THREE FOUNDERS OF MUSIC ICONOGRAPHY IN FRANCE: GENEVIÈVE THIBAULT DE CHAMBURE, ALBERT POMME DE MIRIMONDE, AND FRANÇOIS LESURE

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A l' "inventeur" de L'Illustration*,*
au magnat de la presse musicale,
au danseur irrésistible

As a continuation of an initial overview of the contributions by French scholars to the field of musical iconography, written by Tilman Seebass for the first volume of *Musique–Images–Instruments* in 1995,[1] at the annual meeting of the International Association of Music Libraries (IAML) in 2006 I presented a summary of the public projects initiated by French institutions concerning indexing of music iconography after 1936.[2] Concurrently, I have prepared for the Université François-Rabelais de Tours a historiography of organology and iconography studies in France, tracing the beginnings of these fields even earlier than the *post quem* defined by Seebass.[3] Finally, for the centenary of the *Revue de musicologie*, I wrote an overview of scholarship on music iconography published in that journal since its foundation in 1922.[4] In this

This contribution is an expanded version of the paper given at the joint IAML–IMS Conference, *Music Research in the Digital Era* (New York, 26 June 2015), session "'Was lehren uns die Bildwerke?': Music Iconography from the Pioneers to the Present."

1 Tilman Seebass, "Une brève histoire de l'iconographie musicale: Contribution des chercheurs français," *Musique, images, instruments: Revue française d'organologie et d'iconographie musicale* no. 1 (1995), 9–23.

2 Florence Gétreau, "1936–2006: Cataloguing Musical Iconography in France – A disciplinary perspective," *RIdIM Newsletter* no. 2 (2007), 13–17.

3 Florence Gétreau, *Histoire des instruments et représentations de la musique en France: Une mise en perspective disciplinaire dans le contexte international,* Thèse d'Habilitation à diriger des recherches, Tours, Université François-Rabelais, 2006, http://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/08/80/86/PDF/HDR_Getreau.pdf (accessed 1 September 2021).

4 Florence Gétreau, "Présence de l'iconographie musicale dans la *Revue de musicologie* (1917–2000): Des balbutiements à l'établissement d'une discipline auxiliaire de la musicology," *Un*

Festschrift contribution, I present the work of the three founding figures in French scholarship on music iconography. None of them was a scholar working in an academic milieu, but all of them played a prominent role in creating the foundation of this interdisciplinary field in France: Geneviève Thibault de Chambure was a musicologist; collector of music prints, manuscripts, and instruments; curator; and concert organizer who initiated a public research collection of visual reproductions; Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, an autodidact art historian who published a prolific series of articles on artworks preserved mainly in French public collections; and François Lesure, a musicologist and librarian, who opened new perspectives in the sociology of music and the use of images in music studies, creating a collection of related monographs.

Geneviève Thibault de Chambure (1902–1975)

Geneviève Thibault studied musicology with André Pirro at the Sorbonne, and prepared a doctoral thesis on the fifteenth-century chanson which she never completed.[5] She started collecting rare manuscripts at the age of twenty-two when she purchased her first ancient song book, and antique musical instruments in 1928 after acquiring the former Lecerf collection. In March

siècle de musicologie en France: Histoire intellectuelle de la Revue de musicologie, vol. 2, ed. by Yves Balmer and Hervé Lacombe, *Revue de musicologie* 104 nos. 1–2 (2018), 661–692.

5 For a biography, and bibliography of Geneviève Thibault de Chambure, see Florence Gétreau, *Aux origines du musée de la Musique: Les collections instrumentales du Conservatoire de Paris, 1793–1993* (Paris: C. Klincksieck; Réunion des musées nationaux,1996), 157–168; 340–350; 430–439, 459–470; 501–507; 536–549; 552–553; 562–563; 595–597; 620–621; and 716–740; on her private collection see, Florence Abondance [Gétreau], Josiane Bran-Ricci, Catherine Massip, and François Lesure, *Musiques anciennes: Instruments et partitions donnés à l'État en paiement de droits de succession,* catalogue of an exhibition (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1980); a series of auction catalogues: Pierre Berès, *Bibliothèque musicale de la comtesse de Chambure: Théorie musicale. Arts du spectacle (danse, ballet, opéra)* (Paris: Nouveau Drouot, 26 mai 1993), 330 items; idem, *Deuxième vente. Musique instrumentale, opéra, chants profanes, musique religieuse — cantates* (Paris, ibid., 5 avril 1995), 407 items; idem, *Troisième vente: Manuscrits. Musique religieuse, opéra, cantates, chants profanes, musique instrumentale* (Paris, ibid., 31 janvier 1996), 222 items; idem, *Quatrième vente: musique instrumentale et vocale, opéras, ballets, danse, musique religieuse, cantates, motets, airs de cour, chansons profanes et bachiques* (Paris, *ibid*., 25 mars 1997), 436 items; Catherine Massip and Florence Gétreau, "Les collections Henry Prunières et Geneviève Thibault de Chambure: Formation, composition, interaction, valorization," *Collectionner la musique: Histoires d'une passion*, ed. by Denis Herlin, Catherine Massip, Jean Duron and Dinko Fabris (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 217–256; and on her activities as concert organizer see Florence Gétreau, "Les archives de la Société de Musique d'Autrefois (SMA), 1929–1975, conservées au Musée de la Musique à Paris," Actes du colloque de Genève, Conservatoire de musique. *L'interprétation musicale dans les fonds des bibliothèques,* 7 janvier 2006, ed. by Rémy Campos and Dominique Hausfater, *Fontes Artis Musicae* 54, no. 1 (2007), 33–54. The collection of her scholarly papers is kept at the Société de Musique d'Autrefois.

1927 she co-founded the Société de Musique d'Autrefois, which provided a framework for her organization of secular and sacred music concerts. After her marriage in 1931 she stopped musical and scholarly activities, gave birth to six children, and alternated her life between Vietnam and France. After the death of her husband, she returned permanently to Paris, where in June 1953 she resumed her scholarly activities and organization of concerts. Late in her life, between 1961 and 1973, she became the curator of the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Paris, a public collection that she helped to bring back to life with pedagogical, restoration and research programs.

Collecting sources for her research on the fifteenth-century chanson, she also assembled references concerning visual documents from various countries and collected photo-reproductions of musical scenes found in illuminated manuscripts, paintings and other media. For this reason, in 1954 François Lesure invited her to contribute to the Entretiens d'Arras conference where she presented an article on "Le concert instrumental dans l'art flamand au XV^{e} siècle et au début du XVI^{e} siècle," which was published two years later.[6] This was her first article on music iconography.[7] Here she focused on the period between 1480 and 1520, and on painters from the Northern countries, describing "ensembles" combining voices and instruments. She selected twenty paintings, stained glass and tapestries (only three of which were reproduced in the publication) and she presented concepts such as broken consorts, "hauts" and "bas" instruments, referencing literary or historical sources, and quoting a series of chansons with which she was familiar. This article appears like a nice presentation not written in an academic style.

Two decades later she published her second and final article on musical iconography, devoted to the oratory of the Montreuil-Bellay castle.[8] At that time she was at the peak of her career, active as a curator of the Musée Instrumental (until September 1973), president of the Comité international pour les musées et

6 Geneviève Thibault, "Le concert instrumental dans l'art flamand au XV^{e} siècle et au début du XVI^{e} siècle," *La Renaissance dans les provinces du Nord,* ed. by François Lesure. Le chœur des muses [Entretiens d'Arras] (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, [1954], 1956), 197–206.

7 For a complete list of Thibault's publications, see François Lesure, "Bibliographie des travaux de G. Thibault," *Annales musicologiques* VII (1964–1977), 7–9; Florence Gétreau, art. "Geneviève Thibault," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Personenteil 16, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler 2006), col. 742–743.

8 Geneviève Thibault, "L'oratoire du château de Montreuil-Bellay: Ses anges musiciens, son motet polyphonique," *Memorie e contributi […] offerti a Federico Ghisi, Quadrivium: Rivista di filologia e muscicologia medievale* XII (1971), 209–224. Color slides for the article provided Jean-Michel Vaccaro, who regularly collaborated with Mme de Chambure for the series "Corpus des luthistes français," published by the Éditions du CNRS.



Fig. 1. Geneviève Thibault de Chambure and Frank Hubbard in the restoration laboratory, with two famous harpsichords: the Hieronymus Albrecht Has Hamburg, 1740 (Rafael Puyana coll. at that time, today Alan Rubin coll. in Provins, France) and Andreas Ruckers 1646/Pascal Taskin 1780 (G. Thibault coll. at that time, now Musée de la Musique, E. 979.2.1.), Paris, Conservatoire national supérieur de musique rue de Madrid, 1967, Photo Publimages.

collections d'instruments et de musique (CIMCIM) of the International Council of Museums (1968–1974), and the co-curator of the "unusual, indeed unprecedented" travelling exhibition *Eighteenth Century Musical Instruments: France and Britain*, organized by the Victoria & Albert Museum.[9] In this short contribution of five pages she presented the paintings on the ceiling of the Montreuil-Bellay castle, showing angel musicians and one notated motet. She commented on the two groups of instruments and concentrated on the three-voice motet Ave Regina Caelorum by Walter Frye. In the text she mentioned that the motet is "preserved in fifteen different manuscripts" and that other painters, like the Monogramist ADR alias Master with the Embroidered Foliage (i.e., Maître au Feuillage brodé[10]), used it in slightly different versions. Just after the publication of her article, in 1973 the Musée du Louvre acquired from the Grog-Carven collection the painting *Virgin Surrounded by Angel Musicians*, which she reproduced in pl. VIII as a comparative variant.[11] In the article she also described the triptych by a Flemish painter, preserved in Palermo, showing an angel holding a *rotulus* with the tenor part of the same motet, surrounded by two angels playing lute and recorder. This triptych is preserved in the Chiesa Madre, in Polizzi Generosa (Sicily)[12] and Mme de Chambure gave an approximate reference to it, as if she was unfamiliar with Ettore Gábrici's article on this triptych.[13]

Pieter Fischer mentioned briefly these two last paintings, but it is David Fallows who gave an incomparably more solid presentation in 2003, establishing their relationship with the represented motet and the English ballade, Latin-texted pieces in several fifteenth-century chansonniers, and their function as an opening prayer in the chansonniers in which it is found.[14] Quoting

9 Sir John Pope-Hennessy, "Foreword," *Eighteenth Century Musical Instruments: France and Britain = Les instruments de musique au XVIII^e siècle: France et Grande-Bretagne* (London: V & A Museum, 1973), vii.

