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**Feminine Portraits: Lady Harpists and Their Music in the Age of Enlightenment**

by

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation examines the many portraits of female harpists painted during the long eighteenth century. The invention of the single-action harp in the early eighteenth century coincided with the rise of domestic music-making and became one of the most popular musical instruments for high-society women for over half a century. I have created an online database of portraits of lady harpists during this period, and the database serves as the foundation of my analysis on the contemporaneous public perception of female musicians. The harp was a contradiction of societal expectations of the behavior of women. It was at once a symbol of propriety, beauty, and wealth, but it could also be a sensual instrument that exposed a woman's alluring figure. I aim to elucidate the ways in which the paradox of the single-action harp was portrayed in portraiture, and furthermore, how it was expressed through music. Finally, I will investigate the public perception of the harp in the following centuries, discussing how contemporary harpists relate to the stereotypes associated with their musical ancestors.

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Above all, I am grateful for my Mom and Pop, who have supported me endlessly in music and in life.

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmother, Colette Kolle, who was my very first harp teacher. Je t'aime, Mémé, pour toujours.

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### **Note on Terminology**

The time period of study in this dissertation is between the years 1720-1850, which is an approximation of the invention, dissemination, and decline of the single-action harp in Europe. There are numerous historical eras that occur within and around these years. I will be making reference to several historical eras, so for clarity, I have listed the dates for the terms I will use. All music-related terms are referenced from the *Oxford Dictionary of Music* (Grove Music Online), and historical terms are referenced from *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Britannica Online).

Age of Enlightenment (Europe): 1688-1789

Georgian Era (UK): 1714-1830

Industrial Revolution (Europe): 1750-1900

Regency Era (UK): 1811-1820

Long Eighteenth Century (Europe): 1688-1832

Classical Period (music): 1750-1800

Revolutionary Period (France): 1787-1799

Romantic Period (music): 1800-1900

### **Database Access**

My self-published database of paintings is the foundation of study for this dissertation and can be found online at <https://historicalharpportraits.wordpress.com/>. The ‘Database’ tab contains instructions for downloading the database, and all of the portraits can be viewed in the ‘Portrait Gallery’ tab. Each portrait is assigned a database number that corresponds to its entry in the spreadsheet. I will always reference a specific portrait by its database number in the footnotes (e.g. “Database #1”).

The database is a living collection, with newly discovered portraits added periodically. This dissertation will reference the “original database” of 79 portraits that were collected specifically for this study. Any portraits added after Database #79 will not be referenced in this dissertation, but a downloadable version of the original database will remain on the website.



## Chapter 1

### Introduction

The Harp, for instance? Decidedly – the finest of them all – the grand enchanter... its rich expressiveness, comparative facility of execution, capability of being kept in order by oneself, extreme portability, and, though last not least, in women's eyes, its grace of form, raise it to unapproachable superiority.

-- *Choice of Musical Instruments for Females*, 1820<sup>1</sup>

When one ponders the harp, a few words that may come to mind are, 'angelic,' 'soft,' and 'elegant.' Some words that are not so frequently associated with the harp are 'assertive,' 'commanding,' and 'uninhibited.' While all musical instruments tend to have some stereotypes associated with their sounds or the people who play them, the harp is one of the most gendered and idealized instruments in classical music. The proof is in the portraits.

The century between 1750-1850 was replete with portraits of beautiful women playing the harp, creating a type of celebrity for the harp itself. The perception of harpists became so impregnated with the values of Enlightenment-era femininity, that the distinction between the instrument and its associated demographic disappeared, and I speculate that it has never truly reappeared. But before considering the present, it is necessary to investigate the past, and I do so by creating a database of portraits that, as a whole, will answer questions about gendered music, Enlightenment ideals, and harp culture.

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<sup>1</sup> Hall, "Choice of Musical Instruments for Females," 92.

## 1.1 Research Questions

The Industrial Revolution fundamentally changed many of the roles that society assigned to women, and there is no greater reflection of such change than in art and music. The Industrial Revolution widened the division between male and female labor, which was felt particularly in the educated classes (though, of course, not felt so strongly by the nobility). This shift cultivated the phenomenon of separate spheres,<sup>2</sup> which in turn created a strict gendering of many aspects of life. In the words of Ursula Rempel, “music as social accomplishment and music as a profession were two very different spheres of endeavor.”<sup>3</sup>

It is no secret that music scholarship has historically ignored the female-centric sphere of music, however such music made up a huge part of the cultural economy from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. If anything, women were more avid consumers of music than men, because their childhood educations focused exclusively on “ornamental accomplishments,”<sup>4</sup> such as music, language, art, and dance. Matthew Head describes the female role as “fundamental to the theorization of art as a social practice.”<sup>5</sup> Female history has been ignored in academic study until (relatively) recently, however females had a significant effect on the cultural practices and trends of men, especially during the Enlightenment. This dissertation aims to put a spotlight on the way society perceived the women behind the harps and how such perceptions were reflected in the modern canon of harp repertoire.

