

The figure (see p.10)

LADY MUSIC AND HER *PROTEGES* FROM MUSICAL ALLEGORY TO MUSICIANS' PORTRAITS

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Introduction

a) The two artistic media

The topic of the conference at Klosterneustift in 1982 was incentive to test the possibilities of iconography from an unusual angle.¹ I wanted to find out how painters and their patrons between ca. 1200 and 1550 saw the status of musicians and their model figures. In order to make such an inquiry meaningful, we have to assume that an illuminator or painter was aware of the relationship between the visual arts and music and that he could, to a high degree, identify himself with a musician's view of art and with the social status of a musician. After all, in the scriptorium of a monastery or a cathedral of the earlier middle ages illuminator and music theorist worked closely together. Similarly there existed a natural bond between migrant musicians who might occasionally provide musical entertainment to clerics in their leisure time and travelling painters who offered there services to a scriptorium which did not have an illuminator among its brethren.² The situation changes in the later middle ages. Professional specialization and secular workshops lead to new lifestyles and a different self-awareness among musicians and artists. That does not imply, however, that the two could not be acutely aware of each others' professions.

¹ This paper was given at the First Musicological Colloquium at Kloster Neustift/Novacella, organized by Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (cf. *this Journal* XXXVIII 1984). I thank them warmly for having invited me. The German title of the paper is somewhat more accurate, yet seems to be intranslatable: "Frau Musica und ihre Schützlinge. Ikonographische Beobachtungen zum musikalischen Künstlertum im Spätmittelalter." – During the Conference I had enlightening conversations with Howard Mayer Brown, Kurt von Fischer, and Sabine Žak of use in the revision of the paper for publication. Some of the pictorial material I have discussed from a different point of view in "Prospettive dell'iconografia musicale – considerazioni di un medievalista," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* XVIII (1983), 67–86.

² For this see the last chapter in my *Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter*, Bern (1973), vol. I, 165–167.

b) The development of pictorial themes

In the early middle ages the illuminator almost never depicts musicians of his own time in his miniatures. The reason for this is well known: the ecclesiastical origin of medieval art implies the prevalence of themes which exclude the instrumentalist who performs his art *pro fano ecclesiae*. Instead the artists paint the patrons of music such as David, Pythagoras, or Lady Music, the personification of *ars musica*. As these are not visualizations of the ideal contemporary musician but personifications of ideas, their connection with contemporary musical life is relatively weak and problematic. Even in the eleventh century, a picture of king David playing music is at the most meant to be an actualisation of a historical figure, not the portrait of a contemporary ruler with musical interests.³

I hope to make it clear in the following that in the late middle ages we find a *rapprochement* between the ideal and reality. The musical allegory loses a certain abstract quality and gradually comes to represent musicians in a natural pose (subject of part I) as they become more and more worthy of being portrayed (subject of part II). Both processes can of course be seen as an illustration of the conceptual changes in intellectual and cultural history, and particularly of a general history of allegories and of portraiture, yet to be written.

I

From 800 to 1250

Pictorial personifications of abstractions such as *ars musica* have a long tradition.⁴ They go back to Carolingian times and show Lady Music in various ways:

³ This is perhaps the only questionable point of discussion in Hugo Steger's standard work *David Rex et Propheta. König Davids bildliche Verkörperung des Herrschers und Dichters im Mittelalter* (Nuremberg, 1961), 136.

⁴ There are numerous articles on the representation of the liberal arts. For the older literature and a short musicological discussion see the basic article by Werner Bachmann, "Bild Darstellungen der Musik im Rahmen der artes liberales," *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß [der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung]*, Hamburg 1956, Kassel etc. (1957), 46–55, and Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, 93–96. The most important recent studies are Karl-August Wirth's "Die kolorierten Federzeichnungen im Cod. 2975 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie der Artes Liberales im 15. Jahrhundert," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1979, 67–110; and an article concerned with the new iconography of Lady Music developed by the Augustinians: Howard Mayer Brown, "St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy," *this Journal*, Vol. XXXVIII, 25–65. — As has already been pointed out by Rebecca Baltzer, (footnote 14) there is another miniature in *F* showing the liberal arts, see below p. 29.

a) as a single figure, illustrating the relevant passage in Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*; see e. g. an example of Lady Music with a fantastic instrument (Plate I);⁵

b) as a "supervisor" who keeps secular music in check;⁶

c) together with the other arts;⁷

From the 12th century onwards the topos spreads into various directions:

d) it is enriched by an additional figure, viz. Pythagoras as a representative author of the discipline; see e. g. the picture in the Aldersbach manuscript (Plate II),⁸ most likely under the influence of the Augustinians who tend to replace Greek myths and ideas with ecclesiastical concepts,⁹ Pythagoras is changed into Iubal/Tubalcain;¹⁰

⁵ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 190 (Martianus Capella "De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii" with commentary, French, ca. 1000), fol. 108'; cf. Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, 48f, 90f, and 177.

⁶ (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, olim Inv. no. 2788/89, Ivory book cover: Introduction of Roman chant in the Frankish empire, School of Tours, 9th century, destroyed; cf. Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, 45f, 90–92, and 94, and plate 74. The subject has not yet been fully explained. It may be a derivation from the iconography of Martianus' treatise, in which at least one similar picture has been preserved: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 7900A (Miscellaneous writings of antique authors, including Martianus Capella "De nuptiis" with the commentary of Rémy d'Auxerre, Fleury (?), 10th century), fol. 153': Lady Music in medallion watches 2 wind players; cf. Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, 45f, 90f, and 183, and plate 75.

⁷ The earliest example is lost: the *artes*-picture on Charlemagne's table; cf. Julius von Schlosser, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte aus den Schriftquellen des frühen Mittelalters*, Vienna 1891; *Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse*, Bd. 123, Abhandlung 2, 133–136. But we have at least an early picture of the group of the quadrivial allegories: Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, class. 5 (Boethius: "De Arithmetica" and "De Musica," Tours, ca. 850), fol. 9': the four quadrivial arts, Lady Music with a lute; cf. Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, 93f and 175, and plate 78.

⁸ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm. 2599, fol. 103. See Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, 180 etc.; Wolfgang Hörmann, "Probleme einer Aldersbacher Handschrift (clm. 2599)," *Buch und Welt, Festschrift Gustav Hofmann*, (Wiesbaden, 1965), 325–389; *Cimelia Monacensia*, (Wiesbaden, 1970), 39f (no. 35); Wirth, *op. cit.*, endnote 55; and Elisabeth Klemm, "Artes liberales und antike Autoren in der Aldersbacher Handschrift clm. 2599," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* XLI (1978), 13ff; or Wolfenbüttel, Herzogliche Bibliothek, Gud. lat. 8° 334 (collected writings in music theory), fol. 1–4; cf. Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, 90f, 94, 96, and 187, and plate 79.

⁹ See Adolar Zumkeller, "Augustinerschule," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. I, (Munich and Zurich, 1980), 122f with bibliography.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. the most recent publication, Brown. *op. cit.*

- e) it becomes part of a more encyclopedic program for monastic use; see e. g. the picture in the *Hortus deliciarum* by Herrad of Hohenbourg (Plate III);¹¹ or for a large segment of society, i. e. the churchgoer; see e. g. the glass window in Laon (Plate IV);¹² and it enters vernacular texts for the laic public.¹³

Summarizing the common features in the iconography of the earlier group, one would have to say that the artists strive to remove the figure of Lady Music from the ordinary by depicting her in an unusual position, with allegorical attributes, and in a schematic rendering. This tradition is still alive in the Aldersbach manuscript (Plate II) where the drawing combines script rolls and texts as means to give the image a demonstrative quality and to make its message more forceful while clarifying abstract purpose. But with the availability of the topos of *ars musica* for wider and more popular purposes the older schematic and static figure is transformed more and more into either a young nun in the convent, modelled after the *virgo Israel* (Plate III), or into a crowned noblewoman with a musical instrument used in music teaching (Plate IV).

¹¹ Strasbourg, University Library, destroyed; written at Hohenbourg, Alsacia, last quarter 12th century; see R. Green, M. Evans, C. Bischoff, and M. Cunchmann, *Herrad of Hohenbourg, Hortus Deliciarum*. Reconstruction and Commentary. 2 vols. (London & Leiden, 1979), especially reconstruction volume, fol. 32 and commentary volume, 104–106. – It is most striking that Lady Music is not represented with instruments for music teaching but plucking a harp (caption “*cithara*”) and with a hurdy-gurdy (caption “*organistrum*”) and a rebec (caption “*lyra*”) at her sides. The use of the harp in this context is related to the iconography of Mirjam and the *virgo Israel* who perform sacred music and need a sacred instrument such as the cithara; they are represented in the ms. on fol. 38'; see the reproduction in the edition of the reconstruction.