10 *Le Maître au Feuillage brodé. Primitifs flamands: Secrets d'ateliers,* exhibition catalogue, ed. by Florence Gombert and Didier Martens (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux; Lille: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 2005), 54–55.

11 *Le Maître au Feuillage brodé, Idem,* reproduction no. 55, p. 54n: "Groupe au Feuillage brodé: Anonyme bruxellois, *Vierge entourée d'anges musiciens,* last quarter of the 15th century, 175 × 135.6 cm, Musée du Louvre, collection Grog-Caren, Inv. RF 1973–35."

12 *Le Maître au Feuillage brodé, Idem,* reproduction no. 18, p. 28: "Groupe au Feuillage brodé: Colijn de Coter (?), *Triptyque de la Vierge à l'Enfant entourée d'anges musiciens, de sainte Barbe et sainte Catherine,* dernier tiers du XV^e siècle, panneau central: 158 × 123 cm, Polizzi Generosa (Sicile), Chiesa Madre."

13 Ettore Gábrici, "Il trittico di Polizzi," *Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero delle pubblica istruzione* 4, no. 4 (Ottobre 1924), 144–161. Here 158. See also Vincenzo Abbate, "Il trittico fiammingo di Polizzi," *Kalós* 17 (2005), 8–13.

14 Pieter Fischer, *Music and Paintings of the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th Centuries/Musik auf niederländischen Gemälden im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, *Amsterdam, Sonorum speculum* 50–51 (1972), 13;

Geneviève Thibault's article, and giving as appendix all the known musical sources and the three painted versions, he was unaware that the Féral-Grog painting entered the Louvre thirty years before his study.

Although Geneviève Thibault published only these two short articles on music iconography, she privately collected visual documents concerning music, and in 1967 her collection became a nucleus of the Centre d'Iconographie musicale et d'Organographie that she established with the help of CNRS. With a permission of CNRS, she continued housing the collection privately at her residence in Neuilly-sur-Seine, rather than at the Musée Instrumental of the Conservatoire de Paris that was the collection's official address.

Probably beginning in late 1969, the American musicologist Barry S. Brook was contemplating an international project concerned with cataloguing artworks representing music. Madame de Chambure was critically important in the planning of the project that was publicly announced at the meeting of the International Association of Music Libraries in Sankt Gallen in August 1971. Brook and Chambure corresponded about plans for the new "R" project, known today as the Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale (RIdIM; initially abbreviated as RICOM). On 10 July 1971, before the inauguration in Sankt Gallen, Chambure sent him two provisional cataloguing cards listing the fields for describing musical content of paintings. In a long P.S. that she added two days later, she continued:

> I saw Hugues de Varine-Bohan, told him about "our project" and asked for the future organization—as you wished—the patronage of ICOM … In principle, Varine agrees, but the project—which will no doubt be finalized in St. Gallen—will need to be submitted for approval to the ICOM Executive Council, which meets in Paris on 1 September. Only then will the decision be confirmed! Like me, Varine jumped when I mentioned the acronym of RICOM.
>
> There he was very clear, telling me that there was already a lot of confusion going on between ICOM and ICOMOS and that RICOM would only complicate the situation. He begs you to find another acronym. … I entrust this problem to your nocturnal meditations: be kind enough to keep me informed of your thoughts! In haste, Yours, Ginette.[15]

David Fallows, "Walter Frye's Ave regina caelorum and the Latin song style," '*Et facciam dolçi canti': Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2003), 331–345; reprinted in, David Fallows, *Composers and Their Songs, 1400–1521* (Farham: Ashgate, 2003), xiii.

15 "Depuis que j'ai écrit ce mot, j'ai vu Hugues de Varine-Bohan, lui ai parlé de 'notre projet' et ai demandé pour le futur organisme—comme vous le souhaitiez—le patronage de l'ICOM.

During the founding meeting of RIdIM in Sankt Gallen—jointly organized by Barry Brook (IMS), Harald Heckmann (IAML) and Geneviève de Chambure (ICOM/CIMCIM)—she presented a paper on the cataloguing of the collection of iconographic reproductions which eventually became part of the instrument museum within the Conservatoire de Paris, and part of the Recherche Coopérative sur Programme of the CNRS.[16] A model of the card she presented was reduced to only five descriptors and a short list of represented musical elements, performers, pictorial category, setting and occasion for music, and bibliography. The indexing of iconographic themes represented in the artwork was removed from the card that Barry Brook published after the meeting in *Notes*.[17] In the paper prepared for Sankt Gallen, which Thibault sent to Barry Brook in July 1971 with the aforementioned letter, she said with perspicacity, including Frédéric Thieck, her collaborator for the CNRS research:

> In our opinion, the Brown-Lascelle report is excellent in all its principles; we are ready to discuss certain details: the simplifications, the abbreviations, the description of the mother file, the change of the titles of the paintings in which an organological error is integrated, etc … It is not a question of chewing the work of researchers, but to provide them with basic usable equipment.[18]

… En principe, Varine est d'accord, mais il faudra que le projet—qui sera sans doute mis au point à Saint-Gall—soit soumis à l'approbation du Conseil Exécutif de l'ICOM, qui se réunit à Paris le 1er Septembre. Alors seulement la décision sera effective. Comme moi, Varime a sursauté quand l'ai cité le sigle de RICOM. Là, il a été très net, me disant qu'il se produisait déjà de nombreuses confusions entre ICOM (International Council of Museums) et ICOMOS—réservé à la section architecture, et que RICOM ne ferait que compliquer la situation. Il vous supplie de trouver un autre sigle, et suggère RIMUS (Répertoire International d'Iconographie MUSicale), mais il faudrait peut-etre un sigle qui soit traduisible en anglais comme IDOMI (International Directory of Musical Iconography) … Je confie ce problème à vos méditations nocturnes : soyez assez gentil pour me tenir au courant de vos pensées. En hâte, bien à vous, Ginette." Letter from Geneviève de Chambure to Barry Brook, 12 July 1971. Archives of the Research Center for Music Iconography (RCMI), The Graduate Center, City University of New York. All my gratitude to Zdravko Blažeković for sharing with me this correspondence. Translation from French to English by the author. Ginette was the nickname used by Geneviève de Chambure with family and close friends. And Hugues de Varine-Bohan was the General director of ICOM at that time.

16 Minutes of the founding meeting of RIdIM, St. Gallen (26 August 1971). Archives of the RCMI, 6–8.

17 Barry S. Brook, "RIdIM: A New International Venture in Musical Iconography," *Notes Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 28, no. 4 (1972), 652–663. French participants at the San Gallen meeting were Comtesse H. de Chambure, Yvette and Vladimir Fédorov, François Lesure, and Frédéric Thieck.

18 "A notre avis, le rapport Brown-Lascelle est excellent dans tous ses principes ; nous sommes prêts à discuter de certains détails : les simplifications, les abréviations, la description sur

In her paper she highlighted the tasks of RIdIM, organizing them by priority: tasks that should be carried out immediately, tasks that the three co-chairs outlined during the Sankt Gallen meeting, and the tasks that RIdIM could develop later:

- development of a list of organizations and individuals interested in musical iconography. Questionnaire.
- discussion of the details of the Brown-Lascelle report [the description on the mother card could be replaced by a contact photo.]
- attempt to set up a central organization, capable of providing permanent information, thanks to a simple reference bulletin and capable of organizing the rapid distribution of documents acquired by the common fund (the list of which is to be established) and of publishing: a) the acquisitions, b) the changes of attribution, c) bibliographies.[19]

Reading letters and cards exchanged between Mme de Chambure and Barry Brook feels like entering the "documentation workshop," a sort of experimental laboratory where we discover the proto-systems of indexing musical iconography that are now implemented in their later versions in our databases. It was such cards that the Parisian center was supposed to send to the RIdIM Office in New York, after its establishment during the same meeting.

In May 1972, Mme de Chambure sent to Brook general remarks concerning the cataloguing card in its post-Sankt Gallen version and analytical comment for each section, which he produced together with her collaborator Frédéric Thieck, an art historian trained by André Chastel. Considering that the card included no information about the context and creation of the artwork (for example, that the famous *Allegory of Music* by La Hyre, kept at the Metro-

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la fiche-mère, le changement des titres des tableaux dans lesquels s'intègre une erreur organologique, etc… Il ne s'agit pas de mâcher le travail des chercheurs, mais de leur fournir un matériel utilisable de base (il y a des pertes de temps inutiles, ex : la tenture de Reims, et d'argent…)". Typed draft of the presentation that Genevieve de Thibault gave at the Saint Gall RIdIM meeting . Archives of the RCMI.

19 "Le démarche à suivre nous paraît être la suivante:

- mise au point d'une liste des organismes et particuliers intéressés par l'iconographie musicale. QUESTIONNAIRE.
- discussion des détails du rapport Brown-Lascelle (chapitre XIV, en particulier). On pourrait envisager le remplacement de la description sur la fiche mère par un contact (3cm x 3 cm) : 20 centimes, ou un peu plus grand.
- essai de constitution d'organisme central, capable d'informer en permanence, grâce à un bulletin de références simples (type Bulloz) et capable d'organiser la distribution rapide des documents acquis par le fonds commun (dont la list est à établir) et de publier: 1: les achats, b) les modifications d'attribution, c) les bibliographies.