The questions this dissertation aims to answer fall into two categories: the portraits and the repertoire. The collection of portraits in the *Historical Harp Portrait Database*<sup>6</sup> aims to

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<sup>2</sup> Adams, “Divisions of Labor,” 156.

<sup>3</sup> Rempel, “The Complete Female: Musical ‘Accomplishment’ in the Late Eighteenth Century,” 42.

<sup>4</sup> Torchia, *American Paintings of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Part II*, 152.

<sup>5</sup> Head, “If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth Century Germany,” 204.

<sup>6</sup> See [historicalharpportraits.wordpress.com](http://historicalharpportraits.wordpress.com)

present not only the relationship between women and the harp, but also the complicated coexistence between artistic expression and domestic confinement. I will investigate the possible reasons why women chose to share their portraits with the harp, and how portraitists interpreted the harp-playing subjects. I will determine the degree to which the harp may have served the purpose and potential goals of the women's portraits in general. Finally, I will explore the notion that the women themselves were regarded as pieces of art, separated from their humanity to achieve a kind of allegory containing a conflicting array of messages; sexuality and fertility, discipline and propriety, innocence and fragility, subject and object.

Secondly, the study of performance practice and works written for the single-action harp will invite questions about the intended audience for harp performances and how a harpist might use their artistic practice as a means of venturing outside their inherited sphere. It will be necessary, then, to determine how strictly the music composed for women paralleled the themes and ideals reflected in their portraits. Did the repertoire serve the portrait or did the portrait serve the music? Was the *galant* style, in its sensitivity, simplicity, and elegance, reflected in women's portraits?

Most of the major harp repertoire for the single-action harp is identified as *galant*, *Epfindsamer*, or *sensibility music*. The perception that *galant* music is somewhat infantile or simple in comparison to its Classical successors, like Mozart, has led to a historic lack of academic and theoretical research.<sup>7 8</sup> But such *galant*-like music makes up the vast majority of harp music from both the Classical and Romantic eras, so it is imperative to take a critical look at

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<sup>7</sup> Sheldon, "The Galant Style Revisited and Re-evaluated," 240.

<sup>8</sup> There has been a resurgence of interest in single-action repertoire since the early 2000's (possibly a late response to the HIPP movement), but interest from the mainstream contemporary harp community remains low.

the repertoire to gain a deeper understanding of the public perception of harp players both historically and currently.

Finally, I bring the subject into the twenty-first century and ask how the experiences of the contemporary harpist contain echoes of the single-action era. The harp has long been considered one of the most gendered instruments in the classical family and its gender stereotype has not changed substantially over the last two centuries.<sup>9</sup> It was only after the emergence of separate spheres and the height of the *salon*<sup>10</sup> (which coincided with the invention of the single-action harp) in the early eighteenth century that female harpists began to appear, but their influence on harp culture is pervasive in contemporary musical society. So how do harpists of today relate to the repertoire of the Enlightenment, and why did the majority of single-action harp repertoire disappear from the contemporary harp canon?

## 1.2 Methodology and Sources

Creating a digital collection of portraits was the first step in this study. There are few to no harp portraits in any previously existing online database, so I collected digital images from museums, public institutions, auction houses, and private collectors to gather a large enough sample size. There were no boundaries on the current location of any portrait: portraits reside everywhere, from Japan to the USA. The collection had to be large enough to accurately identify patterns and anomalies, but also contain enough stylistic consistency to avoid too many outliers. Fortunately, harp portraits were very fashionable around the turn of the nineteenth century and many of them survive today. The harp was such a popular subject request, in fact, that women in

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<sup>9</sup> See Pashley, “Why Are Male Harpists So Rare?” There is a social-media movement, started in the 2010’s, called “Real Men Play the Harp,” which encourages young men to take harp lessons and normalize professional male harpists.

<sup>10</sup> See Hanning, “Conversation and Musical Style in the Late Eighteenth-Century Parisian Salon.”

Georgian Britain were eventually dissuaded from posing with them. The celebrated portraitist Thomas Lawrence said in one of his letters to Mrs. Francis Robertson:

The Drapery shall be yellow and for a thousand reasons but principally because I know you will agree to my rubbing out the Harp. The Harp - tis so commonplace. There's an inundation of them in the Exhibition all strumming St. Cecílias disgracing themselves and the Painters and all for the love of Mr. Erard. Pray we agree to the alteration and we will think of some action simple and elegant yet not obvious something that shall not jar with the essential attribute of likeness.<sup>11</sup>

Whilst collating the database that serves as the basis for my analysis, I created a set of criteria to achieve a coherent yet diverse group of portraits that would contribute to a focused investigation.

