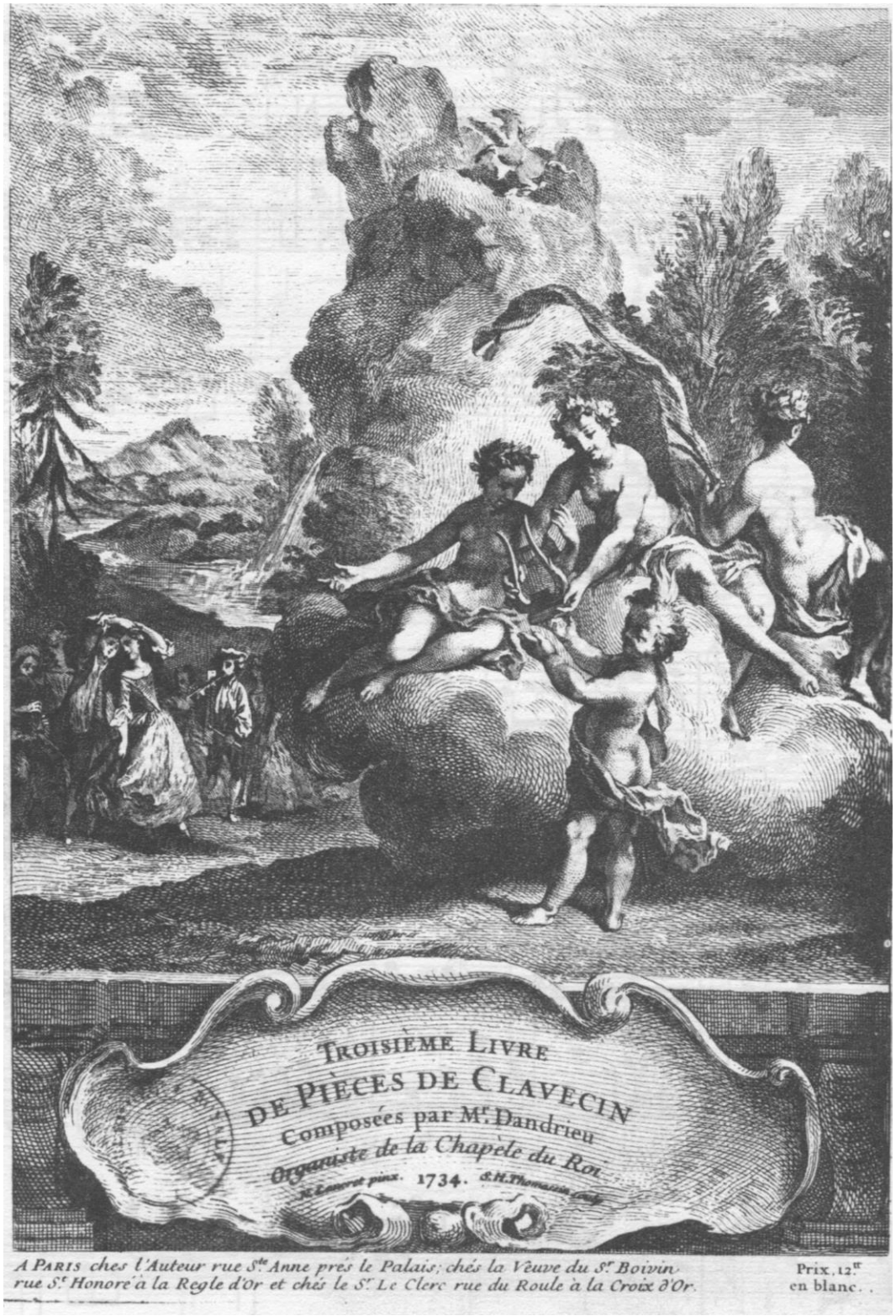


Illustration 5.5: Title-page to Dandrieu's *Troisième Livre de Pièces de Clavecin* (1728)

Like the muse and cherub in the illustration for the *Second Livre*, the muses here (especially the one gesturing on the left) provide a device to direct the viewer's eye toward an alternate world. But unlike the previous volume, the world of this illustration is fully mythological in setting. Here the dancers and bagpipe provide less of an isolated reference to "lowness" (as one might argue was the case in the *Premier Livre*) than they do to a pastoral utopia of the mythical past, fully embedded as they are in a picturesque landscape. And the emphasis on the vista, fully fleshed out with mountains, waterfalls, and foliage, encourages the eye to explore, to wander through this landscape in all its details. As a single scene, this image features less disjunction between the individual frames that together comprise the entire illustration. This is to say, in supplying the most integrated image of the three, this title-page most clearly embraces a kind of fetishized, alternate reality—one not belied this time by the artifice of a stage or curtain.