¹² Laon, Cathedral, painted glass window in the rosette of the Northern transept, ca. 1220–1300: Lady Music plays a bell chime; cf. Ellen Beer, *Die Rose in der Kathedrale von Lausanne und der kosmologische Bilderkreis des Mittelalters* (Berne, 1952), 57 and plate 63d. The model for this and other images from the first half of the 13th century is the iconographic program of the royal portrait at Notre Dame of Chartres (last quarter of the 12th century), see Beer, *op. cit.*, 56–58. The program is described in the prefaces to the six volumes of plates edited by Etienne Houbert, *Cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres [1919]. A reproduction of Lady Music playing a bell chime and with a fiddle and a psaltery on the wall, and Pythagoras with a penknife working on a manuscript, see e.g. Karl Michael Komma, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, Stuttgart (1961), 35, nos. 86 and 87.

¹³ Paris, BN français 9220 (verger de consolation, ca. 1290), fol. 16: tree of wisdom with the seven liberal arts in a medallion, musica plays a table-organ with caption “*Invenire locum per modulamina notum*,” cf. Genette Foster, *The*

The Florence manuscript and the second half of the 13th century

If we now turn to a center of book production and book illumination such as Paris in the mid-13th century, we can expect that the miniaturist does not necessarily follow old concepts but rather uses traditional motives in a new fashion and in new combinations. This shift can indeed be recognized in the illustrations of manuscripts in as much as the borderlines between the various types of images (especially between allegories and *realia*) begin to fade. At the same time certain themes which were formerly excluded from illustrations are now deemed worthy of depiction.

This parallels the historical situation of music in the same century. In musical sources and documents of that time one can observe that sacred and secular monophony, vocal polyphony, speculative theory and practice-oriented treatises, as well as instrumental music have entered a new, more interdependent, relationship. In other words, no longer restricted to mainly liturgical practice and to cosmologically oriented theory, the term “music” now receives a wider meaning.

The most extraordinary example of this is the music manuscript *F* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29. I).¹⁴ For the first time the principle of internal organization of a manuscript is musical rather than liturgical. For the first time a music manuscript is lavishly adorned with illuminations; so far this had mainly been the prerogative of books of liturgical or scriptural content.¹⁵ As there are no artistic models for the illumination of this type of manuscript, the principles of

Symbolism of music and musical instruments in 13th century French manuscript illumination. Ph. D. dissertation, New York: City University of N.Y., 1977, 149f; or Paris, BN français 19166 (roman des sept sages, varia), fol. 2: seven liberal arts with crowned musica playing a bell chime, to her right a portable organ; cf. Foster, *op. cit.*, 152f.

¹⁴ There is a bad facsimile in black and white (apparently not made after original photographs): New York, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966. Robert Branner has given us an art historical evaluation: “The Johann Grusch atelier and the continental origins of the William of Devon painter,” *Art Bulletin* LIV (1972), 24–30; and then there is the valuable account by Rebecca Baltzer, “Thirteenth-century illuminated miniatures [sic] and the date of the Florence manuscript,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXV (1972), 1–18, which draws on the texts of the music pieces for the explanation of the miniatures. The ms. is not included in Genette Foster’s dissertation, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ The exception being the tonaries which are organized according to musical criteria and are occasionally illustrated too (see Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires* (Paris, 1971). *Publications de la société française de musicologie*, 3^e série, t. II, and Tilman Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*; but tonaries consist in a gathering only and are inserted into liturgical or theoretical codices.

illustration are fascinating and new too, but of course problematical. On the one hand, the single fascicles are illustrated by scenes which are mostly inspired by the Scriptures and refer to the textual content of the first piece in each fascicle – a traditional principle of illustration which occurs already in the troopers of Prüm and Autun from the late 10th century¹⁶ and which is in use for liturgical manuscripts and books of hours even beyond the last phase of the middle ages. But on the other hand, when the painter designed the large title miniature (Plate V) he was not inspired by a liturgical idea or the content of the texts in the collection. Working in uncharted territory, he draws from various traditions of theory illustration.¹⁷ The title miniature combines a picture of the three categories of music (as they are mentioned in Boethius' *De institutione musica*)¹⁸ with an allegory of *ars musica*. Thus the sacred and secular, polyphonic and monophonic musical content of *F* is directly related to the philosophical and moral system of the liberal arts. The miniaturist of the ms. *F* facing the task, to begin with a full-page title picture of an

¹⁶ The troper (or antiphoner) of Prüm is the ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, 9448; see Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf, "A book of songs placed upon the altar of the Savior giving praise to the virgin Mary and homage to the emperor," *Research on Tropes*, ed. Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm, 1983), 125–178, with bibliography. The troper of Autun is the ms. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169; see Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzhandschriften, RISM series B, vol. VI* (Munich & Duisburg, 1964), 110f. At an unknown date the codex was bound in an ivory plaque from the 5th century A.D., which had been cut in the middle for that purpose. It shows a woman playing a lyre while two men are listening (see Tilman Seebass, *Musikdarstellung, op. cit.*, 48, 50, and 92, and plate 47). One could explain the cover as a commentary to the musico-liturgical content of the ms., in analogy to the illustration in *F*, but such an interpretation – as any – hinges on the date of the binding. There are a few iconographic studies by musicologists on liturgical music manuscripts of the later part of the middle ages; see Nancy van Deusen, "Manuscript and 'milieu': illustration in liturgical music manuscripts," *Gordon Athol Anderson – In Memoriam* (Henryville etc., 1984), 71–86, and some articles by James McKinnon; see e.g. his most recent contributions "Fifteenth-century northern book painting and the a capella question: an essay in iconographic method," *Studies in the performance of late mediaeval music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge etc., 1983), 1–17, and "The fifteen temple steps and the Gradual psalms," *Imago Musicae I* (1984), 29–49.

¹⁷ None of the many scholars who wrote about *F* mention the new and problematic character of this corpus of miniatures, although they underline the singular historical position of the manuscript.

¹⁸ They are *musica mundana* (harmony which is immanent in the macrocosmos), *musica humana* (harmony in the microcosmos), and *musica quae in quibusdam constituta est instrumentis* (music which can be demonstrated acoustically with instruments); see Boethius, *De institutione musica*, book I, chapter 2, ed. Gottfried Friedlein, p. 187.

exemplary collection of contemporary polyphony and monophony, does in fact deviate from tradition. Instead of using David or Lady Music and Pythagoras as a subject, he combines Lady Music with a representation of the three Boethian categories. For the visualization of so abstract a subject one might expect the illuminator to use captions and script rolls, in order to clarify the relationship between Lady Music and the pictures on the right side. Such textual inserts were not only common in theoretical and didactic pictures, as those in the Aldersbach manuscript or the *Hortus deliciarum*, but also in the *biblia pauperum*, or even in liturgical books.¹⁹ But here our artist reveals his originality and extraordinary quality: surprisingly he renounces any external helping device and remains strictly within the laws of the pictorial medium. With the white line connected to the hand of the female figure he has found a way to relate the left and right halves of the picture and to confer the necessary message. In the top part I see the line as a ray emitted from the cosmos shown on the right, received by the crowned lady with an open gesture. In the middle part the two sides seem to be on equal footing – a give and take between the lady and the four figures in clerical and laic costume; but in the bottom fields the line is used as a teacher's rod and the lady raises her finger in stern admonishment.²⁰ Such a warning seems to be appropriate indeed, since in the picture to the right the miniaturist goes beyond a mere enumeration of instruments with which music can be demonstrated acoustically – the third category in Boethius' classification. We are surprised to see active fiddling going on in what may be a courtly store room for mostly contemporary instruments, not the traditional tools for music teaching such as the bell chime, the monochord, or the organ. While a pure assembly of instruments would be a morally neutral subject, active secular playing is not, and therefore needs to be kept in check.

There is another representation of Lady Music found in *F*. In one of the small figurative initials (on fol. 349) towards the end of the large seventh fascicle of the codex, she stands in the group of the seven liberal arts, involved in a discussion with Arithmetica. This initial marks the beginning of the 2-part conductus "Artium dignitas" which deplores the decline of the liberal arts.²¹ In representing the seven gesticulating women the illuminator does not transgress the boundaries of the subject of the

¹⁹ This principle is also maintained in the Trecento. See e.g. the illustration of Lady Music and Iubal in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Series nova 2639, fol. 4, discussed in Brown's article "St. Augustine . . ." *op. cit.*

²⁰ The teaching stick occurs already earlier as a pictorial motive. See e.g. Lady Grammar on fol. 127' in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 7900A (cf. footnote 6), reproduced in Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung, op. cit.*, fig. 118.