Ibid.

politan Museum of Art, was originally conceived with two lateral pendants, separated from the main painting and today preserved in Dijon) she wrote with perspicacity:

> TITLE: Important information should be introduced for the history of art and more especially for iconography, in particular the notion of pendant and that of series; and also the existence of secondary themes and characters directly related to the music, when the title does not indicate it: in a landscape: Orpheus, the Muses … in a religious scene: presence of David, of Ste Cécile…
>
> INSTRUMENTS SHOWN: A complete list of instruments should be drawn up after developing illustrated definitions (cf., glossary). This section should be very specialized in order to get maximum use of the computer.
>
> MUSIC NOTATION: Add "Identified" while the bibliography will give the reference.
>
> PERFORMERS AND PICTORIAL CATEGORY; OCCASION FOR MUSIC: These two sections are the two most important for iconography and musical life. It would be desirable that everything be stated in precise terms.[20]

In August 1975 (the month of the death of Mme de Chambure), in the first *RIdIM Newsletter*, we read that an International Advisory Commission for RIdIM had been established "representing international organizations."[21] From

20 " TITLE : Il faudrait introduire des renseignements importants pour l'histoire de l'art et plus spécialement pour l'iconographie, en particulier la notion de pendant et celle de série, et également l'existence de thèmes secondaires ou de personnages ayant directement rapport avec la musique, lorsque le titre ne l'indique pas :
dans un paysage : Orphée, les Muses …
dans une scène religieuse : présence de David, de Ste Cécile …
INSTRUMENTS SHOWN: Il faudrait établir une liste complète d'instruments après avoir mis au point des définitions illustrées (cf. glossaire). Cette section devrait être très spécialisée afin de profiter d'une utilisation maximale de l'ordinateur.
MUSIC NOTATION: Oui—on pourrait rajouter 'identified' plutôt que d'inscrire tout sur la fiche, puisque la bibliographie fournira la référence.
Les deux sections suivantes, PERFORMERS et PICTORIAL CATEGORY; OCCASION FOR MUSIC, sont, en fait, les deux plus importantes pour l'iconographie et la vie musicales. … Il serait souhaitable que tout soit énoncé en termes et aussi numéroté."
Two-page attachment to the letter from Madame de Chambure to Barry Brook (12 May 1972). Archives of the RCMI.

21 "RIdIM Resumé," *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (August 1975), 1.

France, the Commission included Georges Henri Rivière,[22] earlier director of ICOM (1951–1964) and during the years when I was his student in museology at the Sorbonne, "permanent advisor" of the International Association of Museums. Rivière was a very good friend of Mme de Chambure, strongly supportive of her actions as President of CIMCIM. Other Commission members included Hugues de Varine, director of ICOM during these years; André Chastel, the renewed art historian and professor in the Collège de France; Michel Laclotte, chief curator of the painting department of the Louvre; Albert Pomme de Mirimonde; and Hubert Prouté, who in 1973 became the head of the famous Parisian Art Gallery specialized in prints and drawings. The paragraph dealing with national iconographic centres in the first *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* says:

> The oldest and by far the largest national center is the Centre d'Iconographie Musicale in Paris which has provided a model for centers throughout the world. It contains over 10,000 photographs and slides and a card index with about 30,000 entries. Among the Centre's current projects are a study of French frescoes and a checklist of paintings and drawings of musical subjects in the Louvre.[23]

This project concerning the cataloguing of the Louvre collection of paintings was completed several decades later and the material, systematically catalogued, reached the number originally expected by Frédéric Thieck in his preliminary program announced in New York when he spoke of 700 items in 6,000 paintings.[24] Then in the "Checklist of Musico-Iconographic Collections" compiled by Jerzy Gołos in 1975, we can read another description:

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22 Germain Viatte and Marie-Charlotte Calafat, eds., *Georges Henri Rivière: Voir, c'est comprendre* (Marseille: Musem; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2018).

23 *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (August 1975), 2.

24 This inventory of artworks showing music subjects was completed a generation later. It was a ten-years long project presented in six articles with 637 items. Nicole Lallement and Brigitte Devaux, Inventaire des tableaux à sujets musicaux du musée du Louvre. I: L'école italienne des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles," *Musique–Images–Instruments* 2 (1997), 235–262; Nicole Lallement, Inventaire des tableaux à sujets musicaux du musée du Louvre. II: La peinture française des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles (1. Tableaux conservés au musée)," *Musique–Images–Instruments* 3 (1998), 186–220; eadem, "Inventaire des tableaux à sujets musicaux du musée du Louvre. III: La peinture française des XVI^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles (dépôts)," *Musique–Images–Instruments* 4 (1999), 160–190; Nicoletta Guidobaldi, Inventaire des tableaux à sujets musicaux du musée du Louvre. IV: La peinture de la Renaissance," *Musique–Images–Instruments* 5 (2003), 199–232; Nicole Lallement, Inventaire des tableaux à sujets musicaux du musée du Louvre. V: Peintures hollandaises et flamandes des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles," *Musique–Images–Instruments* 6 (2004), 211–244; eadem, "Inventaire des tableaux à sujets musicaux du musée du Louvre. VI: Suite et fin," *Musique–Images–Instruments* 8 (2006), 189–211.

> Paris F. Le Centre d'Iconographie Musicale (under the auspices of the Conservatoire de Paris and the CNRS). Seat of the French RIdIM Committee. Possesses one of the richest collections of musical iconography: over 8000 photographs and 2000 diapositives, well-catalogued and cross-indexed of some 30,000 cards. The collection covers especially France, Italy, Flanders, Spain and Holland; includes works of art from the 14th through 19th centuries in all media. Specific areas of concentration include: "Paintings in the Louvre," and "Musical scenes in *Fêtes*" in France, Germany, Austria, England, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Poland, and Russia; 16th through 19th c. [25]

Conceiving and then establishing her photographic collection, indexing it on cards and then opening it to the public, later made accessible through different databases, is the legacy of Mme de Chambure in the field of musical iconography. Six months after she passed away, Barry Brook honored her in the second *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter*:

> The breadth of her accomplishments and the force of her personality made her a prime mover in the musical and musicological life of France and of the world. As author of numerous Renaissance studies, and organologist (Conservateur de Musée instrumental du Conservatoire National de Musique), as iconologist (co-president of le Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale), as founder, in 1925, of the Société de la Musique d'Autrefois, as editor of *Annales Musicologiques*, etc. etc., she worked indefatigably, inspiring those around her with her enthusiasm and energy. Her unfailing magnanimity in sharing her personal library and instrument collection with students and colleagues was legendary. How many young Americans found warmth and wisdom at her great house in Neuilly![26]

Ten years later, in a thematic issue of *Imago Musicae*, she was honored with a tribute by Barry Brook who underlined her spirit and style, concluding the volume by telling that "she has been a major force in the creation of the RIdIM project."[27]

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25 Jerzy Gołos, "A Checklist of Musico-Iconographic Collections," *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (August 1975), 12.

26 Barry S. Brook, "La comtesse Hubert de Chambure," *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 1, no. 2 (February 1976), 4.

27 Barry S. Brook, "Musical Iconography: Recent strides, future goals," in "De l'image à l'Objet. La méthode critique en Iconographie musicale. Actes du colloque international de

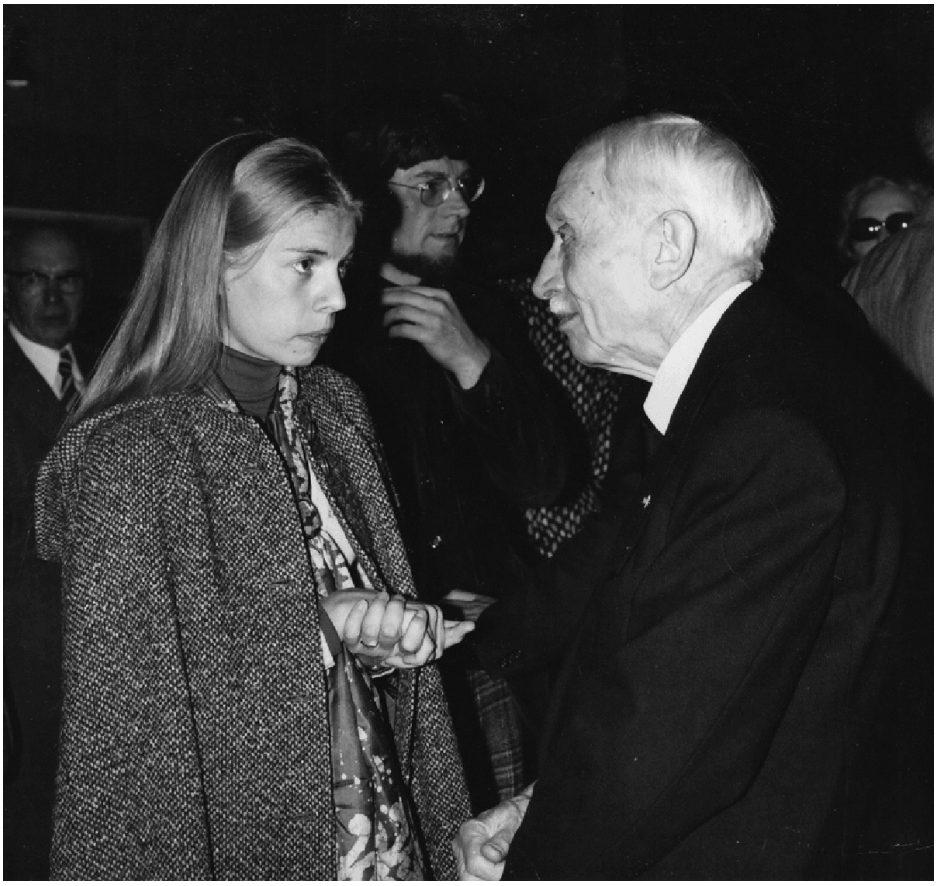


Fig. 2. Albert Pomme de Mirimonde and Florence Gétreau. Paris, Hôtel de Sully, Inauguration of the temporary exhibition "Eighteenth Century Musical Instruments: France and Britain" (October 1974), Photo Jean Rabier.

Albert Pomme de Mirimonde (1897–1985)

Albert Pomme de Mirimonde is the second "founder" that I wish to discuss here. The development of his activities in the field of music iconography parallels those of Geneviève Thibault. Trained as a lawyer—his doctoral thesis from 1920 was on "International Treaties and Their Imperfections"—his entire career in high administration was spent as a Magistrate at the Court of Auditors where he was successively Auditor (1921), Referendum Advisor

Paris. Collège de France. 4–7 septembre 1985. Hommage à Geneviève Thibault de Chambure," *Imago Musicae* 4 (1987), 357–359.