Although at least one resonance between the title-page of the *Troisième Livre* and *La Champêtre* exists, it nonetheless remains a relatively isolated association in a sea of works with titles that suggest an over-riding concern with character, rather than with more straight-forwardly representational subjects (such as objects, animals, or actions). This single mooring in the world of the depictive between title-page and musical content is perhaps

best thought of as a kind of take-off point for the viewer and player. Although the festivities of the peasants form the nominal subject of the volume's illustration, the engraving as a whole devotes much more space and detail to its surroundings, to aestheticized, "galant" context and the attitudes of the mythological figures. And the latter, in many ways, is in keeping with Lairesse's contemporary theorizing of allegorical images. For him, mythological characters and allegorical figures, such as those on the right of the title-page, offer a better means of rendering the interior passions visible than any "naturalistic" figures.[680] Like the pieces contained within the volume, then, the emphasis here is on alluding to aspects of *caractère* that are internal, located challengingly at the edges of sonic and visual representation. The difference between the *Premier Livre* and the *Troisième Livre* amounts to a different conception of what a character piece is and should do; these shades of meaning are reflected not just by the musical content and the choice of titles, but by the engraved illustration and network of associations supplied by the physical product itself.

My examination of these three volumes is not meant to suggest that one *must* necessarily read the frontispiece of an eighteenth-century musical publication against the music contained therein; as I have demonstrated

680. Gérard de Lairesse, *Le grand livre des peintres ou l'art de la peinture*, trans. of the 2nd Dutch ed. (Paris: Moutard, 1787), 180-181.

above, publishers such as Ballard certainly made repeated use of standard images across a variety of publications in a way that suggests the interplay of music and image was, if anything, of secondary consideration much of the time. (And it bears repeating here that the use of *passe-partout* title-pages was a common enough practice in the eighteenth century to be considered nearly the default strategy for a publisher.[681]) To these considerations should be added the fact that the relationships I have pointed to here are necessarily speculative.

This examination is, however, a means to assert that a contemporary viewer might imagine a range of such relationships between salient musical and visual elements (though this range might differ for each user of the volume). And while the illustrations supplied for Dandrieu's *pièces de clavecin* were, to our knowledge, unique when they first appeared, even images used repeatedly by publishers could well have been read against the musical content of whatever volume the user was encountering at a given moment. Contemporary valuation of prints, together with a history of their being tied to the canon of Lullian opera (as demonstrated in Chapter 3), makes it highly likely that consumers would have been carefully attuned to the visual elements of their musical products. What Dandrieu's examples

681. In fact, even the title-page to Dandrieu's *Troisième Livre* would eventually be re-appropriated in a later eighteenth-century publication, Blaise and Favart's comic opera, *Annette et Lubin* (1762). See John Grand-Carteret, *Les titres illustrés et l'image au service de la Musique* (Turin: Bocca Frères, 1904), 52.

offer, then, is an idea of the multiple levels of dialogue that could occur between visual and musical elements in a publication, ranging from the parallel visual and aural representation of a given subject, to mediation of the aesthetic register in which the music was received and the alignment of the music with specific contemporary fashions and social ideals. In part, then, they reposition the oft-vilified practice of tone-painting as just one of a series of productive "packaging" elements designed to enhance the overall intelligibility of the music and frame its aesthetic register.

But beyond offering an array of interpretive possibilities, this examination also demonstrates that in some cases the use of galant imagery and intricate engravings may have caused value to accrue to the musical product. Given the time, expense, and skill involved in their production, illustrations such as those provided in Lully reprints and Dandrieu's publications were unlikely to be seen as merely marginal within the larger product. And while their inclusion most certainly points to intelligent marketing on the publisher's part, the fact that such pictorial additions could have a relationship with the music speaks to a taste for multi-sensory representation or depiction (whether validated by theorists or not). It should come as little surprise, then, that in many cases these illustrations capitalized upon the ostensible subjects of character pieces.

The volumes thus present us with a range of ways that visuality could both construct and inflect meanings for the musical listeners, performers, and readers. If music and images could operate as partners on this level, it suggests we need to recalibrate our assessment of some eighteenth-century musical publications. In the case of both Baussen and Dandrieu's volumes, the creation of "music as sound" was not the only functional objective of the publications. The "music" on offer here is more than an assemblage of sounds: the sonic is only part of a complex integration of appeals to the senses and social/intellectual signifiers. In the right circumstances, the contemporary "interpreter" of these elements might hope to find a fruitful range of relationships between the material form of the music, salient musical gestures, and what Descartes famously referred to as the little "images that are formed in our brain."[682]

682. René Descartes, "Discours quatriesme: Des sense en general," *La Dioptrique*, in *Discours de la methode pour bien conduire sa raison, et chercher la verité dan les sciences* (1637), Jean-Robert Armogathe et al eds. (Paris: Fayard, 1987), 101-102. "Or il faut que nous pensions tout le mesme des images que se forment en nostre cerveau… il est seulement question de sçavoir, comment elles peuvent donner moyen a l'ame, de sentire toutes les diverses qualités des objets ausquels elles se raportent, et non point, comment elles on en soy leur resemblance."