The paintings met the following criteria:

1. The subject is a woman. Women were the primary purchasers of harps in the eighteenth century and therefore the majority of surviving harp-related portraits are of women. Men who played the harp were usually teachers or professional performers.<sup>12</sup> I included group portraits and family portraits as long as there is a female harpist present.<sup>13</sup>

2. The portraits fall between the years 1720-1850. The reason for this was to obtain the largest collection of works possible while staying within one era of harp development. The single-action harp was invented in its full form around 1720, gained its popularity during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and slowly descended into obsolescence after the invention

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<sup>11</sup> Lawrence, *Thomas Lawrence to Mrs. Francis Robertson, November 24, c. 1800*.

<sup>12</sup> Some of the era's most famous male harpists were Nicolas-Charles Bochsa, Johann Baptist Krumpholz, and Jean-Henri Naderman.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Jean-Bernard Duvivier, *Portrait of the Villers Family*. Database #27.

of the double-action harp, which received its first patent in 1808.<sup>14</sup> By 1850 most harpists had moved to double-action harps and newer, more fashionable repertoire. It is by all means possible to play single-action repertoire on a double-action harp (and, in some cases, vice versa), however the rapidly changing tastes of music consumers meant more support for new music.

3. The portraits depict a single-action harp.<sup>15</sup> Along with reasons pertaining to the time period, the repertoire written for the single-action harp (and other salon instruments of the era) encapsulates the musical and cultural aesthetics of this relatively narrow period in history and to add another type of harp to the mix would create confusion. Any portraits that depict a double-action harp were omitted from the body of study. Furthermore, many paintings of Celtic harps exist from this period, but because the history, repertoire, and traditions of Celtic music are unrelated to the single-action harp, they were not included here.

The paintings vary as follows:

1. Paintings are of any medium. There are portrait miniatures, watercolors, life-size portraits, etchings, etc. in this collection. I found that, no matter the size or style of the portraits, the aesthetic qualities remained similar.

2. The subjects are known or unknown. The majority of portrait subjects in the collection are unknown, most likely because they were meant for personal use and private spaces, not for public consumption. Therefore the subject did not need to be explicitly identified for the viewer.

3. The region of origin is somewhat variable. This was the trickiest variable to consider for the collection. It was necessary to consider the geographical boundaries of the western art

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<sup>14</sup> Baldwin, "The Inventor of the Double-Action Pedal Harp with Fourchettes: Erard versus Groll."

<sup>15</sup> See section 1.3, below, for definition.

canon, but because the definition of “western art” is so ambiguous anyway, I decided to create my own boundaries based on harp-specific research. The dissemination of the single-action harp is quite well-documented, at least through major manufacturers who kept detailed records of sale. Through such documents I created a list of countries with confirmed sales or purchases of single-action harps between 1720-1850.<sup>16</sup> The countries are as follows:<sup>17</sup> France, England, Scotland, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Russia. There is one portrait in the collection that is from the United States of America, and it is included because it is an example of an American response to Britain’s musical culture.<sup>18</sup>



fig. 1

<sup>16</sup> I collected data for Erard harps from Robert Adelson, et al, *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents, 1785-1959*. Additional data came from the Centre Sébastien Erard online archives, at [www.sebastienerard.org](http://www.sebastienerard.org). Data from the Erard firm comes from Mike Baldwin, “Consuming the Harp in late Georgian England: Products, Services and Customers of the Erard Manufactory, 1821-1824.”

<sup>17</sup> Countries are determined by borders **during** the Enlightenment era. Fig. 1 is taken from a 1769 French atlas. Additional map data is sourced from the “Mapping the Enlightenment” project from the University of Athens and the National Archives London, at [www.mapping-the-enlightenment.org](http://www.mapping-the-enlightenment.org).

<sup>18</sup> Sully, *Lady with a Harp: Eliza Ridgley*. Database #23.

4. The painter could be either man or woman, identified or anonymous. Again, such a variable did not greatly change the character of the paintings nor the subject matter. Paintings were accepted regardless of perceived artistic merit, so long as they met the basic requirements.

### 1.3 The Single-Action Harp

An overwhelming majority of harp-related research revolves around the technological and commercial development of the instrument.<sup>19</sup> I suspect this to be the case because the pedal harp was a particularly complex machine that developed rapidly during the eighteenth-century. The harp's development reflected the industrialization of society, the wealth disparities that pervaded Europe, and the rapid changes in musical tastes through the Enlightenment and Revolutionary periods.<sup>20</sup> It is necessary, then, to provide some background on the instrument that is at the center of this research.