(1930), Master Advisor (1945) and President of the Chamber (1957–1967). He was also a collector of Baroque paintings, focusing on secondary masters. He stopped collecting in 1951 when his mother died, an exclusive and unique affection for them both. More than thirty years later, he bequeathed his collection to the Louvre and the provincial museums in Gray and Tours.[28] Although he was not a trained academic art historian, in 1948 he started writing a series of very short articles on art historical topics, published in *Oud-Holland* (seven articles), *La Revue des Arts* (eleven), *Musées et collections publiques de France* (four), the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (five) and the *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor schone Kunsten* in Antwerp (sixteen). His first articles on paintings with music subjects were published in *La Revue des arts* in 1960, concerning paintings by Gerrit van Honthorst.[29]

After completing forty of these short articles, his first two real iconographical studies appeared in 1961 in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, one on musical subjects in paintings by Jan Vermeer, and the other on musical subjects by Antoine Watteau.[30] Expressing a distrust of the aesthetic judgments of the art historian Louis Gillet and drawing on the recent monographs by P.T.A. Swillens and Lawrence Gowing on Vermeer, he expected that from his study,

> Vermeer emerges transformed, but not diminished. He is no longer the pure technician, nor the poetic dreamer. He appears as an ironist, without much illusion about the moral world, but who knows how to enjoy the visible world and excels at translating it into a language of light and color. Thanks to this perfect shape and this cold clarity, it prefigures certain men of the 18th century—Laclos more than Marivaux—but with incomparable quality. Certain hidden affinities also appear between his work and that of Marcel Proust. Sometimes even his mind does not seem so far removed from Bergotte's [Marcel Proust's writer in *À la recherche du temps perdu*].[31]

28 Hubert Landais, "Avant-propos," in *Musée du Louvre: La collection A.P. de Mirimonde (legs aux musées de Gray et de Tours),* ed. by Elisabeth Foucart-Walter (Paris: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication; Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1987), 5.

29 Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "L'Accord retrouvé de Gerrit van Honthorst," *La Revue des arts* 3 (1960), 109–116; "A propos du Concert de Gerrit van Honthorst," *La Revue des arts* 6 (1960), 260.

30 Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Les sujets musicaux chez Vermeer de Delft," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (Janvier 1961), 29–52; "Les sujets musicaux chez Antoine Watteau," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (Novembre 1961), 249–288.

31 "D'une telle étude Vermeer sort transformé, mais non point diminué. Ce n'est plus le technicien pur, ni le rêveur poétique. Il apparaît comme un ironiste, sans grande illusion sur le monde moral, mais qui sait jouir du monde visible et excelle à le traduire en langage de lumière et de couleur. Grâce à cette forme parfaite et à cette clarté froide, il préfigure certains

Already in this first study, Mirimonde has showed traits that will characterize his entire later scholarship: he aimed to "pierce the symbolic secret" of the paintings (being a follower of Emile Mâle) and he refused to reduce artworks to the universe of forms, the theory that came out of the school of Heinrich Wölfflin, who was influential in the post-war years in France, after his major work was translated in French.[32] Mirimonde claimed that Vermeer's precursors were presenting in their paintings a usual repertoire of three situations: tuning of the instrument, the concert, and a celebration following the concert. In Vermeer's paintings he detected a more allusive language, musical instruments whose association contribute to the expression of feelings (e.g., a virginal with gamba), and an immobility of the characters who nevertheless compose real subjects "emancipated from the processes" of the Utrecht painters. He dwelled on the triumphant Eros in the painting *Lady Standing at a Virginal* (London, National Gallery) or on the emblematic stained-glass window in the *Lady and Gentleman Drinking Wine* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie). With his music and organological references, Mirimonde was insecure and sometimes inaccurate. Commenting on the *Lady at the Virginal with a Gentleman* (London, Buckingham Palace), in a very long note (number 34) concerning the decoration of wallpapers with seahorse motives, he quoted an article by Ernest Closson and mentioned that in the print by C.H. van Meurs, made after a painting by Frans van Mieris (*The Duo,* 1658, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum), "the virginal bears the mark of the maker 'F. Cosseth, fecit Antwerpen'."[33] Such a maker however does not exist and the sign was a misreading by the eighteenth-century engraver who knew neither "Ioannes Couchet" nor Hagaert (the name that one can clearly read on the instrument represented by Mieris), both famous makers in Antwerpen.[34] Mirimonde could have verified this name by consulting the first edition of Boalch's repertoire of harpsichord makers and the first edition of Raymond Russel's famous monograph on ancient keyboards, both at the time available at the Bibliothèque Nationale.[35]

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hommes du XVIII[e] siècle—Laclos plus que Marivaux—mais avec une qualité incomparable. Certaines affinités cachées apparaissent également entre son œuvre et celle de Marcel Proust. Parfois même, son esprit ne semble pas tellement éloigné de celui de Bergotte." Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Les sujets musicaux chez Vermeer de Delft," 50.

32 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principes fondamentaux de l'histoire de l'art, le problème de l'évolution du style dans l'art moderne,* trans. by Claire and Marcel Raymond (Paris: Les petits fils de Plon et Nourrit, 1952).

33 Ernest Closson, "L'ornementation au papier imprimé des clavecins anversois," *Revue belge d'archéologie* 2 (1932), 105–112.

34 Lucas van Dijck and Ton Koopman, *The Harpsichord in Dutch Art before 1800/Het klavecimbel in de Nederlandsekjunst tot 1800* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1987), no. 216 and 217.

35 Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440 to 1840* (London: G. Ronald,

Leaving aside such historical misreading, can we still consider Mirimonde to be accurate and pertinent in his interpretations? Three decades after his death, the article on Vermeer seems to be unfortunately forgotten and not cited anymore.[36]

In his second important article, also published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, concerning "Musical Subjects by Antoine Watteau," Mirimonde was probably the first to highlight the historical references about musical life that Watteau could have experienced. But he is mainly focused on the malicious nature of the painter, his playful spirit, the "slightly parodic and ironic character" of sculptures included in his opened air companies. For him "Watteau appears as a painter strongly attached to actuality. He does not transcribe it, but it provides him with the starting point of his compositions."[37] Surprisingly, Mirimonde brought together in his first two studies the errors of interpretation that both Vermeer and Watteau were victims of:

> If the subjects treated by Vermeer and Watteau remained indecipherable for a long time, the cause is twofold: there was misunderstanding of the symbolic role of objects and forgetting of old musical uses. In the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, genre painters had this "language through the object" of which our most innovative novelists dream. They thus satisfied the taste of amateurs who liked to look at a painting for a long time and discover one by one the allusions that were hidden in the composition. This custom was lost during the eighteenth century [….] The habit was taken not to pay any more attention to the symbols represented by the accessories […] What Couperin and the contemporary composers had conceived in music, Watteau achieved it in painting, with a craft of exceptional quality, combining casual elegance with tender reverie, love of nature and refinement of vision—and always with that touch

[1956]); Raymond Russel, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Introductory Study* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959).

36 None of the following works quote Mirimonde: Wayne E. Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Daniel Arasse, *L'ambition de Vermeer* (Paris: Adam Biro, 2001); Adriaan E. Waiboer et al, *Vermeer et les maîtres de la peinture de Genre* (Paris: Somogy Éditons d'Art; Louvre Éditions, 2017), *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), 221–250. The three contributions on music are by the art historians Eric Jan Sluijter, Marjorie E. Wieseman and Adriaan E. Waiboer.

37 "Watteau apparaît comme un peintre fort attaché à l'actualité. Il ne la transcrit pas, mais elle lui fournit le point de départ de ses compositions." Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Les sujets musicaux chez Antoine Watteau," 277.

> of mockery that avoids to the expression of feelings the pathetic emphasis and tearful emotion.[38]

Here too, Mirimonde is sometimes approximate, even inaccurate: twice he confused viol and violoncello; commenting on a drawing showing a "silhouette of a musician playing a bowed instrument" he does not question the inconsistency between the position of the two hands—which are probably not those of a musician—and the clumsy sketch of the viol—probably apocryphal[39]—as I have pointed out in 1987.[40] Moreover, already in the catalogue of the great retrospective exhibition curated by Margaret Morgan-Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg in Paris, Washington, and Berlin in 1984–1985, the contributions on theater, opera and music considered that Mirimonde's "classical study" should be reconsidered on a new basis.[41] And in the first extensive exhibition devoted entirely to the musical subjects of Watteau, held in Brussels in 2013, and curated by a multidisciplinary group of scholars, none of the three contributions on Watteau and music quoted his article.[42]

During the 1960s and until his death in 1975, Mirimonde produced about four articles a year. In the *Gazette des beaux-arts* he published fourteen articles on music subjects: concert of the Muses and the parodic concerts in Nether-

38 "Si les sujets traités par Vermeer et Watteau sont demeurés longtemps indéchiffrables, la cause en est double: il y a eu méconnaissance du rôle symbolique des objets et oubli des vieux usages musicaux. Au XVII[e] siècle et au début du XVIII[e], les peintres de genre disposaient de ce langage par l'objet dont rêvent nos romanciers les plus novateurs. Ils satisfaisaient ainsi un goût des amateurs qui aimaient regarder longuement un tableau et découvrir une à une les allusions qui se dissimulaient dans la composition. Cet usage s'est perdu au cours du XVIII[e] siècle. […] Enfin, l'habitude s'est prise de ne plus prêter attention aux symboles représentés par les accessoires. […] Ce que Couperin et les compositeurs contemporains avaient conçu en musique, Watteau l'a réalisé en peinture, avec un métier de qualité exceptionnelle, alliant l'élégance désinvolte à la rêverie tendre, l'amour de la nature et le raffinement de la vision—et toujours avec cette pointe de moquerie qui évite à l'expression des sentiments l'emphase pathétique et l'émotion larmoyante." Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Les sujets musicaux chez Antoine Watteau," 279–281.

39 Mirimonde, "Les sujets musicaux chez Antoine Watteau," 287, note 36.

40 Florence Gétreau, "Watteau et la musique: Réalité et interprétations," in *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), le peintre, son temps et sa légende*, ed. by François Moureau and Margaret Grasselli (Paris: Champion; Genève: Slatkine, 1987), 241–242, fig. 20.