²¹ See Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 8 and fig. 4. For the conductus "artium dignitas" cf. Gordon A. Anderson, "Notre Dame and related conductus. A catalogue raisonné [I],"

conductus. There is no inner connection between the initial and the title picture; but what both pictures have in common – and I believe this is new – is that Lady Music has taken on the features of a real music teacher. Through the new reconstruction and commentary on the *Hortus deliciarum* a wider circle of mediaevalists have become more thoroughly acquainted with the female teaching and scholarship in an Alsatian convent in the late 12th century. Although we may hardly find in the mid-thirteenth century female preceptors outside the convent, the teaching of the liberal arts by female masters may have been known to the illuminator of the Grusch atelier; consciously or unconsciously, he painted a figure who existed in reality. The Lady Music in *F* is a very original creation between a bloodless allegory and a real woman in a natural, professional contemporary situation.

Though the message of the title picture in *F* is conveyed without text, the identity of the woman is beyond doubt. Other cases from the same time are more ambiguous. Take for example the small pen drawing in the Boethius *De musica* of a manuscript (now in Wellington, New Zealand) (Plate VI),²² which was written in the 13th century, too. The text asks for a scheme of eight vertically arranged strings – as they occur on a polychord – with the letters for the pitches and divisions added. Such schemes are found in other manuscripts of the text; Boethius' treatises on arithmetic and music contain them in various places; they can be drawn by the scribe and do not require the collaboration of a draftsman. The scriptorium which created the Wellington manuscript chose to decorate the schemes occasionally by fitting them with animal heads or tails and architectural set pieces. In the particular case of this folio one would expect a similar procedure, i. e., that the draftsman would decorate the scheme; we have an example for this procedure in the schematic polychord, labelled "citara" in the manuscript Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek 55 (*Musica Enchiriadis*), fol. 167' (Plate VII).²³

Miscellanea Musicologica. Adelaide Studies in Musicology, VI (1972), 176 (no. 14).

²² Alexander Turnbull Library, [no call number], manuscript with music theory, fol. 78 (in the part containing Boethius' *De musica*). I owe the knowledge of this ms. to Howard Mayer Brown. It was formerly in the Christ Church Library in Canterbury. See M. R. James, *Ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (London, 1903), 55 (no. 438) – merely mentioned. I did not have access to D. M. Taylor, *Oldest manuscripts in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1955).

²³ Fol. 167', illustrating the Greek scheme of 18 pitches. The manuscript dates from the 10th century, but the decorative additions are from the 13th. See Otto Mazal, *Byzanz und das Abendland, Katalog . . . der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna (1981), 282f, no. 211. The strange harp with horizontal strings in the picture on fol. 96 of the Aldersbach manuscript (see above foot-

However, in the Wellington manuscript the relationship between the essence of the picture and figurative accessories has been reversed: Instead of contenting himself with concretizing the scheme by shaping it into a fantastic instrument – which can't satisfy an artist interested in the depiction of *realia* – the draftsman went one step further and replaced it with a real instrument, a harp of his time, and put it into the hands of a nice lady. The letters – necessary for a proper understanding of the scheme – have disappeared. The lady tunes her instrument instead of playing it; this detail together with the exaggerated size of the harp and the unusual if not unreal number of only eight strings are the only concessions to the theoretical intent of the treatise. A figurative O-initial at the beginning of a Boethius *De musica* takes the same idea a step further: Lady Music is shown sitting and plucking with her right hand an 8(?)-stringed harp-zither and blowing into a wind instrument with an animal shaped bell held in her left.²⁴

While these two examples show a change in iconography within the illustration of music theory, we find that the topos of Lady Music becomes also available for other genres of texts. It is picked up i. e. for liturgical and secular illustration, such as the psalter-illustration²⁵ and the secular *roman*.²⁶ It is interesting that painters do not use instruments common in secular music practice. I believe that the position of Lady Music who plays the bell chime or the organ, but only holds the psaltery, is chosen deliberately: bell chimes and organ, unlike other instruments, were tools for theoretical instruction. A miniature of Lady Music in discussion or playing of the bell chime or the organ can be a depiction of a female instructor in music theory, but whenever she is shown merely holding an instrument (instead of playing it) we will have to understand her as the patroness of music with the appropriate attributes. It seems that the miniaturists were concerned about drawing the line between those two concepts properly and seeing to it that no confusion would arise between the visualization of a numerological concept or clerical instruction in music theory on the one side and secular musical practice on the other.

note 12) with Pythagoras and David, has of course to be explained the same way! Reproduction in Smits van Waesberghe, *op. cit.*, fig. 14, or Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, plate 83.

²⁴ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 51 (Collected writings in music theory, South-Germany, 12th century), fol. 4'; see Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *op. cit.*, 94, 96, and 187, and plate 78; Mazal, *op. cit.*, 281f no. 210.

²⁵ Paris, BN latin 10525 (psautier de Saint Louis, ca. 1253–1270), fol. 175: Lady Music in the lower part of the miniature, with a psaltery in her lap and a harp and a fiddle "floating in the air," as well as two bell chimes with 4 bells each to her sides; cf. Foster, *op. cit.*, 27f, 180f, and fig. 11

²⁶ Paris, BN français 19162 (Robert de Borrou: *Historie de Merlin*, 13th century), fol. 357: crowned Lady Music plays portative organ; cf. Foster, *op. cit.*, 152.

Late middle ages and humanism

It should be remembered that the 13th century provides us for the first time in the courtly *romans* with textual accounts of women playing the harp. These passages are occasionally illustrated.²⁷ The two illustrations of music treatises show that with some hesitation secular motives are now taken over. But as far as I can see it is only in the following century that we find them unrestrictedly available for theoretical illustration. Plate VIII is from a Boethius manuscript too, written and decorated in the later part of the century (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V A 14).²⁸ Contrary to the title miniature in *F*, here the representation of the *musica quae in quibusdam constituta est instrumentis* is separated from the two higher categories. On fol. 47 it is placed as a title miniature in full page.²⁹ It is not a coincidence that this miniature has so often been reproduced in musicological literature; it is a feast for the eyes of both expert and amateur. Here again, the realistic environment for an actual performance is not dealt with: like decals the actors seem to be sticking to a wall with a round window in which David appears with a psaltery. Although he may have forfeited some influence, as a biblical patron he is still associated with the didactic idea and with learning. But look at Lady Music! She has descended another step down to earth. She is no longer a queen but rather a noble girl. Allegorical features are replaced by actual playing; she does it gracefully and naturally, as do the musicians which surround her. What separates her from them are her size and position, the sumptuous seat, and the symbolic blue of her dress.³⁰

²⁷ See Foster, *op. cit.*, 94–96.

²⁸ *Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura. Catalogo*, Florence, 1954 (2nd ed.), 265f (no. 419).

²⁹ The opposite page, fol. 46', should – as one would expect – contain a picture of *musica mundana* and *musica humana*. This is what I assumed when I discussed the ms. in my article "Prospettive," *op. cit.*, 76f and 81 with footnote 23 (fig. 3 should be corrected in fig. 4). In the meantime I received a black and white photograph of fol. 46': quite unexpectedly one finds there a "majestas" picture with the symbols of the four evangelists in the corner, the typical title page of an evangeliary. The style of the painting strikes me as very different from the following. Was it inserted later?

³⁰ She has a close relative in a Lady Music with an organetto in Andrea da Firenze's panel painting "The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas" in the Capella degli Spagnoli, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (ca. 1366–1368), reproduced in Georg Kinsky, *Geschichte der Musik in Bildern*, (Leipzig, 1929), 50 fig. 3; cf. Howard Mayer Brown, "Catalogus: A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter, Part I," *Imago Musicae* I (1984), no. 17. Both pictures demonstrate the proximity of allegorical imagery to the imagery of Mary and female Saints. These two thematic complexes exert their influence on the iconography of Saint Caecilia too.

In the 15th century the Northern European sources follow this development; the image of a musical allegory merges with the depiction of a female courtly amateur musician. Two pictures from different manuscripts, both illustrating the same scene of the nine Muses may demonstrate this (Plates IX and X).³¹ There is no attempt made to render an antique dress or a Heliconian or Pierian landscape, we are shown a gathering of courtly girls. As in the Trecento sources, here too the only element which separates the scene from reality is that the instruments represent an accumulation of types instead of a realistic ensemble.

An interesting group of sources leads us into the realm in which allegory and reality overlap completely: the illustrations of Boccaccio's work *De claris mulieribus* which was widely known in Europe. The allegorical component in text and illustrations varies; an example where it almost disappears is the Sappho woodcut in a German incunabula of 1473 (Plate XI).³² Surrounded by books (on a wooden bench) and instruments (on the floor), the lady in an elegant contemporary dress and a fancy hat, is plucking her lute. A couple of lovers in an adjacent room (the woman with the same hat as the musician) obviously stand for the amorous content of the works of the poetess. The instruments on the floor are not meant to signal carelessness but are reminders of the symbolical origin of the image where the encyclopedic intention outweighs concerns about the *veri simile*. Little mistakes such as the misspelled name, the inappropriate hatching and problems of perspective indicate that the work was done hastily or by a woodcutter of mediocre skill and education.