PART II CONCLUSIONS

The material presented in the preceding chapters has aimed to show that visual elements were at times integral to the musical experience for music-lovers in eighteenth-century France. I have argued that visuality constituted a significant means by which contemporary listeners, players, and viewers *understood* the phenomenon of music in intellectual terms, and *appreciated* it in aesthetic terms. The evidence at our disposal, namely historical writings and musical artifacts themselves, suggests then that visuality offered a significant "mode" of thinking about music. And while *mimetic* philosophy and the use of sonic-visual metaphors (which I examined in Part I) and the deployment of tone-painting gestures and engraved illustrations in the musical product (which I examined in Part II) should not be thought of as unproblematically connected phenomena, they are nevertheless all manifestations of this mode of thinking about music.

To gloss conclusions already stated at the close of Part I, French Rationalist thinkers on music, such as Le Cerf de la Viéville, Dubos, and Batteux, believed that music operated on the principle of imitating nature and demanded that it carry meaning, or represent something to the mind. The prevailing school of thought held that music imitated the "passionate utterances" of man; vocal music, which also had the benefit of conveying

linguistic content, was thus considered superior to instrumental music for much of the eighteenth century. I argue that the expectation that instrumental music supply an intelligible "sense" of some kind contributed to the heavy emphasis on the pictorial qualities of some genres of French baroque music.

This was especially the case with instrumental music within the highest musical art-form of the day, *tragédie lyrique*, in which the visuality of musical spectacle was considered paramount. In many cases, this pictorial emphasis also took the form of what we now call tone- or word-painting: the attempt to create a sonic reference or analogue to an object, action, thing, or event. And while the practice of tone-painting was subject to criticism in the eighteenth century, and remains marginalized in discourse even today, it was far from universally condemned. Indeed, I have endeavored to show that, contrary to the impression given in many musicological discussions, eighteenth-century writers were far more accepting of musical "painting" than is generally credited and assigned it a well-defined place in the aesthetic hierarchy of the day.

Such techniques were also much employed in the *pièce de caractère*, wherein an emphasis on the "extra-musical" was supported by the addition of titles, and by (as the name of the genre implies) the explicit desire to

capture the "character" of a given subject. While not all *pièces de caractère* attempted such musical depiction, many attempted to represent human character states, and, in the case of Couperin's works, even portraits of specific persons. More than most genres, then, keyboard character pieces and the instrumental *symphonies* of French opera were forums in which contemporary thought on musical imitation and representation can be seen as playing out. I have thus taken specific editions of these types of music as my primary focus in Part II.

An emphasis on visuality is apparent in musical products made to answer the demands of amateurs (wealthy and high-status non-professional musicians) in the pre-capitalist market of early eighteenth-century Paris. A relatively small proportion of eighteenth-century musical editions contained illustrations (compared to the entire corpus of printings during this time), but when such images did occur, it was no coincidence that they were frequently found within publications of opera and character pieces. I show here that some such publications capitalized upon the visuality of these genres in fascinating ways.

In the first decade of the eighteenth century, a shift can be seen in the French music-publishing industry toward the inclusion of increasingly ornate, engraved images within musical editions themselves. Such images

occurred both as title-pages and vignettes within the musical score. This trend emerged most dramatically in Henri de Baussen's reprints of Lully's operas between 1708 and 1711, which appear to draw on the influence of opera libretti (in which it had long been conventional to include such images). This imagery played a role in the larger project of lionizing the composer Jean-Baptiste Lully, enshrining his operatic works as canonic repertory well beyond the glory days of the Louis XIV reign. In essence, the illustrations, and the musical scores as a whole, operate as items of cultural memory, commemorating specific operatic productions, the institution of the Paris Opéra, and the music of the composer himself. Such elaborate engravings reflected both a dependence on staged drama (*tragédie*) as the central, aesthetically-legitimating component behind French opera and a persistent desire to represent musical contexts in visual terms. And their presence within the score enacts the process of musical *mimesis* present in much of Lully's instrumental writing within the volume itself, insofar as the illustrations frequently depict the subject of imitative musical material later in the act. The images are connected with the score by what seems to be a deliberate attempt to represent the actions or things also represented by pictorial musical gestures in the music. The user of the volume is treated to

mutually-reinforcing visual and musical representations of a given subject matter.