41 François Moureau, "Watteau et son temps" and "Iconographie théâtrale"; Florence Gétreau, "Watteau et la musique," in *Antoine Watteau: 1684–1721*, ed. by Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg (Paris: Ministère de la Culture, Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1984), 471–508; 509–528; 529–543.

42 Manuel Couvreur, "Dans l'oreille de l'artiste: La musique au temps de Watteau"; Guillaume Glorieux, "Sociabilités mondaines et résonances musicales: Les concerts privés à Paris au temps de Watteau"; Florence Gétreau, "Corps, mains et visages de musiciens sous les crayons de Watteau," in *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): La leçon de musique*, ed. by Florence Raymond (Bruxelles: Bozar Books-Hannibal, 2013), 27–31; 32–38; 39–43.

lands, music in allegories of love, allegories of music, the musical symbolism of Hieronymus Bosch, and later on Poussin, Vanities with figures and instruments, the contest between the Muses and the Pierides by Rosso Fiorentino, and finally the study of the hourglass included in the painting of the Marriage Feast at Cana by Veronese. In the *Jaarboek van het Museum voor schone Kunsten* (Antwerp) he published sixteen studies over a timespan of twenty years. They are on Flemish and Dutch painters, on the painters Memling, Peter Boel, David Rickaert III, Jacob Jordaens, Theodoor van Thulden, Rubens, and the Flemish Caravagesques, on the *trompes l'oeil* and musical still lifes by Flemish artists, on painters of the Bruges school, on the eighteenth-century Belgian painters, and on the nineteenth-century Belgian historicist artist Edouard Hamman. A short glance to the posterity of these studies shows that Marcus Dekiert in his doctoral thesis on musicians by the Dutch Caravaggio successors from 2000, quoted in the context of his quite formal approach as an art historian, not less than thirty-four articles by Mirimonde.[43] On the other hand the exhibition curated nine years later at the Städel Museum in Frankfurt am Main by three art historians and with the collaboration of the same Marcus Dekiert and the musicologist Louis Peter Grijp, the bibliography does not include a single reference to Mirimonde's writings, although it does include quotations of major specialised exhibitions on music in painting (*Colori della musica*; *Dipingere la musica*), articles by Franca T. Camiz, Karel Moens, and the classical book by Richard Leppert.[44] Finally in the proceedings of the conference *La musica al tempo di Caravaggio*,[45] Mirimonde is quoted only since he reproduced a very short description of Caravaggio's *Victorious Love* (Berlin) and Orazio Riminaldi (today Rutilio Manetti) *Triumphant Love* (Dublin).[46]

Mirimonde's penultimate contribution to the *Jaarboek van het Museum voor schone Kunsten* was on Rubens and music, dedicated to the memory of Madame de Chambure.[47] This extensive overview of eighty-four reproduced works—by or after the master—is extremely unstructured, without a clear direction, and above all descriptive. Mirimonde was probably aware that he had not

43 Marcus Dekiert, *Musikanten in der Malerei der niederländischen Caravaggio-Nachfolge: Vorstufen, Ikonographie und Bedeutungsgehalt der Musikszene in der niederländischen Bildkunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. diss. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn, 2000).

44 Richard Leppert, *The Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (München and Salzburg: Emil Katzbühler, 1977).

45 Stefania Macioce, Enrico De Pascale (ed.), *La musicà al tempo di Caravaggio* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2010).

46 Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "La musique dans les allégories de l'Amour. II: Éros," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (May–June 1967), 320–321.

47 Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Rubens et la musique: À la mémoire de Madame de Chambure," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor schone Kunsten* (1977), 97–197.

made a representative selection and confessed in the introduction that "later, the great task undertaken by the Corpus Rubenianum will provide a more certain knowledge." Half a century later, Nicole Lallement, an art historian with a twenty-year long career in the group on musical iconography at the Institut de Recherche sur le patrimoine musical en France (CNRS), used this tool for her contribution on musical instruments in Rubens works.[48] Mirimonde's small impact that he left on the current iconographic work is reflected here in the fact that she made no reference to any of Mirimonde's writings, except incidentally pointing out the fact that he considered the viola da gamba pegbox in form of a lion head played by Orpheus in the *Coronation of the Queen Marie de'Medici* (Musée du Louvre) an allusion to the heraldic lion symbol of the city of Florence where the queen was born. Even if not discussed by her, this remark about the pegbox should be considered a typical Mirimonde over-interpretation since about ten percent of the viola da gamba pegboxes are in form of a lion head (mainly made in Germany) and, for example, among the instruments built around 1622 (the date of the painting) and still in existence, we know a bass by Pieter Bochs in Amsterdam dated 1625.[49]

The *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* was another ideal publication where Mirimonde presented nineteen short inventories of painting with musical subjects kept in the Louvre. For portraits, genre scenes and oriental subjects, the scope was the national collections, including castle museums (Versailles, Malmaison, Compiègne, Fontainebleau). Finally, for the *Bulletin de la Societé de l'histoire de l'art français*, Mirimonde wrote five short articles on specific iconographical subjects: instruments in Watteau paintings, musical subject by Simon Vouet, symbolism in still-lifes by Simon Renard de Saint-André, the *Cabinet des Beaux-Arts* by Charles Perrault, and gave a sort of fanciful *compendium* of plagiarism and blunders study cases.[50] In the same way, he published the musical subject by Gonzales Coques and his followers in the *Bulletin des Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique*.[51]

48 Nicole Lallement, "Les instruments de musique dans l'œuvre de Rubens," in *Rubens et la musique*, ed. by Céline Drèze and Fabien Guilloux (Turnout: Brepols, 2019), 69–100: 85. Céline Drèze and Fabien Guilloux's introduction to this volume confirms the inadequacy of Mirimonde's point, which is certainly a pioneer but "who often sticks to a descriptive level of the image" (p. 7–8).

49 All my gratitude to Thomas MacCracken for his generous and complete answer to my question on preserved original gamba with lion heads. See the unique database of Historical Viols: https://www.vdgsa.org/database-historical-viols (unavailable as of 26 May 2021).

50 Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Plagiats et bévues en particulier dans l'iconographie musicale," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1971), 181–190.

51 Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Les sujets de musique chez Gonzales Coques et ses émules," *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* (1967), 179–208.

Mirimonde ventured very timidly into the field of musicology, with two short contributions to the *Revue de musicologie*, one about the "musical Parnassus painted by Edouard Hamman" (1867) and another on the methodology in musical iconography, presenting case studies with hasty and outdated comments and statements. His interpretations of musical notations in paintings is not entirely accurate and the issue was eminently more complex than what he was asserting, as shown by H. Colin Slim's writings published since 1962.[52]

Besides these seventy-four articles,[53] Mirimonde published his first monograph in 1974, when he was seventy-seven years old: *Sainte-Cécile: Métamorphose d'un thème musical,* in the monograph series *Iconographie musicale*, edited by François Lesure and published by Éditions Minkoff. The book is a catalogue of artworks showing Saint Cecilia and it aroused a true interest among musicologists as it was the first monograph on the subject, later pursued by several scholars. It received five reviews, whose judgment was mixed. Richard Luckett, in *The Musical Times* considered that "it is hard to know for whom this book is intended. It consists of a short introduction and 150 briefly annotated plates which illustrate the musical aspects of the legend of St Cecilia." After criticizing the black and white pictures, Luckett continued:

> This studiously drab approach supposes a scholarly audience; but art historians demand dimensions, provenances, and full bibliographies; social historians require information on patronage, the circumstances of composition, and the original location; organologists want the detail of instruments; and serious iconologists need a more systematic, less eclectic range of materials […]. The introduction is an admirable succinct account of how it was that Cecilia came to be associated with music, and the notes, if inadequate, are accurate. There are equally surprising omissions.[54]

And as "coup de grâce," Luckett concluded not without brutality: "In the absence of any other audience the book provides the obvious present for a wealthy and aged great-uncle who is distinguished by a wide general culture, musical inclinations, and failing eyesight."

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52 I have discussed these two articles in: "Présence de l'iconographie musicale dans la *Revue de musicologie* (1917–2000): des balbutiements à l'établissement d'une discipline auxiliaire de la musicologie," 682–684.

53 Collected in the database "Iconographie musicale : répertoire d'œuvres d'art à sujets musicaux publiées par Albert Pomme de Mirimonde," https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/outils-documentaires/acces-global-et-organise-aux-ressources-en-histoire-de-l-art-agorha/iconographie-musicale-repertoire-des-uvres-publiees-par-albert-pomme-de-mirimonde-1897-1985.html (accessed 26 May 2021).

54 Richard Luckett, *The Musical Times*, 116, no. 1588 (June 1975), 541–542.

James McKinnon, in *Notes,* was even more acerbic:

> A curious book this. It consists of an interesting collection of 150 full-page plates and a ten-page text, the brevity of which is matched only by its eccentricity. […] Many of the pictures are chosen more for their aesthetic than their iconographic interest. […] Some may experience another, more serious, disappointment with the plates. The section [….] is meagre in the fifteenth century and early sixteenth, when St. Cecilia musical iconography was in its crucial formative stage [and] took on its musical character. One has the impression that the author […] has neglected its reading rooms and manuscript collections.