From the Sappho woodcut there is iconographically only a small step to our latest example, the woodcut "Fraw Musica" (Plate XII). It was made in Wittenberg by the younger of the Cranachs who were citizens there, commissioned by Georg Rhau as a book illustration for the editions of

³¹ Martin le Franc: "Le champion des dames." Fig. 7: Paris, BN français 12476 (copy for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 1451), fol. 109', and fig. 8: Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 875 (ca. 1460), fol. 365; cf. Robert Wangermée, *La musique flamande dans la société des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Brussels, 1966), 304 and fig. 7 (the Parisian ms.) and Seebass, "The visualisation of music through pictorial imagery and notation in late mediaeval France," *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman, (Cambridge etc., 1983), 25 and 32.

³² Ulm, Johannes Zainer, 1476, fol. 48' in the Latin edition. For this print see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. IV, Leipzig (1930), 282 no. 4483; and *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 80, *German Book Illustration before 1500*, ed. Walter L. Strauss, New York (1981), 186. Zainer published a German edition in the same year, cf. *Gesamtkatalog*, vol. IV, 282 no. 4486. The woodcuts are copied in an edition in Strassburg by Prüss from 1488. Frank Hieronymus suggests Nicolaus Meyer zum Pfeil as the artist, see his *Oberrheinische Buchillustration*, vol. I, 2nd ed. Basel (1983), no. 181.

Lutheran hymns and musical treatises which appeared in his printshop.³³

An elegantly dressed bourgeoisie of the upper class³⁴ is sitting on a grass bench playing the lute. A viol, a harp, the case for a set for five wind instruments, and a cornet are tied (or hung) to a scaffold of wooden bars behind her, a psalter is lying on the ground. Without the caption and the encomion (as they occur in the earlier publications in which the picture is found), one could easily take the scene for a representation of music making in the upper middle class of a city. As in the previously discussed picture of Sappho, there is no superstructure of mythological or Christian elements;³⁵ the encyclopedic models can still be felt in the assembly of in-

³³ For Rhau and his book production see Willy Wölbling, *Der Drucker und Musikverleger Georg Rhaw*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Berlin, 1922. The woodcut is not listed in Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk, *Lucas Cranach*, 2 vols. (Basel & Stuttgart, 1974/76); it has been identified by Hildegard Zimmermann as being by Lucas Cranach d. J., see her article "Bildnis-Holzschnitte und Texte zu Luthers Gedächtnis," *Zeitschrift für Buchkunde*, II (1925), endnote 35. I have found the woodcut in the following publications:

a. Georg Rhau (ed.), *Neue Deudsche Geistliche Gesenge CXXIII. Mit Vier und Fünff Stimmen, Für die gemeinen Schulen . . . erlesen . . .*, (1544), fol. Aiii: with caption and encomion by Luther "Für allen freuden . . .," new edition by Johannes Wolf, *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*, 1. Folge, Bd. 34 (reprint Wiesbaden & Graz, 1958), xxvi.

b. Sixt Dietrich, *Novum opus musicum*, (1545) tenor part book, fol. [?]: with caption and Latin encomion "Musica sum varijs . . .," new edition as Sixt Dietrich, *Hymnen*, ed. Hermann Zenck, (St. Louis/Missouri, 1960), xxi.

c. Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis*, (1545 [= 5th edition]), fol. A i': with caption.

d. Georg Rhau, *Enchiridion utriusque musicae practicae*, (1546 [= 10th edition]), fol. L ii': with caption and distichon.

e. Hermann Finck, *Practica musica*, Rhau's Erben (1556), fol. iiiii': with caption and distichon.

There is a copy of the woodcut, made by Franz Friedrich for Mattheus Weissel's *Tabulatura*, (Frankfurt/O., Johann Eichhorn, 1573); see Walter L. Strauss, *The German single woodcut 1550-1600*, (New York, 1975), vol. I, 214. - Rhau's importance for the intellectual and cultural history of his time is still underestimated. In an attempt to correct this I published "Venus und die Musikwissenschaft, oder Von der Universalität eines reformatorischen Buchmachers," *Totum me libris dedo, Festschrift A. Seebass*, (Basel, 1979), 187-199.

³⁴ Dress and hat of women were very much en vogue in Germany in the first quarter of the 15th century. But towards the middle of the century the courts promoted a more austere dress as well as a coif. See *The Hugh Evelyn History of Costume*, vol. III (London, 1968), pl. II, and vol. IV (1970), pl. XIX.

³⁵ Hanging a harp from a tree and tying instruments to wooden posts remind us of psalm 137. 1-3, frequently illustrated in medieval psalters: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion."

struments which goes beyond the needs of a musical ensemble in which the lady might be a participant. One can interpret them as the traditional representatives of a classification, but they could also be meant as a pointer to the fact that the woman is from a well-to-do family and knows about the value of music. Lady Music's transformation to a full-blooded, charmingly natural incarnation has been accomplished by a masterful artist whose family hallmark was unpretentious directness. Cranach could identify with the content of the picture exactly in the same way as the users of the books in which the woodcut appeared, such as a student at the gymnasium of Wittenberg or somebody from the larger circle of musical amateurs in central Germany.

To formulate it on a more abstract level: from a socio-historical viewpoint this woodcut is not problematic. The *existential, social and intellectual precondition* of the artist, of the subject of his picture, and of the onlooker, are *identical*. This is a typical humanistic solution, as it could emerge in the environment of Lutheran Germany.³⁶

II

Depictions of theorists

The reader may be astonished by the slow merging of secular and allegorical imagery, Lady Music taking so much time descending from her pedestal. I see the reason for this in the insistence on the abstract and allegorical character of her person and in the didactic element. Lady Music was more a symbol for learnedness, a model rather for the theorist than the instrumentalist or court composer. Her descent into reality seems therefore to be bound to idea approaching reality, and to a spread of bourgeois musical culture among women which made the representation of female musicians a matter of course. Evidently, the iconography of male musicians faces different problems. Much earlier and more overtly the content of such pictures relates to social reality. So far, scholars have

³⁶ Very different is the solution found in a French series of drawings of the Muses in a manuscript of collected sketches probably for cartoons, Paris, BN français 24 461 (early 16th century). On fol. 31, e.g. the Muse Terpsichore appears as a girl in antique costume, playing a lute with a plectrum, several instruments at her feet; on a little island in a river, with a town and woods in the background, she seems more detached from the social reality of her time. For a reproduction of the page see Eugénie Droz and Geneviève Thibault, *Poètes et musiciens du 15e siècle*, Paris (1924), pl. XII; for a description of the ms. see M. Leroux de Lincy, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourbon*, Paris (1850), p. 80, appendix II, and Henri Omont, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue général des manuscrits français, anciens petits fonds français*, vol. II, Paris (1902), 390-392.

mostly analyzed the representations of jongleurs and minstrels³⁷ – an almost inexhaustible source which is particularly rich if combined with the research in costumes and other objects of *Realienforschung*. Music making in higher social strata, as among clerics, *ministeriales*, and the nobility, is more difficult to evaluate. Here naturalism and pictorial tradition occasionally contradict each other, because the persons involved sometimes are not only supposed to represent reality but can as well be symbols and models. Obviously, painters are sometimes less concerned with a naturalistic depiction than with an abstraction from nature. Methodically, I therefore believe, it is more rewarding to begin with a study of the figure of the musical author than with the problem of status and musical activity.

It is well known that consciousness of authorship is a comparatively late occurrence in the middle ages. Until the 13th century musical activity remains anonymous and accordingly pictures of authors are rare and cannot be considered as portraits. However, among music theorists it is customary to name oneself in the preface. Occasionally authors too are reproduced, in imitation of pictures of the acts of writing and dedication. But one has to keep in mind that initials and pictures illustrating the content of a treatise or the mere act of writing and dedication may have been conceived at the time of the creation of the original, while pictures done with the intent to praise the author were created at a later stage when the work they accompany had already gained respect and fame. Guido d'Arezzo's achievements, for instance, were recognized as important enough to make him worthy of depiction in this fashion, i. e., as a writing author or with the monochord as a tool for teaching music.³⁸ But we do not know the exact time when the pictures of Guido or similar authors may have joined the transmission of their texts; and even if the latter belong to the category of representations of legendary patrons, we cannot presume portrait resemblance since the objective is already met if the person is represented in the costume appropriate to his rank, with his name, and with his attribute or professional tools. Hence theorists were worthy of depiction from an early time because of their clerical status and their knowledge, but real portraits of them were not painted earlier than of

³⁷ See Walter Salmen, *Der fahrende Musiker im europäischen Mittelalter*, (Kassel, 1960), the many articles by Edmund A. Bowles, and Sabine Žak, *Musik als "Ehr und Zier" im mittelalterlichen Reich*, (Neuss, 1979).