Before the invention of pedals, the harp was a chromatic instrument with strings for every semi-tone. The harp was strung in double or triple rows and was popular in Italy and Spain but did not gain a lot of momentum with their Northern neighbors.<sup>21</sup> Row harps were primarily a *basso continuo* instrument, and thus had very little solo repertoire written for them. There was interest in making harps more harmonically flexible, easier to tune, and smoother to play. Though several luthiers worked on mechanical inventions for the harp, Jacob Hochbrucker is widely credited with the invention of the single-action harp in its entirety. His invention was built with a single row of strings, each string tuned to a note in the diatonic scale. A set of seven pedals controlled the flats and sharps for each diatonic pitch (a,b,c,d,e,f,g). When an accidental

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<sup>19</sup> Lane, "L'orage des passions,' Expressing Emotion on the Eighteenth-Century French Single-Action Harp," 77.

<sup>20</sup> See Green, "Music's First Consumers," in *Consuming Music: Individuals, Institutions, Communities*, 13-29. For a review of changing tastes in harp music specifically, see Zingel, *Harp Music in the Nineteenth Century*.

<sup>21</sup> Such neighbors include France, England, Germany, Netherlands, or Scandinavian countries.



occurred in the music, the player simply pressed the corresponding pedal which raised the pitch of the string by a semitone. The system made the harp easier to look at when playing, decreased the number of strings, and created more streamlined fingering patterns (every major and minor scale had the same set of fingerings).

For the sake of consistency, I will use the term *single-action* when referring to the type of harp in the portrait collection. However, it is worth noting that the term *single-action* was only coined long after its invention. The single-action harp was originally named the *harpe organisée* in the *l'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* in 1767.<sup>22</sup> After the invention of the double-action harp in the early 1800's, a distinction was made between double- and single-action harps.<sup>23</sup>

Some scholars claim that the single-action pedal system was invented around 1720, but there is evidence to suggest that pedal harps were in development as early as the 1690's.<sup>24</sup> There is little evidence to suggest that the pedal harp became popular before 1749, and in fact, no original music exists from the first two decades of its invention.<sup>25</sup> But by 1760 the pedal harp was gaining more recognition all over Europe and gained particular popularity in Austria, England, and France. Madame de Genlis was one of the major harp pioneers for women. Her performances on the single-action harp in Paris<sup>26</sup> helped the instrument gain a lot of traction, and

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<sup>22</sup> Denis Diderot, *l'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire...* (Paris: Le Breton, 1751).

<sup>23</sup> Nagasawa, "Understanding the characteristics of the single-action pedal harp and their implications for the performing practices of its repertoire from 1760 to 1830," 6. For a more in-depth study of the *harpe organisée* and naming, see Cleary, "The Invention of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century: the Harpe Organisée and Pedals."

<sup>24</sup> Parker, '*A Very Imperfect Instrument*', 3. The earliest surviving single-action harp is Jacob Hochbrucker's harp from 1720. It is located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

<sup>25</sup> Cleary, "The Invention of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century: the Harpe Organisée and Pedals," 24.

<sup>26</sup> Lane, "'L'orage des passions,'" 84.

her method books were considered a staple of teaching literature for decades after their publication.<sup>27</sup>

Marie-Antoinette brought her affinity for salon music with her to France in 1770, when she married Louis XVI. She began harp lessons and employed several court composers to write new music for the harp.<sup>28</sup> Jean-Henri Naderman, a famed luthier, built a single-action harp for Marie-Antoinette's nineteenth birthday in 1774. Marie-Antoinette's public musical life was a major catalyst for the explosion of harp manufacturing, methods, and repertoire during the 1770's. For those who could afford it, the harp was the ultimate status symbol and proper instrument of study for ladies.<sup>29</sup>

Such popularity lasted well after the French Revolution and Marie-Antoinette's execution, even within the 'egalitarian' attitudes of Enlightenment thinkers. There was more of an emphasis on 'serious' study for French women in order to justify the obvious symbol of wealth. England became a new center for harp culture, especially when Sébastien Erard, considered one of the fathers of the double-action harp, moved his operation from Paris to London in 1790.<sup>30</sup> Harps were made on an industrial scale, and even the ornamental details on the column of the harp were made in molds, no longer carved into wood by hand.

The single-action harp remained in public favor for only a little more than a half-century before it was overshadowed by its successor, the double-action harp. The music from the end of the Classical era and into the Romantic era developed an increasingly chromatic syntax which the single-action harp could not match. The single-action harp could accommodate eight major

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<sup>27</sup> See Genlis, *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Harpe*.

<sup>28</sup> Christoph Willibald Gluck, J.H. Naderman, and Johan Hasse were among her favorite harp composers.

<sup>29</sup> See John E. Hall, ed., "Choice of Musical Instruments for Females."

<sup>30</sup> Erard invented and patented his double-action harp in 1808, but continued manufacturing single-action harps until the 1840's. See Cleary, "The Invention of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century..."

scales and five minor scales, while the double-action harp could accommodate fifteen major scales and twelve minor scales all with a “uniform fingering.”<sup>31</sup> Instead of moving the pedals in one direction, the harpist could now move the pedals in two directions, effectively doubling the harmonic vocabulary of the instrument. The double-action harp is widely considered an ‘improvement’ upon its single-action predecessor, but in performance, the single-action harp shows us how to play the music from its own epoch, and historically, it shows us how the current stereotypes of harpists came to be.