The only positive comment from McKinnon said that "[Mirimonde] goes on to make the highly ingenious suggestion that Cecilia, now free to become a musical patroness, usurps the traditional role of *Musica,* one of the seven maiden forms representing the *artes liberales*. So far this is very promising." But his conclusion was final, ignoring that the series initiated by Lesure for Minkoff was established and with a conception of very brief commentary:

> Mirimonde's historical method might best be termed mytho-poetic: fact is sacrificed to ideas which have some measure of appealing mythical truth. … It is hoped that some scholar will be stimulated by Mirimonde's work to attack one of the other of these questions, combining a measure of his warmth and insight with a more rigorous historical method.[55]

In his comments about the famous Saint Cecilia by Domenico Zampieri that belonged to Louis XIV and now is kept at the Louvre, Mirimonde did not mention the music book which Benvenuto Disertori identified four years later as an aria by Girolamo Giacobbi with the *incipit* "Cantantibus organis /Caecilia Virgo."[56]

In 1975–77 Mirimonde published his two-volume *L'Iconographie musicale sous les rois Bourbons* in the monograph series edited by Norbert Dufourcq and published by A. & J. Picard. In the foreword of the first volume Mirimonde indicated that he organized the volume (just as he has done with his personal documentation, now kept at music department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France) following the taxonomy used by the Print and Photographs De-

55 James W. McKinnon, *Notes* 31, no. 4 (June 1975), 776–778.

56 Benvenuto Dissertori, "Il Domenichino: Pittore trascrittore di musiche e musicologo," in *La Musica nei quadri antichi* (Trent: Assessorato alle attività culturali della provincia di Trento, 1978), 53–68.

partment of this institution and formalised in Henri Bouchot's manual: allegories, antique subjects, religious subjects, still-lifes, portraits, genre subjects dealing with society, exotic subjects, parodies and satirical subjects.[57]

At least five reviews of both volumes were published. Franck Dobbins in *The Musical Times* pointed out the fact that this book was,

> the result of a lifetime devoted to collecting and study of many thousands of photos and reproductions. Like the (similarly) individual achievements of P. Fischer and E. Winternitz and the collective efforts of B. Brook (RIdIM) and the late G. Thibault, it provides more evidence of serious and systematic research and documentation in an area until recently neglected as a branch of music history and organology. … [But] some important artists are neglected like Chardin, Lebrun and Lesueur, probably because of the author's preoccupation with subject rather than style.[58]

Edith Borroff in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* underlined that "Mirimonde's central commitment is not to works of art, to music, or to words, but to *symbol*, which, as he says in the introduction, transcends them all. … The ranging mind of the author makes subjects hard to locate … And it is frustrating to read comments on pictures not in the plates." She also deplored his lack of musical competence.[59]

Margaret Murata in *Notes* considered that comprehensive, specific readings of painting are few, that the index is not sufficient, mentioning only names of people, that the books are not reference works for sources, and that the volumes "are organized neither around methods of iconographic interpretation nor organology […] but one could have wished for a little more system in the selection of the various matters chosen for examination and a little more attention to dating."[60]

Finally, among the art journals, *The Art Bulletin* published a review by Nathalie Henderson in which she considered that the volumes attempted to bring together much of the material that has been already known form other articles, adding little new. That "consciously modelling himself on the iconographic approach of Emile Mâle," Mirimonde was unable to bring provocative results like Emanuel Winternitz had done concerning the iconography of instruments, that

57 Henri Bouchot, *Le cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque nationale: Guide du lecteur et du visiteur, catalogue général et raisonné des collections qui y sont conservées* vol. 2 (Paris: E. Dentu, 1895).

58 Frank Dobbins, *The Musical Times* 117, no. 1601 (July 1976), 573–574.

59 Edith Borroff, *Journal of the Americal Musicological Society* 31, no. 1 (spring 1978), 149–151.

60 Margaret Murata, *Notes: Quarterly journal of the Music Library Association* 35, no. 2 (December 1978), 311.

he selected minor of obscure works often unaccompanied by photographs or relevant information, that in many selected images music plays merely an incidental or decorative role, and over all that the author had a cavalier approach to art-historical material giving no attention for contemporary scholarship, especially outside France.[61] Mirimonde found this review "unpleasant" as he wrote to Barry Brook.[62] He was quite hurt that this art journal treated him so harshly and he "replied by asking the journal to insert a reply," but the journal did not publish it. In the same letter to Brook he adds, "I am in fairly frequent correspondence with Mr. Richard Leppert who works very well."[63] In fact Leppert wrote an extensive five pages report in the *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, emphasizing from the outset that "given the fact that musical iconography, as a subdiscipline of historical musicology, is such a new area of serious study, this text deserves particular attention because Mirimonde's approach is one which will familiarize music historians with the methods and thematic classifications of art history." He underlines that "allegories and myths may, on the surface, seem slight, but in fact, as Mirimode demonstrates, the opposite is true, because both allegories and myths reflect man's perceptions of his world and his own place in it," that "Mirimonde demonstrates the vitality of myth in propagandistic (and musically oriented) court art," that "what appears here for the first time is his consideration of pictures on political themes," and that "Mirimonde brings to light pictorial documents recording specific events, such as marriages, feasts, and military victory celebrations." Quoting directly from Mirimonde, Leppert noted specifically that "portraits allow us to follow rather exactly the evolution of public taste with regards to various instruments," and that musical parodies, satires, and images of animal musicians are very old musical subjects in art. He concluded by stating this book "represents

61 Nathalie Henderson, *The Art Bulletin: A Quarterly Published by the College Art Association of America* 59, no. 1 (March 1977), 149–150.

62 "En ce qui concerne l'article déplaisant de l'Art Bulletin, ce qui constitue le paradoxe de la critique c'est que Madame Rosenberg-Henderson me reproche de n'avoir pas commis les erreurs qu'elle prétend être la vérité. Sur chacun des points soulevés, en s'appuyant sur des preuves et des documents vérifiables, j'ai répondu en priant la Revue d'insérer ma réplique. Je ne sais si la publication en est intervenue. Madame Rosenberg-Henderson ne me pardonne pas, semble-t-il, d'avoir indiqué que Baudoin avait écrit une très médiocre « Iconographie » au XVIIe siècle ; or c'est l'auteur sur lequel elle s'appuie sans cesse dans les articles qu'elle publie. Il me semblait pourtant de mon devoir de mettre en garde les chercheurs contre un livre qui a été sans cesse à l'origine de méprises et de bévues." Archives of the Research Center for Music Iconography, New York. Albert Pomme de Mirimonde to Barry Brook (31 December 1977). All my gratitude to Zdravko Blažeković for sharing with me this correspondence which was maintained from 1968 to 1980.

63 "Je suis en rapports épistolaires assez fréquents avec M. Richard Leppert qui travaille très bien." *Ibid*.

a significant contribution to a fledgling area of scholarly endeavour" and is a resource tool "fulfilling much the same need as Andor Pigler's classic reference work, *Barockthemen: Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*."[64]

After this mixed reception, Mirimonde's third book on *Astrology and Music* (1977) was reviewed only by Michael McCullin in *The Music Review*.[65] If we take only one of the topics covered in the book, "Venus children," one can figure the distance between Mirimonde's very short comments on twenty documents and the seminal monograph published nine years later by Gwendolyn Trottein.[66]

Le langage secret de certains tableaux du musée du Louvre,[67] Mirimonde's last publication issued one year before he passed away, presented comments on fifty-eight pictures from the Louvre, fourteen among them with musical subjects. Mirimonde was often only vaguely informed on organological issues and not aware of the latest publications in art history. Therefore, his work remains today too superficial for both disciplines: in his chapter on *The Wedding at Cana* (p. 48–53) he used writings by the Venetian art critic Anton Maria Zanetti (1689–1767) for identifying the musicians around the table and he misidentified half of the instruments they play. Thanks to the more recent research of Luigi Beschi we know today that the musicians are Adrian Willaert, Cipriano de Rore, and may be Claudio Merulo and Annibale Carracci.[68] In the same way in the chapter on "Un dessert allégorique par Jan Davidszoon de Heem" (p. 93–94), he has reproduced the *Emblematic Still Life with Flagon, Glass, Jug and Bridle* by Johannes van der Beeck, so called Torrentius (Rijksmuseum). He claims that "the allegory is sustained by a commentary," but he does not mention the text painted by Torrentius, the emblem "Elck wat wils" [Each one its own] published in *Sinnepoppen* by Roemer Visscher (Amsterdam, 1614), nor the sheet of music with the *incipit* of the canon 'Wat bu-ter maat be-staat, int on-maats qaat ver-ghaat' [What exists beyond measure / Bad end will be found in excess].[69]

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64 Richard D. Leppert, review of Albert Pomme de Mirimode, *L'iconographie musicale sous les rois Bourbons: La musique dans les arts plastiques (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles). II.* In *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 5–6 (1979–1980), 166–171.

65 Michael McCullin, *The Music Review* 44, no. 2 (May 1983), 150–152.

66 Gwendolyn Trottein, *Les enfants de Vénus: Art et astrologie à la Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions de la Lagune, 1993). She is very aware of works of musicologists like François Lesure, Howard Mayer Brown, Edmund Bowles, and is giving quick reference to Mirimonde's book four times in her chapter V: "La Tradition Germanique des Enfants des Planètes. 1475–1550."

67 Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, *Le langage secret de certains tableaux du musée du Louvre* (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1984).

68 Luigi Beschi, "L'immagine della Musica in Paolo Veronese. Una proposta per la lettura del concerto delle *Nozze di Cana*," *Imago Musicae* 16–17 (1999–2000), 171–191.

69 It was commented without exact identification of the emblem by Martine Vasselin, "Des

Without exception, all Mirimonde's writings need to be re-evaluated today according to modern scholarly standards and recent research. It is astonishing that he did not better document the two paintings with musical subjects which were in his private collection. The first one was of Santa Cecilia singing, included in his book on Santa Cecilia as from the "circle of Mattia Preti,"[70] later attributed to Lorenzo Pasinelli.[71] In the caption, Mirimonde mentioned that the music readable in the book held by Cecilia "does not correspond to her usual repertoire," an enigmatic remark. The second musical work in his collection was a small, quite naïve double portrait of a lady at the square piano, with the attributes of a composer, in a rich environment evoking the arts, and as a pendant a man with the emblem of geography wearing the medal of the Legion of Honor. In a 1995 article written with Anne-Noëlle Bouton, I suggested that the pendant could be the work of the Baron de Trémont,[72] a famous amateur quartet musician and music patron; the lady could be his lover, Madame de Montgeroult, the famous pianist and first female teacher in the young Conservatoire of Paris.[73]

During the last decades of the twentieth century Mirimonde's articles on particular subjects and on St. Cecilia have been quoted in bibliographies. However, his inaccurate references to music history and organology, his superficial remarks on symbolism, the lacking of primary sources and relevant secondary literature from outside of the French linguistic area often leave him at the margins of scholarship on artworks representing music subjects published in the three specialized journals (*Imago Musicae, Music in Art* and *Musique–Images–Instruments*).