³⁸ Some Guido "portraits" are reproduced in Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-paedagogico et theoretico guidone Aretino eiusque vita et moribus*. (Florence, 1953), plate 1, 2, and 21. A few pages are devoted to author's pictures from that period in idem, *Musikerziehung*, (Leipzig, 1969). *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, vol. III fasc. 3, 54–59.

instrumentalists or composers, or, for that matter, any person not belonging to the high clergy or the ruling class. The roots of musicians' portraits have to be sought in the beginnings of secular portraiture of courtly poet-composers.

Poet-composers and the beginning of depictions of secular authors

Let us begin with two pictures from the *cantigas* manuscripts (Plates XIII and XIV).³⁹ Plate XIII is in the manuscript which was probably written under king Alfonso's supervision, i. e., between 1280 and 1283; plate XIV is from the copy which was written shortly thereafter. In both pictures an artistic community of authors – the king and his scribes and musicians – is emphasized. Of course, the image of king David and his scribes and musicians is as a model still immanent;⁴⁰ it is even not unlikely that king Alfonso considered himself as a new David or new Solomon, as other rulers had done before him. In this case then, the type of image and the *Selbstverständnis* of the patron overlap. But we also have before us a representation of activities at the royal Spanish court. The king wants to be represented as both an actual ruler and a *postfigura*, an actualizing ruler.

An equally precious manuscript from the North, written a generation later in Zurich, the *Manessische Liederhandschrift*, (see Plates XV–XVII), with pictures of Wolfram von Eschenbach, Reinmar von Zweter and Reinmar der Fiedeler, affords a most interesting comparison.⁴¹ While the first miniature of the manuscript, a full-page picture of emperor Henry VI, in its formality harkens back to earlier stages of royal representation (Alfonso's picture is far more modern than this one!), the other pictures of poet-composers occasionally feature individual traits. The codex exclusively contains *Minnelieder*; they are arranged according to authors in hierarchical order beginning with the poetry of emperor Henry VI and ending with the collected lyrics of commoners.

³⁹ Plate XIII: El Escorial, j.b.2., fol. 29; plate XIV: El Escorial, T.j.1., fol. 5. See Higinio Anglés, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa Maria del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, vol. III. *Estudio crítico*. (Madrid, 1958). *Biblioteca Central, Publicaciones de la Sección Música XVIII*, especially 114–139.

⁴⁰ For an iconography of that image see Hugo Steger, *op. cit.*, and Tilman Seebass, *Musikdarstellung, op. cit.*

⁴¹ For a complete color facsimile of the manuscript see: *Codex Manesse. Die grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*. (Frankfurt/M., 1974–1978). The volume of commentaries by Walter Koschorreck and Wilfried Werner was published in 1981 in Frankfurt.

It is known that there was no intention on the illuminator's part to identify a figure on the basis of portrait likeness. The identification is by the name written above each miniature and occasionally on the coat of arms (real or fictitious) and through pictorial reference to a particular, well known passage in the author's songs. The subject of inventing, writing, composing, or performing which one might expect to take a prominent place in pictures of authors is by far not the only, or even the ruling, theme of the illustrations. Musical activities are put into the greater framework of pursuits proper to the nobility and the *ministeriales*. Warfare and jousting (the subject of 18 % of the pictures), hunting (9 %), and *minnen* (32 %) are in the iconography of the manuscript at least as important knightly achievements as writing poems and songs. They are much more often used for identifying a particular author than the act of inventing and writing or dictating a song (13 %); most important for all pictures is the indication of the status or rank by authentic or invented coats of arms.⁴² This is not the place for an iconographic analysis of the gallery of authors; I will confine myself to three examples. Since the pictorial solutions are so varied, the obvious question is, whether there is a principle behind this variety. It seems that wherever the author is of noble birth or emphasizes in his writing the valor of the knightly sword the painter stresses this aspect and shows, together with the display of the coat of arms and the helmet, jousting and warfare. Herr Wolfram von Eschenbach appears on fol. 149' (Plate XV) completely armed and with the coat of arms on helmet, shield, and horse-blanket; there is no reference to poetic activity; on the contrary, according to Walter Koschorreck it was probably the fact that Wolfram put swordsmanship above courting that provided the painter with the theme.⁴³ Herr Hartmann von Aue is represented in a similar fashion (fol. 184'). One of the pictures illustrating poetical invention is that of Reinmar von Zweter on fol. 323 (Plate XVI). The setting is a castle; he sits on a stone seat (blind or with closed eyes) his coat of arms on one, his helmet on the other side and below a girl and a boy as scribes with scroll and wax tablets.⁴⁴ Heinrich von Veldeke (fol. 30) and Walther von der Vogelweide (fol. 124) are depicted in a similar fashion.

One of the commoners represented in the collection is Reinmar der Fiedeler. He appears on fol. 312 (Plate XVII) and is represented as a per-

⁴² For more about this see the excellent book by Helga Frühmorgen-Voss, *Text und Illustration im Mittelalter* (München, 1975). *Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, L, 86f and 97; and Joachim Bumke, *Ministerialität und Ritterdichtung* (München, 1976), 42.

⁴³ *Codex Manesse, Kommentar*, op. cit., 105.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 109.

former providing dance music.⁴⁵

That – in line with the custom of the time – the depiction of writing poetry or composing music or of actual performances of *Minnelieder* cannot have been the main concern of the miniaturist and his patron Rüdiger von Manesse, is confirmed by the texts in documents, the inscriptions on grave stones, and the autobiographies supplied by the authors in their works. Mentioned are rank and origin and various kinds of chivalrous activities, but not writing and composing.⁴⁶ From this we conclude that the *Manessische Liederhandschrift* commemorates with its picture gallery of authors not only their literary and musical achievements but also the knightly community of the *ministeriales* and their virtues.

The *codex Manesse* and the *cantigas* manuscripts – fascinating documents in their own right – help us to evaluate the little initials with pictures of authors found in the troubadour chansonniers which precede the *cantigas* manuscripts and are the model for the *codex Manesse*. It is true that, with other types of manuscripts of later chansonniers or *Liederhandschriften* in mind, these pictures, from an aesthetic and iconographic point of view, must seem disappointing, because they are so small and tell so little.⁴⁷ But one has to bear in mind that they represent the very beginning of a genre of manuscripts, where the purpose of the illumination is not so much to qualify or illustrate the content (as it is the case with the *codex Manesse*), as to enrich the text by decoration and color.

Author pictures of composers in the late middle ages

Our next picture (Plate XVIII) slightly later than the *codex Manesse* was painted in Italy. We see a number of instrumentalists and singers and above them a few names. The miniature comes from an Italian law codex which is decorated throughout in the margins.⁴⁸ The decorations are not

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 114.

⁴⁶ See Fritz Tschirch, "Das Selbstverständnis des mittelalterlichen deutschen Dichters," *Miscellanea Medievalia*, III: *Beiträge zum Berufsbewußtsein des mittelalterlichen Menschen* (Berlin, 1964), 239–286, especially 245–252.

⁴⁷ I examined two of them Paris, BN français 854 (ms. J) and 12473 (ms. K); cf. Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle (1933), xv and xvif, *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrtenengesellschaft, Sonderreihe*, Bd. 3. The collection of texts are grouped according to authors; each corpus is introduced by a short biography of a few lines, followed by a miniature of ca. 2,9/4,1 × 3,9/4,6 cm. and the poems. The pictures most often show a knight in armor, frequently on a horse; music scenes are extremely rare. There is very little variation and very little action. The basic information about the illustrations is found in J[oseph] Anglade, "Les miniatures des chansonniers provençaux," *Romania* L (1924), pp. 596–598; see also Foster, op. cit., 94, 142f and 152.

⁴⁸ Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek D 23, written in Bologna, fol. 302. See Kurt von Fischer, "'Portraits' von Piero, Giovanni da Firenze und Jacopo da Bolo-

related to the text and have to be interpreted as a *drôlerie*. It was another hand which one generation later added here (and in other places) names to the little figures: "daniele", "maestro zovane", "giacomo", "ser piero" (or "fra piero"), and "de diversi ordini". Obviously, a peruser of the manuscript attempted an identification – a procedure, which must strike us as strange, because the picture was originally not conceived as a music scene. Kurt von Fischer related the three figures in the center to three historical musicians in upper Italy. Taking into consideration that there is a difference of age between the one to the right and the two more to the left, he suggested (from left to right) Piero and Giovanni da Firenze, and Jacopo da Bologna. With respect to the figure to the far left, his search was unsuccessful. His suggestion that we should read the caption "daniele" rather as "davide" is perhaps correct; Saul's court musician David then would complement the group of three clerics to the far right. Both are placed in medallions and frame the musicians in the center. However, even if the identification should prove to be correct, I still believe that there was no intention of the painter to portray a group. But it is important – in our context –, that a few decades later an urge should be felt to relate such a picture with names of contemporary musicians.