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<sup>31</sup> Pierre Erard, *The Harp in Its Present Improved Stated, Compared with the Original Pedal Harp*, 15.

## Chapter 2

### What Does the Portraitist See?

In this chapter, I will present my portrait database and provide an in-depth analysis of a select few portraits that exemplify important styles during the Enlightenment. I will set forth several questions about the nature of musical women as seen through the eyes of their portraitists, and consequently the general public. It is also necessary to point out how the coetaneous viewer would understand and interact with these paintings versus how one may understand and interact with them today. Concurrently, I will observe the painters' treatments of the harp, and how such treatments contribute to perceptions and attitudes about lady harpists.

To understand the portraits, one must first understand the reasons behind their creation. Upper-class families with daughters went to great lengths to find a suitable husband who could provide financial support and, ideally, increased social status.<sup>1</sup> Until marriage, girls were considered burdens on such families, with expensive educations and no means of income. Women's childhoods were, for the most part, regarded as a waiting period. Parents were encouraged to fill this waiting time wisely, with a rigorous education that would resist idleness (regarded as "the Enemy to Virtue")<sup>2</sup> and encourage politeness and a steady manner.<sup>3</sup> Once a woman was of marriageable age, she could use her learned skills as a means of beguiling her suitor.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Hyde, *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 66. The discussion of Mademoiselle de Clermont exemplifies the traditional route to marriage for girls of the upper class in eighteenth-century France, as well as the importance of maintaining familial connections to high-status families.

<sup>2</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Hyde, *Women, Art and Politics*, 68.

A portrait was the preferred medium for advertising a woman's suitability, accomplishments, and marriageability, while also showing off her beauty. Portraiture served as a "visual currency, with extraordinarily wide circulation."<sup>5</sup> A well-placed easel or book could portray such qualities as taste,<sup>6</sup> talent, and daintiness.<sup>7</sup> It was imperative that "sitters [chose] a milieu which [signaled] success, wealth, and refinement."<sup>8</sup> The portrait could be sent to a suitor for his consideration or could be hung prominently in the household for a more public viewership. Portrait miniatures were a popular choice for personal correspondence during courtship, and at least a dozen paintings in this collection are miniatures.<sup>9</sup> Though portraits were used for several purposes,<sup>10</sup> the majority of portraits in this collection appear to be those of hopeful brides.<sup>11</sup>

The harp is used frequently in portraits of unmarried women because the harp is a symbol for a wide variety of feminine values, both innocent and flirtatious. The harp can be sensual and physical, but also gentle and unobtrusive. When sifting through catalogues of eighteenth-century musical portraits, I noticed that the harp was featured more often than almost any other "female" instrument.<sup>12</sup> This is not simply because the harp was popular, it is more because the harp was considered a true embodiment of the ideal youthful woman, for the reasons I outline below.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>6</sup> The French used the term *goût* (*taste*) as the counterpart to male *raison* (*reason*). *Goût* was a woman's ability to make moral judgements and understand beauty. See Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex*, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Dubois, *Music in the Georgian Novel*, 227.

<sup>8</sup> Leppert, "Concert in a House," 3.

<sup>9</sup> See "Collecting Guide: Portrait Miniatures," from Christie's for definition and a brief history.

<https://www.christies.com/features/A-brief-introduction-to-Portrait-Miniatures-9858-1.aspx>

<sup>10</sup> Married women would commission them to show off new clothing or furniture, for example Crocker Museum, "Becoming a Woman in the Eighteenth Century."

<sup>11</sup> One cannot definitively judge the marital status of all the subjects, as many remain unidentified, however due to approximate age and dress, most women appear to be in their teenage years.

<sup>12</sup> "Female instruments" included, lute, guitar, harpsichord, and pianoforte (in the nineteenth century). See Hall, "Choice of Musical Instruments for Females."

Firstly, the shape of the eighteenth-century harp could be viewed as particularly feminine. The lines of the instrument “seemed to mirror the curves of the female musician’s body.”<sup>13</sup> The shape of the harp was not perceived as inherently feminine until the eighteenth century, when a few key details were added to the original frame of the instrument. Firstly, the single-action harp is tall (between 150-170cm high) and narrow, so when standing next to the harp, one can show the entire length of one’s body. The harp also has a gently curving “neck” (A on the diagram below) a long “body” (G), and small and delicate “feet” (L). It is no coincidence that these body parts are used as technical names of harp parts.<sup>14</sup>