It should be noted with astonishment that the volume published in 1987 to publicize his legacy is concerned with the "morality of [his] collection,"[74]

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fastes de Bacchus aux beuveries flamandes: L'iconographie du vin de la fin du XV^e^ siècle à la fin du XVII^e^ siècle," *Nouvelle revue du seizième siècle* 17, no. 2 (1999), 219–251: 249; Philippe Morel, *Renaissance dionysiaque: Inspiration bachique, imaginaire du vin et de la vigne dans l'art européen (1430–1630)* (Paris: Édition du Félin, 2014), 239–240.

70 Mirimonde, *Sainte-Cécile,* 136, pl. 106.

71 See the bibliography of this painting in: Florence Gétreau, *Voir la musique: Les sujets musicaux dans les œuvres d'art du XVI^e^ au XX^e^ siècle*, exhibition catalogue ([Abbeville]: Musée départemental de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier; Musée de Millau et des Grands Causses; Musée des Beaux-Arts de Carcassonne, 2009), 136, entry no. 70.

72 Louis-Philippe-Joseph Girod de Vienney, baron de Trémont (1779–1852). See: Joël-Marie Fauquet, *Les sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1986), 440.

73 Anne-Noëlle Bouton and Florence Gétreau, "Un portrait d'Hélène de Montgeroult dans l'ancienne collection d'A. de Mirimonde," *Musique–Images–Instruments* 1 (1995), 68–75.

74 Raoul Ergmann, "Albert P. de Mirimonde (1897–1985): Une morale de la collection," *La collection A.P. de Mirimonde,* 7–13.



Fig. 3. François Lesure and Florence Gétreau working on her publication *Aux origines du musée de la Musique*, Les Laudinières, July 1995. Photo Ingo Muthesius.

but not at all with his intellectual work. Apart from Babelon's very short obituary during the General Assembly of the Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, the rare articles published after his death do not further mention his publications,[75] for instance, the *Burlington Magazine* was only interested in his collection.[76] Tilman Seebass, ten years later, was alone in demonstrating the multifaceted aspects of Mirimonde's centers of interest: the variety of media he took into account (painting, sculpture, tapestry, prints), periods (from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century), countries (northern schools predominate, France and Italy coming behind), and themes related to music.[77]

75 S.n., "M. Albert P. de Mirimonde"; Daniel Wildenstein, "En souvenir du président de Mirimonde, collectionneur, donateur des musées, membre correspondant de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts," *Chronique des Arts, supplément à la Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 30 (1985), 29–30; Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Discours du vice-président de la Société," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1985), 344. "Le Président de Mirimonde était un iconologue passionné par les rapports entre la musique et les arts. Subtil décrypteur de significations codées, il a donné quelques instruments de travail fondamentaux sur ces questions."

76 Duncan Bull, "New Acquisitions at the Louvre and the Mirimonde Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1019 (February 1988), 158–160.

77 Tilman Seebass, "Une brève histoire de l'iconographie musicale: Contribution des chercheurs français," *Musique–Images–Instruments* 1 (1995), 8–20.

Mirimonde's correspondence with Barry Brook, kept between 1968 and 1980, concerns only orders for photos and the regular sending of his own publications, but does not concern—opposite to his correspondence with Richard Leppert—scholarly questions. Despite his repeated invitations to RIdIM's annual meetings held at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York throughout the 1970s, Mirimonde never attended them, his isolation being obvious. The very rare book reviews by other researchers reinforce the impression of a reduced universe, unlike that developed by Mme de Chambure and which François Lesure always cultivated in international associations.

Mirimonde provided an important starting point for subject studies in art history (in a country, France, where monographs on artists are a dominant medium to present studies on art history) and occasions for museums to organize thematic exhibitions. The photographic documentation consisting of 8,776 pictures that he created privately for his own research has been digitized and indexed in 2010–2011 by the Bibliothèque nationale de France for its Gallica service and the Institut national d'histoire de l'art on the Agorha platform.[78] But unfortunately, their indexing provides only reference to the box in which the photographs are preserved in the Département de la musique of the Bibliothèque nationale. The indexing record does not include a reference to the real artworks, the technique, a location where the works are kept (mainly in public museums), and they are without attribution and dates of creation. This considerably minimizes the usefulness of such an important digitized resource.

François Lesure (1923–2001)

François Lesure, "the erudite and genial French musicologist who was for two generations of music scholars our primary anchor in Paris,"[79] was a music historian without a specific training predestining him for the study of musical iconography. The spectrum of his interests brought him to art with musical subjects in 1961, when he produced a summary catalogue of the André Meyer collection.[80] Among approximately two hundred catalogued items organized alphabetically by composer, the entry on Rameau included short identifications of a copy of his famous portrait preserved in Dijon:

78 BnF Catalog Général, https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb42039346p and "Iconographie Musicale : Répertoire d'œuvres d'art à sujets musicaux publiées par Albert Pomme de Mirimonde – INHA" https://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/ark:/54721/00117 (both accessed 27 May 2021).

79 D. Kern Holoman, "François Lesure (1923–2001)," *AMS Newsletter* 32, no. 1 (February 2002), 14.

80 François Lesure, *Collection musicale André Meyer: Manuscrits autographes; Musique imprimée et manuscrite;* idem, *Ouvrages théoriques, historiques et pédagogiques; Livrets; Iconographie; Instruments de musique* (Abbeville: F. Paillart, 1961).

> Oil on canvas, attributed to J.B. Chardin or Aved. Full-scaled, head face, seated, red dress, slightly turned to the right. Holding a violin in the position of the guitar. In the left corner, a table with a music book and a bow. 1 m × 80 cm. Another version of this painting is in the Dijon museum, attributed to Chardin.

When this collection was offered on auction by Sotheby's in October 2012,[81] I had much more to say about this Rameau portrait, using the literature published since Lesure's catalogue.[82]

In 1967, Lesure drew attention to "a new portrait of Monteverdi," in which he reproduced one-page of text, specifying that "the object of this note is to point out a portrait that was just acquired by our colleague Mr. André Meyer and which, it seems, has never been reproduced or exhibited."[83] This was a smaller version of the composer's portrait "attributed" to Bernardo Strozzi, kept at the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck that was at that time hitherto unknown. In his article Lesure recalled the composer's very poor iconography. He mentioned the engraving included in Giovanni Battista Marinoni's *Fiori poetici* (1644), which allowed the 1937 attribution and identification of the then anonymous portrait preserved in Innsbruck. In the reduced version acquired by Meyer, he noted the absence of the music book held by the composer and, because of the closer framing of the head, he considered its expressive quality more interesting while deploring that we do not know its provenance. He thought also that both versions of the portrait were painted after the composer's death, as he indicated by reproducing the small version in his supplemental entries to the Meyer collection catalogue in 1973.[84] The catalogue for the Sotheby's auction in 2012, however, dated the portrait around 1633. It specified that there is another copy of the large version, which is in private hands.[85] Luisa Mortari, in her monograph on Bernardo Strozzi, had catalogued two versions of the portrait with the composer holding a music book.[86] The item in the former collection of Oscar Strakosch

81 *De la collection musicale André Meyer: Manuscrits, imprimés et œuvres d'art,* Vente publique, Paris, Sotheby's (16 and 17 October 2012), 176–177, no. 256.

82 Florence Gétreau, "The Portraits of Rameau: A Methodological Approach," *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 36, no. 1–2 (2011), 275–300.

83 "L'objet de cette note est de signaler un portrait que vient d'acquérir notre collègue M. André Meyer et qui, semble-t-il, n'a jamais été reproduit ni exposé." François Lesure, "Un nouveau portrait de Monteverdi," *Revue de musicologie,* 53, no. 1 (1967), 60.

84 François Lesure, *Collection musical André Meyer* (Abbeville: Paillard, 1973), pl. 175.

85 "Attributed to Bernardo Strozzi." *De la collection musicale André Meyer,* 2012, 140–141, no. 199.

86 Luisa Mortari, "Il ritratto di Claudio Monteverdi di Bernardo Strozzi," *Arte veneta* 31 (1978), 205–207; Nanie Bridgman, "Portraits de musiciens: Le dernier avatar de Montevedi," *Imago*

in Vienna (no. 47, oil on wood, 96 × 71.5 cm) and that of Innsbruck (no. 48, on canvas, 84 × 70 cm). The first bears an epigram by the Florentine poet Giulio Strozzi, friend of the painter who passed through Venice at the time of the portrait, identifying him as well as the model. However, this epigram is absent from the copy in Innsbruck, which is also much weaker in the rendering of the hands and the face. Camillo Manzitti in his recent study of the painter[87] retains only the Oscar Strakosch version as the original; Manzitti considers the work in the Meyer collection as a preparatory sketch, dating both around 1640. As we see, the question is much more complex than what François Lesure explained, but it was an important revelation for musicologists. He was often a discoverer but a very elliptic scholar.

The first monograph produced by François Lesure in the field of iconography was *Musicà e società,* a collection of shortly commented images with musical subjects, published in 1966.[88] The text was translated from the French original by Claudio Sartori, and the preface was provided by the famous art historian, and the founder of the sociology of art in France, Pierre Francastel, illuminating the taxonomy of the book devoted to the social conditions of musicians and how it was represented. The included chapters were: connoisseurs, consumers, users (the patron and artists), and the musicians of God. In his introduction, Lesure explained the purpose of the book:

> This book, which is neither an inventory nor a key to unveiling a method of investigation, brings together a certain number of works that seem significant; provides suggestions for reading these works; and proposes their comparisons.[89]

The book was later published in German and English translations, but never in its French original leaving it outside of the attention of a French audience.[90] Among nine reviews, all mainly enthusiastic about the documented sociological context of music, and about the "sumptuous pictures" and "hundred excellent reproductions," some criticism was consistently repeated: "the short

Musicae IV (1987), 166–167; Luisa Mortari, *Bernardo Strozzi* (Rome: De Luca, 1995), 220.

87 Camillo Manzitti, *Bernardo Strozzi* (Torino: Umberto Allemandi, 2013), 239–240; 267.

88 François Lesure, *Musica e società*, transl. by Claudio Sartori (Milano: Istituto Editorial Italiano, 1966), xi, 61, [96].