A much less ambiguous message comes from portraits in the 15th century. Examples such as the miniatures of the *Squarcialupi Codex*,⁴⁹ the manuscript with the works of Oswald von Wolkenstein in Innsbruck,⁵⁰ or the tombstones of Landini⁵¹ and Paumann⁵² show that the purpose of the representation is directly related to the person portrayed. Those images are created with the intention to celebrate the musician for his personal achievements and to set him a monument. It seems that this development

gna in einer Bologneser-Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts?," *this Journal*, XXVII (1973), 61–64. Cf. also Walter Salmen, *Musiker im Porträt*, vol. I (Munich, 1982), 48.

⁴⁹ Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Pal. 87 – see e.g. the portrait of Landini on fol. 121', reproduced many times (in color in Heinrich Bessler, *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Potsdam, 1931 (plate XI), or Komma, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁵⁰ Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, no call number, first leaf: full-page portrait of Wolkenstein. Black and white reproduction in Salmen, *Porträt*, *op. cit.*, p. 53, color reproduction in Anton Schwab, *Oswald von Wolkenstein*, 4th ed. (Bozen, 1982), 61; in this publication other portraits as well as Wolkenstein's tombstone are reproduced.

⁵¹ Firenze, San Lorenzo, reproduced e.g. in Kinsky, *op. cit.*, fig. 49'1; or in Komma, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁵² Munich, Liebfrauenkirche, red marble tombstone at the eastern portail of the south front, reproduced e.g. in *MGG*, X (1962), col. 970 (with text), or Alfons Ott, *Tausend Jahre Musikleben 800–1800* (Munich, 1963), fig. 31.

from a picture of a musicus into a portrait of a musician is more or less in line with the general development of portraiture. The first tomb stones with an attempt at portraiture date from the 11th century and are made for clerics of rank and for knights and the higher nobility; it is only at the beginning of the 14th century that the first tomb stones for people of less prominent status such as university professors are carved in Bologna.⁵³ The first portraits in panel painting also appear in Italy in the same century.⁵⁴ Although the degree of likeness may vary – the portrait of Wolkenstein shows more individual traits than the ones in the *Squarcialupi Codex* – in both instances it is obvious that commissioner, artist, and musician share a concept of what musicianship is. It would be especially rewarding to compare the *Squarcialupi Codex* with the *Manesse Codex*, since both were made with the same goals in mind.

van Eyck's 'Tymotheos', a 15th century portrait

It is only in the fifteenth century that we find the idea of a musician's portrait fully established. But with the endeavour to achieve likeness and truth in a human portrait a new problem arises, viz. how to depict the merit and stature of a sitter with respect to his profession, qualities which are hardly traceable in the individual features of a human face?

While in earlier centuries the attributes and accessories were the pictorial means to indicate rank and profession they now no longer have the same importance since they do not express personal, intrinsic values. The more a 15th-century artist may strive to depict individuality the more he will renounce significant attributes and the less clear it will be that the sitter is also a representative of a profession. The problem seems hardly solvable without compromise, and remained unsolved for the musicians' portraits of the following centuries. Either the portraits will include a

⁵³ See Reinhold von Lichtenberg, *Das Porträt an Grabdenkmälern. Seine Entstehung und Entwicklung vom Altertum bis zur italienischen Renaissance*, Strasbourg (1902), *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes*, XI.

⁵⁴ I find it interesting that Ernst Buschor, whose work concentrates on the art of antiquity, finds more intrinsic value in the medieval approach to the depiction of authors and portraiture, than Harald Keller who considers medieval attitudes rather as a prelude to the renaissance; cf. Buschor's *Das Porträt. Bildniswege und Bildnisstufen in fünf Jahrtausenden*, Munich (1960) and Keller's *Das Nachleben des antiken Bildnisses von der Karolingerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Freiburg/Br. etc., (1970). As regards the attitudes of the earlier middle ages towards portraiture, Wolfram von den Steinen still seems to provide the best insights, see his *Homo caelestis. Das Wort der Kunst im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. Berne (1965), 105–110.

score or an instrument as attributive help, or without them the portrait exclusively focusses on the human essentials and renounces professional qualifications.

In these circumstances Eyck's 'Tymotheos' portrait has a particular fascination (Plate XIX). Panofsky's identification of the sitter as the composer Gilles Binchois remained accepted for many years, but was then challenged by two art historians. Edward Lowinsky and I uphold the original interpretation.⁵⁵

Since van Eyck did not give us a direct clue for the identity of the sitter, we are left with indirect evidence for associating the picture of a new Tymotheos with Binchois. A confirmation or new solution can only come with new archival evidence or a quotation which praises Binchois or another composer of that time as a new Tymotheos. It therefore seems to me more rewarding to consider, what means a first-rate artist such as van Eyck had at hand when he wanted to portray a colleague at court, a famous musician and friend. He could use his technical skill to realize a portrait after life as accurate as possible, depicting the individual features of the sitter. I believe van Eyck did just so.⁵⁶ The picture is striking by its directness; it reflects a humanistic interest in individuality. But van Eyck would also want to associate Binchois with music, an art bound to time, fugitive and volatile. Like the illuminator of *F* he would do so without obvious and non-pictorial devices such as a direct textual reference or a music score. To this end he gave those eyes – quite differently from other portraits he painted – a stare into the indefinite, into something remote, as if reflecting visions of sound. Furthermore he links the ear to the written word (on the text scroll) which initiates the composing process; and finally there is the unusual insistence on preserving device and inscription on a stone sill within the picture (instead of putting it on the frame) – a solution which might be explained as a reaction to the fragility of a musician's fame.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ See Erwin Panofsky: "Who is Jan van Eyck's 'Tymotheus'?", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XII (1949), 80–90; idem, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. I, Cambridge, Mass. (1953), 196–201, 222, and 290; W. Wood: "A New Identification of the Sitter in Jan van Eyck's Tymotheus Portrait," *Art Bulletin*, LX (1978), 650–654; S. S. Dickey: "Letter to the editor," *Art Bulletin*, LXII (1980), 183; "Seebass: „Prospettive . . .," *op. cit.*, 82–86 and fig. 6; Edward E. Lowinsky: "Jan van Eyck's *Tymotheos*: Sculptor or Musician? With an Investigation of the Autobiographic Strain in French Poetry from Rutebeuf to Villon," *Studi musicali* XIII/1 (1984), 33–105. Lowinsky died shortly after the publication of his article; he seems not to have been familiar with my article and unfortunately we did not have a chance to discuss them before his death.

⁵⁶ More about this in "Prospettive," *op. cit.*, 85; Binchois' biography and the characteristics of the face in the portrait do not contradict each other.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 83f.

Although the 'Tymotheos' portrait is an exceptional case, it indicates that the portraiture of musicians has come to a watershed at the point where it has reached its first mature realization. Earlier paintings are not more than pictures of authors; they emphasize the professional aspect far more than individuality. Later painters will emphasize the individuality of the sitter, but they will almost never delve into the musical aspect or quality except by outright labeling with a musical instrument or a score.