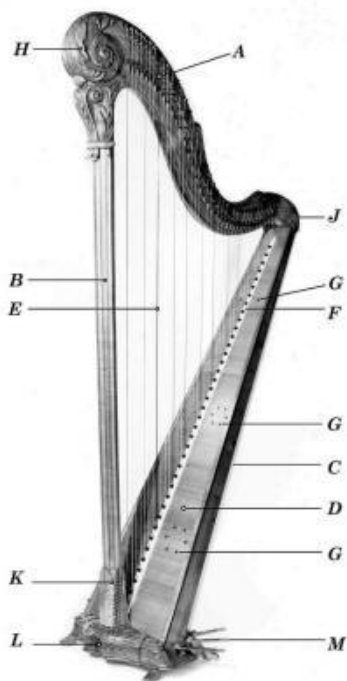


fig. 2

Secondly, the sound of the harp is inherently associated with the idea of *touch*. The delicate nuances in sound are achieved by small changes in a player’s touch, which shows skill

<sup>13</sup> Dubois, *Music in the Georgian Novel*, 227.

<sup>14</sup> These “body-like” terms most likely originated in the Baroque period with multi-row harps, but there is little conclusive evidence to confirm this fact.

and focus, but conjures up a notion of sensuality.<sup>15</sup> Playing the harp is also quite a physically involved process, requiring the arms to reach around the sides, and the legs spread apart for the harp to rest comfortably on the right shoulder. Several portraits call attention to the playing position in a suggestive manner, while others depict a different, perhaps more innocent, pose at the harp.

Finally, the harp is strongly associated with Biblical figures of both genders, such as King David, Jubal, and St. Cecilia. From the Ancient Greek idealization of the harp as an enchanting instrument, to angels playing Gothic harps in paintings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance,<sup>16</sup> the harp has evolved with religion and art as a symbol for heaven, sublimity, and divine intervention.<sup>17</sup> St. Cecilia, the patron saint of music, is projected onto several harpists in Enlightenment portraiture, most notably in John Singleton Copley's portrait entitled *Mrs. Robert Crowninshield Derby as St. Cecilia*.<sup>18</sup> Anecdotally, many people still consider the harp "the instrument of angels" and associate its sound with "heavenly bodies."

## 2.1 Notes on the Collection

The majority of paintings in the Historical Harp Portrait database<sup>19</sup> are from either France or the United Kingdom. There are only eleven portraits that are definitively *not* from either country.<sup>20</sup> The earlier portraits, from about 1750-1799, are mostly French, whereas the later portraits, between 1800-1830, are mostly British. The single-action harp was invented in Bavaria, and though other regions developed similar pedaling systems, the true invention of the

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<sup>15</sup> Dubois, *Music in the Georgian Novel*, 226.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Hans Memling, *Madonna and Child with Angels*.

<sup>17</sup> Ausoni, *Music in Art*, 253.

<sup>18</sup> Database #6.

<sup>19</sup> See [historicalharpportraits.wordpress.com](http://historicalharpportraits.wordpress.com)

<sup>20</sup> These eleven portraits are from Italy, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, and Denmark. There are "unknown" portraits that I assume are from France (based on the portraitist), but their provenance cannot be confirmed.

single-action mechanism is credited to the Hochbrucker family in Donauwörth.<sup>21</sup> The dissemination of the single-action harp is difficult to trace, but its premiere in Paris appears to have been in 1749. Shortly after Marie-Antoinette became Queen of France in 1774, harp popularity reached its peak. The French Revolution dampened harp culture in France, and with limited options, harp firms either collapsed or moved to England.<sup>22</sup> The harp's popularity gained traction in the UK at the end of the Georgian era and through the Regency period. Harp culture did return to France eventually, and the Paris Conservatoire started its first harp class in 1825 (led by Jean-Henri Naderman, Marie-Antoinette's harp maker).<sup>23</sup>

It is surprising that there are not as many portraits from Germany, however, there are not many primary resources about the harp in Germany despite its official origins being identified there. There appears to have been some interest in the harp, as Johann Georg Heinrich Backofen wrote a complete pedal harp method in 1801.<sup>24</sup> Literature about German coffee house culture does not discuss the harp whatsoever but does discuss women playing harpsichord and fortepiano.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the harp was practiced, but there was less interest in harp-related portraiture in Germany. There is not unequivocal evidence for this. In all, France and the UK dominated the practice of harp-related portraiture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

While some paintings in this collection have been extensively investigated, most privately-owned pieces remain unidentified to some extent. Most paintings are created by a known portraitist and depict an unidentified subject. One can assume that the subject would have

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<sup>21</sup> See Cleary, "The Invention of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century," 23.

<sup>22</sup> There are no records of French harp makers moving to Scotland, Ireland, or Wales.

<sup>23</sup> Holoman, *The Paris Conservatoire in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, 8.

<sup>24</sup> Backofen, *Harfenschule mit Bemerkungen über den Bau der Harfe und deren neuere Verbesserungen*.