Such a format is also highly suggestive of the modes of use for which such publications were designed. The Baussen editions were primarily products for wealthy amateurs. And they were not solely about the re-rendering Lully's music as sound (though they were reduced editions best suited for realization at the amateur's keyboard), but also about appreciation through the processes of reading, contemplation, and even possession of the musical object itself. Visuality thereby played a primary role in the musical experiences of the non-professional connoisseur of music, especially within the home. Imagery in the material product is relied upon to retell and re-inscribe a musical history, define the social and aesthetic spheres of the work, and transform this music once more into an object of the mind.

This visual trend was soon transplanted into the world of instrumental music publications, which were beginning to feature increasingly elaborate title-pages. Character pieces had existed well before this aesthetic was in place, and restrained imagery had been featured on the title-pages of earlier volumes of generic *pièces de clavecin*. However, the 1720s saw the confluence of two factors: an unprecedented wave of popularity for the character piece,

and the relatively recent taste for elaborate engravings within the musical publication. The most spectacular results of this confluence, Jean-François Dandrieu's three volumes of *pièces de clavecin*, included lavish, full-page engraved illustrations as title-pages. I have shown here that each of these title-pages can be seen as relating in unique ways to the musical content contained in the volume; at times they attempt a visual representation of the ostensible subject of the music (much as occurred in the Baussen editions), and at other times, they display images that offer critical information regarding the social and political resonances of the music.

In many ways, volumes of character pieces were natural places in which to see such visuality manifested within the material product. Such publications catered to much the same demographic of wealthy connoisseurs who would have attended the opera and purchased ornate editions of Lully's music. Expensive editions of instrumental music designed to be played in the home of the amateur would naturally be addressed to this audience's generic expectations. And, musically-speaking, with their frequent tendency to emphasize extra-musical content, many character pieces employed familiar musical codes for listeners steeped in French opera. The character piece and operatic *symphonies* shared a general preoccupation with the notion of musical representation.

Drawn together, this information suggests that, in its own day, experiencing this music through listening, playing, and contemplation of the physical product involved appeals to the other senses, particularly that of sight. The role of imagery as musical packaging in this era can therefore sometimes be interpreted as a measure of reinforcement, or means of amplifying, music's aesthetically-valid representational quality. In effect, association with visuality was a means of mitigating the problem of how to understand instrumental music. Both music's material form and compositional gestures could provide conventional methods of shepherding the listener toward having a firm object in the mind, an intellectual grasp of that music's meaning. And, of course, where relationships between musical gestures, titles, and illustrations went *beyond* literal depiction, "reading" such features together encouraged the listener to envision their own set of meanings, ensuring that such music was never reduced to unintelligible, "bastard" sounds.

The material I have presented in this dissertation has pointed up a number of avenues for future exploration. While we now have a great deal of information regarding the financial workings of the musical publishing industry as a whole, there is a large gap in our knowledge of the specific dealings between composers and publishers and the specialists responsible

for supplying images in musical editions. We need more documentation of the processes that led to the selection and creation of those images. As a general topic, connections between the visual and musical might also be pursued in other repertories, since opera and character pieces represent only the most obvious. My next step will be to move past instrumental music by examining early eighteenth-century collections of popular songs from France and England, such as Corrette's long-standing series entitled *Amusemens du Parnasse*, and George Bickham's *Musical Entertainer* of 1738-1739. (The latter even goes so far as to include engraved illustrations for every song included in the volume.) I have suggested in Chapter 4 that another fruitful avenue of pursuit would be a tracing of the patterns of illustration in eighteenth-century treatises and tutors for amateur players; although my discussion in Chapter 4 mainly concerns the works of Corrette, this exploration might well also extend beyond the boundaries of France. And finally, a massive body of ephemera, such as eighteenth-century concert tickets and programs, posters, and trade cards, remains to be explored. Such material may provide a wealth of sonic-visual relationships whose associations would offer important social and economic information on music in the eighteenth century.

The challenge we now face as players and scholars is to avoid becoming desensitized to the subtle visuality of some eighteenth-century music by the overwhelming ubiquity of visual and sonic stimuli around us in the modern day. This study demonstrates that, as historians, we would do well to avoid discussing the visual elements of historic musical repertories as merely incidental or even inferior, whether such elements are manifest as explicit tone-painting, more general types of evocation based upon title and word associations, linguistic metaphors, or indeed illustrations "attached" to some material form of the music. Without proposing plausible ways in which eighteenth-century critics, composers, players, and listeners *thought* about music, our comprehension of their cultural significance is incomplete. And to understand the cultural and intellectual associations of visual and sound relationships in historical eras is, in essence, to expand the number of avenues through which we ourselves may experience past musics.

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