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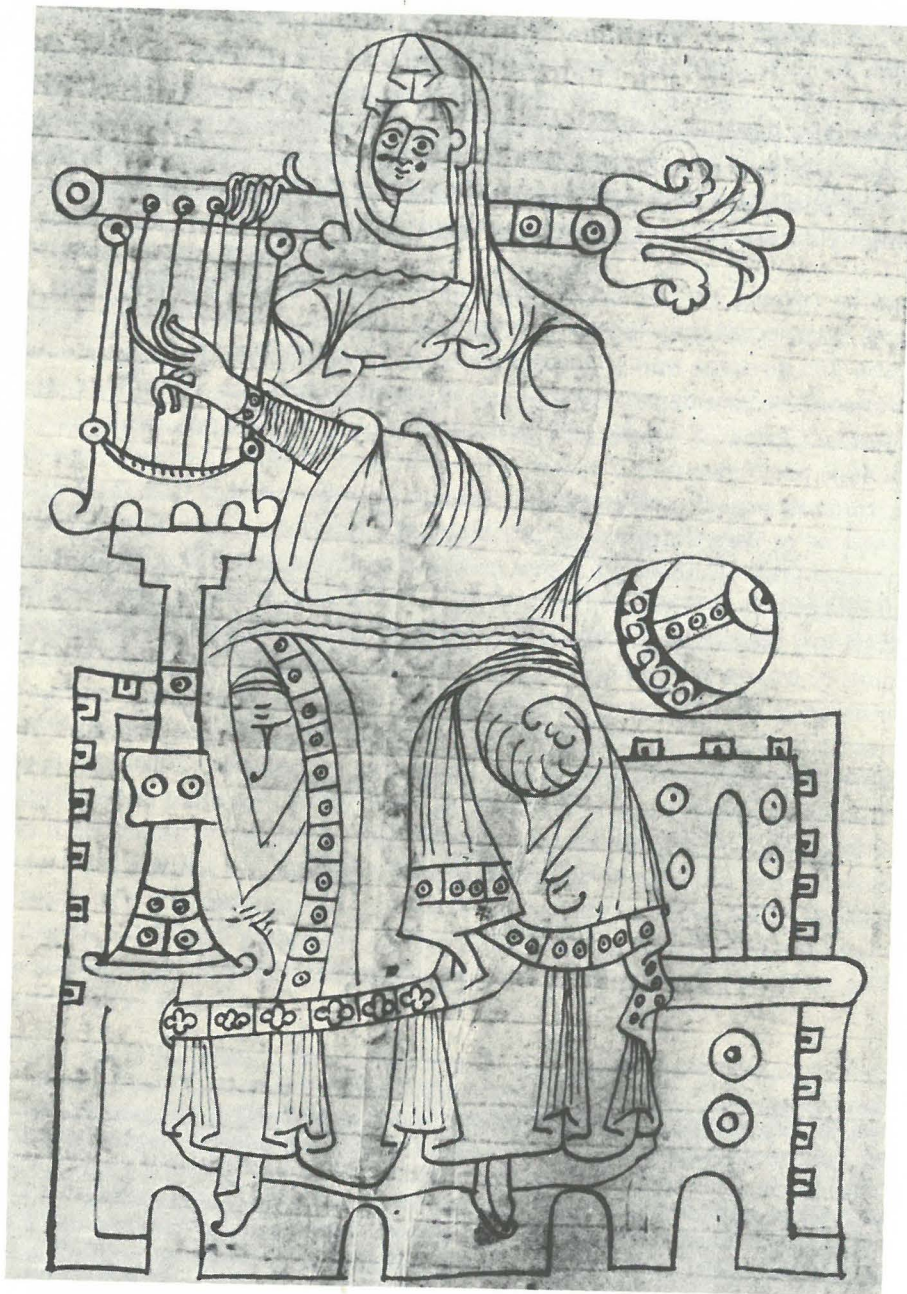


Plate I

Florence, Bibl. Med. Laur., San Marco 190, fol. 108r: *Lady Music* – Photo: Library



Plate II

Munich, Bayerische Staatsb., clm 2599, fol. 103: *Lady Music and Pythagoras* – Photo: Library



Plate III

Strasbourg, University L., Herrad of Hohenbourg, fol. 32: *Philosophy, the Liberal Arts, and authors* — Photo after Green et al.

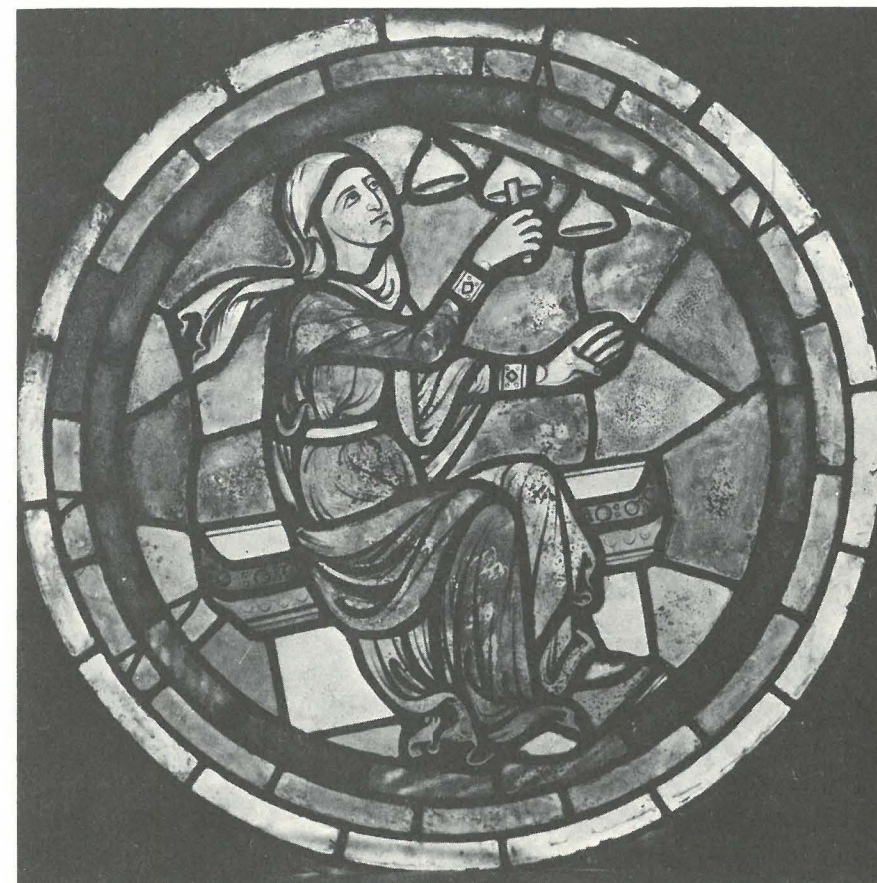


Plate IV

Laon, glass window in the northern transept: *Lady Music* — Photo after Beer

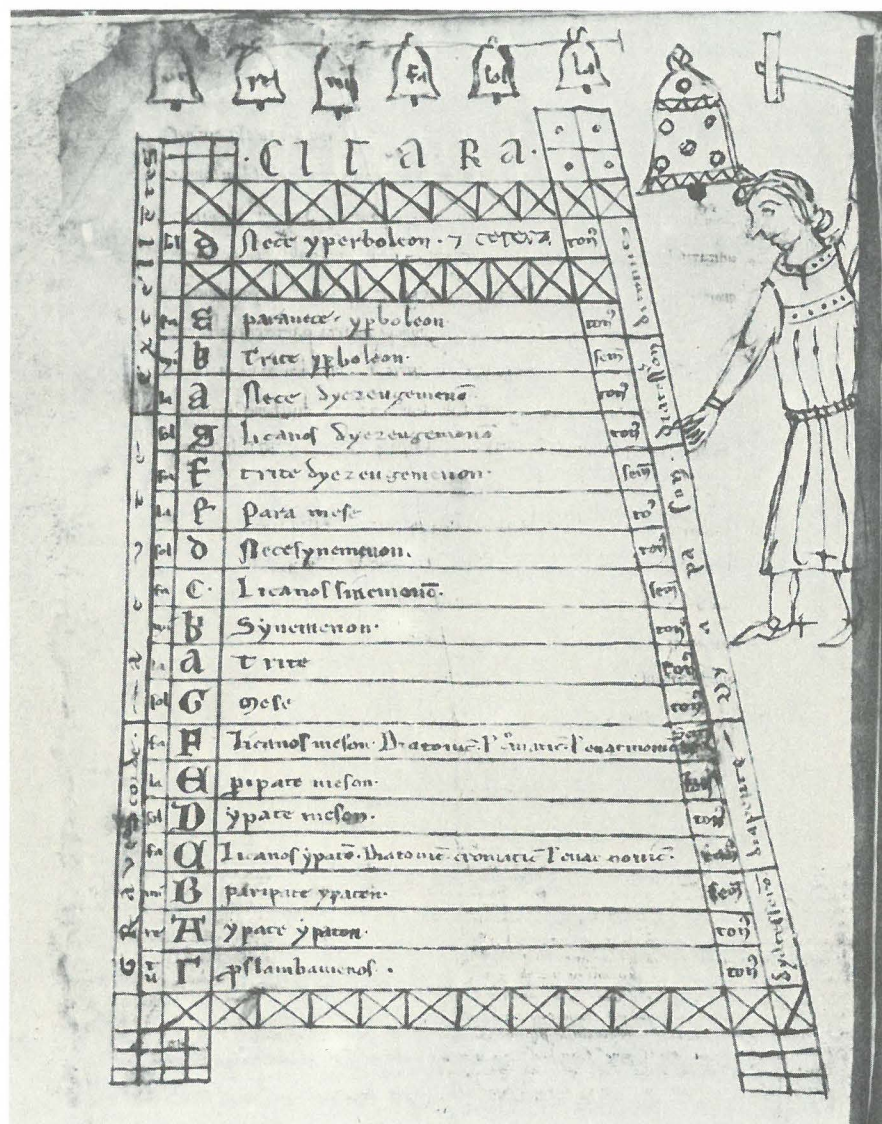


Plate VII

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbib. 55, fol. 167r: "citar" scheme
— Photo after Smits van Waesberghe *Musikerziehung*



Plate VIII

Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, V. A 14, fol. 47r: *David, Lady Music, and musicians* — Photo Library



Plate IX

Paris, Bibl. Nat., frc. 12476, fol. 109: *The nine Muses* — Photo after Wangermée



Plate X

Grenoble, Bibl. municipale, 875, fol. 365: *The nine Muses* — Photo: Library



Plate XI

Boccaccio, "De claris mulieribus", Ulm, 1476, fol. 48': *Sappho*
 — Photo after *Gesamtkatalog*

MUSICA.