<sup>25</sup> See Goodman, *Amazons and Apprentices*, Chapter 4, and Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, Chapter 1, for reference to coffee house culture and female musicians in eighteenth-century Germany.



been any woman with the means to purchase a painting, but even this assumption is somewhat ambiguous, as the prices of commissions varied greatly depending on the region, type of painting (miniature versus life-size), and the reputation of the portraitist.<sup>26</sup> We can assume with a degree of certainty, however, that women who were able to own a harp and have their portrait painted were most likely in the highest social class. The subjects are as young as four or five, but most girls are in their teenage years and close to marriageable age, or newly married. There is one portrait of a woman at the age of forty, Marie-Louise-Victoire de France (“Madame Victoire”), but this is an anomaly.<sup>27</sup> I have selected three portraits from the collection to study in detail in this chapter, as they are quintessential examples of harp portraiture. Many characteristics found in these paintings are mirrored in the rest of the collection.<sup>28</sup>

## **2.2 *L’Accord Parfait* (“Perfect Harmony”)**

*L’Accord Parfait*<sup>29</sup> was etched by Jean-Michel Moreau in 1777 in Paris and shows an identified young woman “plucking the harp strings and the heartstrings of two admiring gallants.”<sup>30</sup> This portrait is a prime example of the sexual undertones that were associated with harp playing and several common tropes that were used in flirtatious tableaux of the era.

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<sup>26</sup> Hyde, *Women, Art and Politics*, 65.

<sup>27</sup> Database #3. Madame de Victoire was an anomaly in many ways, in that she never married, escaped the French Revolution, and died in Rome, having lived her later years as a normal citizen.

<sup>28</sup> I have referenced which paintings are relevant for comparison in the footnotes.

<sup>29</sup> Database #24.

<sup>30</sup> Koda, *Dangerous Liaisons: Fashion and Furniture in the Eighteenth Century*, 46.



fig. 3

The harp is, by nature, a very physically involved instrument, and the potential for double meanings was not lost on the French. As mentioned previously, one is required to spread one's legs to play the harp, making it an "effective autoerotic apparatus."<sup>31</sup> The ability to seduce through a such a domestic activity as harp playing can explain the popularity of the instrument among unmarried women.<sup>32</sup> The French were not so concerned with the moralistic undertones of domesticity (at least compared to the British), as exemplified by *l'Accord Parfait*, but good musical proficiency was "an essential component in the formation of the elite social persona."<sup>33</sup> A good harp player was considered high-class, but not necessarily innocent or chaste, though

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>32</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 30.

<sup>33</sup> Koda, *Dangerous Liaisons*, 46.

women associated with the royal family (under the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI) were more often sexualized than women of the *bourgeoisie*.<sup>34</sup>

The harpist in *L'Accord Parfait* is dressed in a fashionable *robe à la polonoise*, which was an open-front dress with a heavily pleated backside, a ruffled satin skirt, and delicately embroidered stomacher. Her elegantly slippered foot is out on display, showing off her “well-turned ankle.”<sup>35</sup> An exposed ankle was a sexual gesture in this period, and coincidentally, the pedal harp required the player to poke her foot out of her dress from time to time in order to press a pedal.<sup>36</sup> This painting is a stylization of this concept because the harpist’s foot is exposed considerably more than it would have been in actual performance, but this type of *clin d’oeil* was a typical gimmick to emphasize a woman’s coquettish nature. One can identify several other paintings in which an exposed ankle features prominently.<sup>37</sup>

The setting is that of a music room with a harpsichord off to one side and a music stand which is not in use. This is an interesting aspect of the etching, because although the harpist looks like she could be reading the music on the stand to her right, a harpist would never read music through the strings, so she is actually looking up at her male companion and not paying much attention to her playing at all. The harp is also positioned incorrectly on the woman’s shoulder. Instead of sitting squarely on the right shoulder, perpendicular to the body, the harp is angled to the side. The man appears to be participating, possibly placing his hand on the strings

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<sup>34</sup> Hunt, *Women in Eighteenth Century Europe*, 102.

<sup>35</sup> Koda, *Dangerous Liaisons*, 47.

<sup>36</sup> Exposure of the ankles was permitted after 1750, but still considered *risqué* until the Revolutionary Period. The *robe à la polonoise* was invented in 1775 and was a variation on the *robe à la française* with a higher hemline. See Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 19.

<sup>37</sup> The best examples of exposed ankles are Database #11, 40, 41, 48, 59, 70, and 76.

with the harpist in a flirtatious gesture. Does this mean that the man making such erotic advances is actually the lady's harp tutor? That question is left to the viewer to ponder.