89 "Questo libro, che non vuole essere né un inventario né una chiave per svelare un metodo di indagine, raggruppa un certo numero di opere che sembrano significative; fornische dei suggerimenti per leggere tali opere; propone dei raffronti." Lesure, *Musica e società,* 3.

90 François Lesure, *Musik und Gesellschaft im Bild: Zeugnisse der Malerei aus sechs Jahrhunderten* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966), transl. by Anna Martina Gottschick, 245 p.; *Music and Art in Society*, transl. by Denis and Sheila Stevans (University Park and London: Pennsylvania University Press, 1968), xxvi, 59, [96].

descriptive notes could have drawn attention to more details of musicological interest [...] an index in the book would have been useful,"[91] "the book is clearly meant for the general reader [...] M. Lesure's introductions to the various sections make much more agreeable reading. Allusive and witty, they make their points with the minimum of effort [...] The notes on the pictures are delightful, but one sometimes wishes that M. Lesure would tell us a little more, or at least be more explicit."[92] Steven Ledbetter commented on the English translation.[93] Probably thanks to the preface by Pierre Francastel, the reception of the book touched even journals of aesthetics and sociology.[94]

The most developed comment found in the book concerns *The Ambassadors* by Holbein. Lesure was aware that the opened song book included in the painting was a page of the *Geistlich Gesangbuchli* by Johannes Walther, published in Wittenberg in 1525. However, as pointed out in the exhibition catalogue published in 1997 by the National Gallery of London, the other book, a calculation handbook for merchants, opened at the page of "division," had also an important symbolic significance for the interpretation of the painting but it was not mentioned by Lesure.[95]

In the same way, if we now consider the impressive double artists portrait painted together by Nicolas de Plattemontagne and Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne in 1651 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), one can measure the extreme rapidity of Lesure's comments when comparing them with the recent entry in the exhibition catalogue devoted to Philippe de Champaigne.[96]

Following this book, Lesure initiated in 1972 a series of catalogues with images related to music subjects published by Éditions Minkoff in Geneva, yielding eight volumes by 1987. The first was prepared by Lesure himself on *L'Opéra classique français*.[97] With 93 plates in color, a short introduction, it was organized in three sections: rooms, scenery and machinery.

Lesure's style remains the same here. Descriptions are short and general; indication of an artwork's measurements and medium are missing and there is little explanation or outline of the historical background, like in all the

91 Guy Oldham, *The Musical Times* 110, no. 1512 (February 1969), 156.

92 J.A.W. [Jack Allan Westrup], *Music & Letters* 49, no. 4 (October 1968), 382–383.

93 Steven Ledbetter, *Notes* 26, no. 3 (March 1970), 508–509.

94 Ivo Supičić, *International Review of Music Aesthetic and Sociology* 1, no. 1 (June 1970), 119–121.

95 Susan Foister, Ashok Roy and Martin Wyld, *Making & Meaning: Holbein's Ambassadors,* exhibition catalogue (London: The National Gallery, 1997), 40–41.

96 Hélène Meyer, *Philippe de Champaigne (1602–1674): Entre politique et devotion*, exhibition catalogue ed. by Alain Tapié and Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot (Lille: Musée des beaux-arts, 2007), 279–271, no. 80.

97 François Lesure, *L'opéra classique français: XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles* (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1972).

volumes of this series as already pointed. This book was very different from what Jérôme de La Gorce offered on the same subject in 2010.[98] Daniel Heartz, in his review, objected the lack of any indication as to the size of the originals, "precise measurements have long been mandatory data in the field of art history, to which the present volume also belongs"; he regretted also the "overlapping" between the sections, the "modestly-scaled Introduction," and the fact that the book was confined to Paris.[99] The reviewer in *Music & Letters* complained that "too many plates are not associated with a particular opera," but appreciated that the book is "full of treasures."[100] André Verchaly, in the *Revue de Musicologie*, underlined that the book offered different orchestral dispositions, and regretted that Boquet's drawings preserved in Leningrad were not used.[101] Finally, Neal Zaslaw meticulously compared how the book borrowed and re-arranged the texts already published in the recent exhibition *Deux siècles d'Opéra français*, and a part of the selection exhibited, strangely reproduced with less accuracy. Considering that "Lesures's commentaries are erudite and providing a good introduction—although no more than that—to the subject," Zaslaw pointed out that, "there are further treasures to be found not only in the Parisian libraries, archives and museums from which these items were drawn, but also in collections elsewhere" but that, "what we need now is a complete index to all of these iconographic sources, something which we may perhaps expect to have some day from RIdIM."[102]

The last book on iconography by François Lesure was on Claude Debussy, one of his favourite subjects, published in 1975 and reprinted in 1980.[103] The book contains 165 plates, mainly reproductions of photographs, presented in chronological order, in seven chapters that follow Debussy's career. Richard Langham Smith remarked that "this is the first volume in the *Iconographie musicale* series to attempt a biography in pictures […] This is not by any means an exhaustive collection of Debussy photographs, nor is it the first iconography of Debussy. Rather it is a carefully assembled collection in which every picture illuminates a part of Debussy's life and mind. The telling power of each image has been amplified by excellently chosen quotations from letters or memoirs of contemporaries," but he regretted to find "nothing which tells

98 Jérôme de La Gorce, *Dans l'atelier des Menus-Plaisirs du roi: Spectacles, fêtes et cérémonies aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Archives Nationales, 2010), 168, no. 168.

99 Daniel Heartz, *The Musical Times* 115, no. 1574 (April 1974), 303–305.

100 J.G.R., *Music & Letters* 54, no. 4 (October 1973), 476–477.

101 André Verchaly, *Revue de Musicologie* 59, no. 2 (1973), 294–295.

102 Neal Zaslaw, *Notes* 31, no. 2 (December 1974), 312–313.

103 François Lesure, *Claude Debussy* (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1975; 2nd ed., [Genève] : Minkoff & Lattès, 1980).

us much about Debussy's inner life as a composer."[104] Marcel Dietschy recognized in Lesure's selection the "numerous and appreciable unpublished documents." He noted the brevity of the introduction, lists the missing portraits of Debussy's friends, but appreciates the use of contemporary commentaries brought here from the selected documents, and ultimately calls the book appealing.[105] Peter Cahn in *Die Musikforschung,* saluted the sovereign knowledge of Lesure to establish a work having an intimate character.[106]

Other reviewers underlined the brevity of the introduction and of the comments, a "style" quite sensible if we consider what Lesure wrote about *La vague* (*Kanagawa oki nami ura*) by Hokusai and its re-use by Debussy for the cover of *La Mer*, the long four pages written by Jean-Michel Nectoux in 2005 in his *Harmonie en bleu et or* about the same subject[107] (a unique and extensive book on Debussy and the visual arts), or if we compare it with the short article written in 1984 by François Lesure on "Debussy, le symbolise et les arts plastiques."[108]

Two librorum amicorum

It is symptomatic that the immediate influence of Geneviève Thibault and François Lesure gave rise to two important volumes. The first one was a collection of essays published in 1987 in *Imago Musicae* after the symposium organised by Jacques Thuillier, the famous art historian, renowned professor in the College de France, and successor to Geneviève Thibault as the head of the Centre d'iconographie musicale et d'organologie of the CNRS. That volume, entitled *De l'image à l'objet: La méthode critique en iconographie musicale* mirrors what distinguished the international standards in the field of musical iconography and what has been done during the two decades that she influenced studies in this field in France. This thematic issue of *Imago Musicae* was edited by Tilman Seebass and Paule Guiomar, one of the members of the Centre d'iconographie musicale et d'organologie.[109] With twenty-four contributions

104 Richard Langham Smith, *Music & Letters,* 57, no. 2 (April 1976), 189–190.

105 "… l'abondance, la variété, l'éclectisme (comme dit avec raison François Lesure) et la qualité technique des illustrations, ainsi que plusieurs inédits, faisaient de ce livre une réussite incontestable, à plus forte raison parce qu'il contient diverses études, inédites elles aussi." Marcel Dietschy, *Revue de musicologie* 62, no. 2 (1976), 333–335.

106 Peter Cahn, *Die Musikforschung* 32, no. 1 (March 1979), 106.

107 Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Harmonie en bleu et or, Debussy, la musique et les arts* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), 190–195.

108 François Lesure, "Debussy, le symbolisme et les arts plastiques," *Cahiers Debussy*, nouvelle série 8 (1984), 3–13.

109 *In Memoriam Geneviève Thibault de Chambure (1902–1975). De l'image à l'objet. La méthode critique en iconographie musicale. Colloque international. Paris, Collège de France. 4–7 septembre 1985, Imago Musicae* IV (1987).

(only six not in French), and organized in four parts, the book touches on the interpretation of images with musical ideas, musical life, musicians and instruments, and its important part is devoted to the instrumental iconography. These subjects reflect quite well the priorities which were the same as those of Madame de Chambure when she defined the programs of her research team sponsored by CNRS within the framework of the instrument museum. Werner Braun, in his review, underlined the broad temporal spectrum of the congress but selected a certain number of relevant contributions, particularly illuminating the variety of the methodological approaches.[110]

The second book, published one year later, was a Festschrift for François Lesure on occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, edited by Joël-Marie Fauquet.[111] It is a collection of scholarly, friendly, creative (five drawings by artists and five musical compositions), poetic, and spiritual contributions, in a luxurious and magnificent volume sponsored by Minkoff. Henri Vanhulst commented quite critically on the three articles on iconography, questioning with arguments the limits of their demonstration.[112]

The next generation of scholars in music iconography will judge whether we have done more, different or better than our three predecessors but it is sure that all three were inspiring figures who greatly influenced our scholarly orientation, even if we had little opportunity to rely on their works.

110 Werner Braun, *Die Musikforschung* 46, no. 2 (April–June 1993), 196–197.

111 Joël-Marie Fauquet, ed., *Musiques, signes, images: Liber amicorum François Lesure* (Genève, Minkoff, 1988).

112 Henri Vanhulst, *Revue de musicologie* 75, no. 2 (1989), 285–287.