*Musica leticia comes & medicina dolorum
 lute uocor, duce me cura sepulta iacet.*

Plate XII

Lucas Cranach d. J., woodcut for G. Rhau, Wittenberg, 1544 and
 later: *Lady Music* — Photo after *Wolf DDT*



Plate XIII El Escorial, j. b. 2, fol. 29: King Alfonso and his scribes and musicians — Photo: Library



Plate XIV El Escorial, T. j. 1, fol. 5: King Alfonso and his scribes and musicians — Photo: Library



Plate XV Heidelberg, University, L., Codex Manesse, fol. 149': Wolfram von Eschenbach — Photo after Inselbuch 450

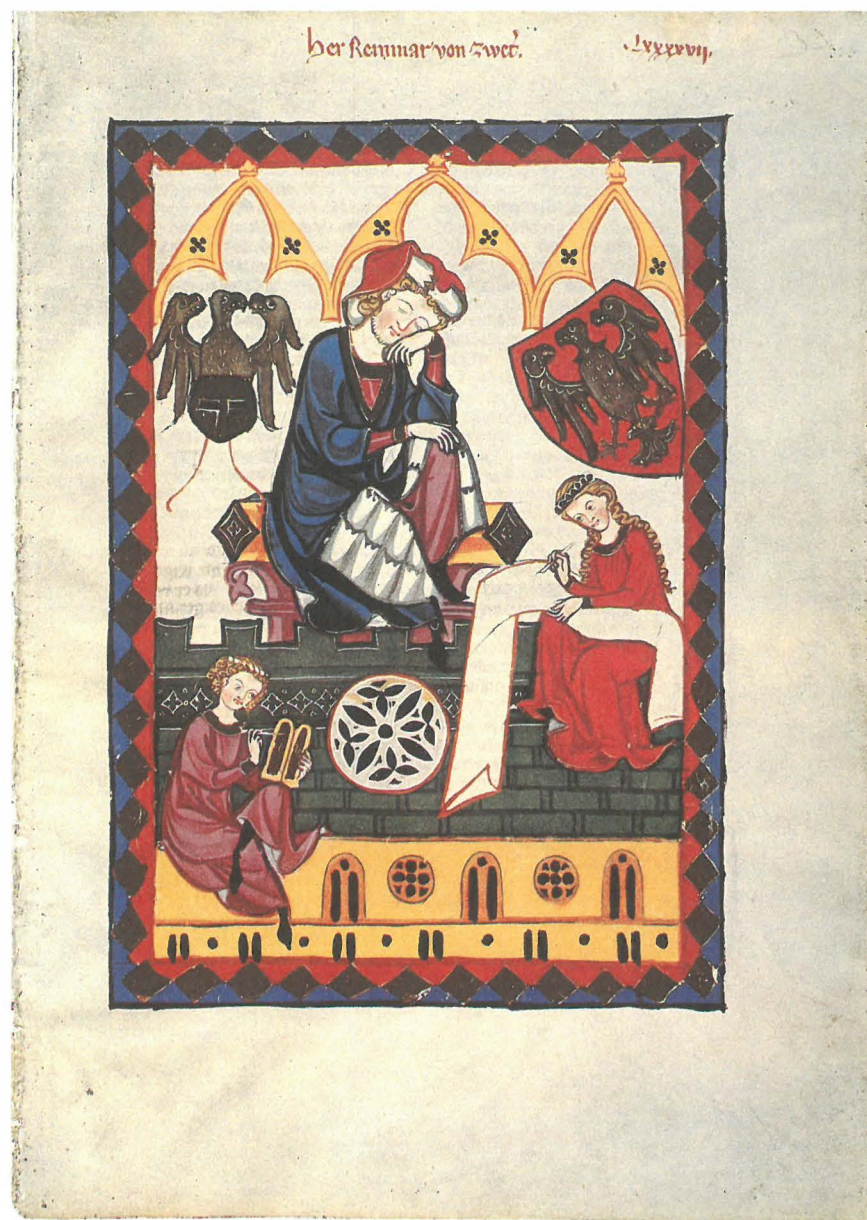


Plate XVI

Heidelberg, University L., Codex Manesse, fol. 323: *Reinmar von Zweter* – Photo after Inselbuch 450



Plate: XVII

Heidelberg, University L., Codex Manesse, fol. 312: *Reinmar der Fiedeler* – Photo after Inselbuch

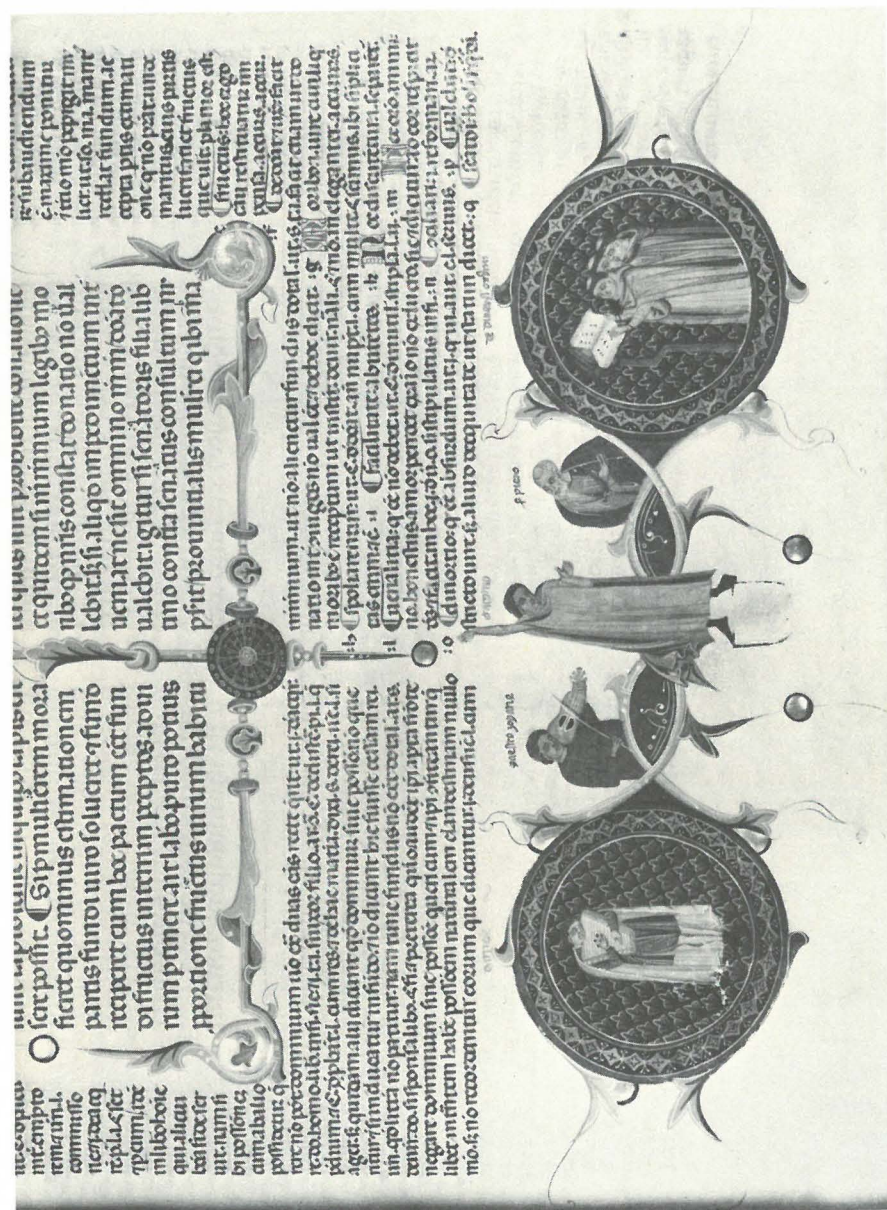


Plate XVIII Fulda, Hessische Landesb., D 23, fol. 392: *drôlerie* — Photo: Library



Plate XIX

London, National Gallery. Jan van Eyck: "Tymotheos" — Photo after Wangermée