The message that I gather from this image is that the harp is used as a vehicle for seduction. The harpist is not interested in playing the harp, she is using the instrument as a means to an end, which is the stimulation of male desire. This elicits the question of how the contemporary viewer would see this woman. Was she seen as an object to the gentlemen in the room, just as the harp is an object to her? Was she propaganda for harp playing, showing other women how to use the harp to their advantage? Or is she providing a cautionary tale, portraying how a woman might reach dangerous levels of sexual proclivity if she takes too many music lessons? It is impossible to know for certain how this etching was presented to the public, but nevertheless, we can see a woman whose harp was a contradictory accessory. The harp gave her a powerful tool to express her femininity and gain a certain level of sexual (and emotional) power over men, but it also weakened her morality in the eyes of the public. We do not know who commissioned this etching and why, which would give us more information about the subject's agency in the process of her depiction and its intended audience. For now we must view this portrait as an example of the complicated relationship women had with their harps and the potential hazards it could bring to their public personae.

### ***2.3 Lady Louisa Theodosia Hervey, Countess of Liverpool (1767-1821)***

The British portrait of Lady Louisa Hervey<sup>38</sup> by George Romney is a significantly toned-down departure from *L'Accord Parfait*. Painted between 1790-1793, this life-size portrait of Louisa was commissioned by her mother, Lady Bristol, most likely as a public statement of her

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<sup>38</sup> Database #69.

entrance into court society. Louisa was married just two years later, in 1795, to Sir Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Liverpool.<sup>39</sup> I use this portrait as an example of a conventional British approach to female harpists in portraiture.



fig. 4

One of the most striking attributes of this portrait is Lady Louisa's figure. Her bottom half is disproportionately long, and her waist reaches the height of the harp's soundboard, which is at least 120cm tall. The artificial elongation of Louisa's legs (or, conversely, the shrinking of the harp) are meant to emphasize her long, thin figure and fashionably high waist. Her fluffy white gown and headpiece were fashionable British dress at the turn of the century,<sup>40</sup> yet she is more modest than the majority of her contemporaries. Her feet are not showing at all, and her

<sup>39</sup> Ward, *Romney: A biographical and critical essay*, 77.

<sup>40</sup> Hollander, *Fabric of Vision*, 106.

tucked kerchief covers her décolletage entirely. Though British women typically dressed more modestly than their French counterparts, Louisa is particularly well-covered.<sup>41</sup>

Lady Louisa casually rests on the harp and looks into the distance but does not appear to be looking at anything specific; she is simply existing. Richard Leppert, in his monumental volume on musical representation in eighteenth-century English painting, *Music and Image*, provides this pithy explanation for women depicted in this exact pose:

External control is manifested by the turn of her head: she looks away from the viewer toward nothing we can share. By not meeting our eyes she herself is more easily looked at, hence objectified into a family icon...<sup>42</sup>

Additionally, Lady Louisa is standing in a strange, ambiguous room. There is vague drapery to her left side, and what appears to be wallpaper to her right. She does not even have a chair or music stand that would give a dynamic quality to her pose, a context in which she may be actively playing music. She does not engage with the viewer, nor does she engage with the instrument. Again, Leppert elucidates her qualities as such:

Women, except for their fashionable dresses and hats, are literally out of time. They are a collective embodiment of the “permanent” woman (hence the architectural enclosure and classical bust), immobilized, marking stasis... the women appear as though they have always been sitting in this room and always will be.<sup>43</sup>

Leppert asserts that women sitting among musical instruments, without engaging with the instruments themselves, are in effect “silenced” by the painter, and in turn, the viewer.<sup>44</sup> Here,

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<sup>41</sup> For less modest, but still moral, British women, see Database #22, 26, and 32.

<sup>42</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 42.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

Lady Louisa is standing in a silencing pose.<sup>45</sup> We can assume she plays the harp only by the mere fact that she is posing with one. She is not actually showing skill or expressiveness, the harp is simply an ornament to her in the same way that she is considered an ornament to her future husband. The depiction of Lady Louisa's "Louis XVI" style harp is clearly there as decoration, with no substantial effort given to its form. The strings are not even visible to the naked eye, and the intricate *chinoiserie*-style painting that would be on the soundboard of this harp was haphazardly painted on with small dots of color.<sup>46</sup> The size of the harp is completely wrong (again, this was in order to elongate the figure), which means that the importance of depicting the woman's actual ability to play the instrument is negligible.

Lady Louisa is dispassionate, somehow dissociated from the very accomplishment that is the centerpiece of her portrait. There is a keen awareness that her agency as a musician and, more importantly, a woman, is secondary to her duty as a steward of the household and object of male desire. The British were obsessed with the fragile morality that women carried with them into marriage. They were afraid that too much of anything, especially something as expressive and tantalizing as music, would sully the meticulously crafted reputation a woman's parents worked to keep intact. The women who won over the hearts of men were "more lovely, though inferior in dignity...never a person of shining qualities nor strong virtues..."<sup>47</sup> Lady Louisa, according to this portrait, may not be dignified, but at least she is soft and simple.

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<sup>45</sup> Similar poses to Lady Louisa can be found in Database #18, 32, 52, 55, and 74.

<sup>46</sup> For examples of a well-painted soundboard on a "Louis XVI" harp, see Database #40 and 50.

<sup>47</sup> Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas*, 110.

## 2.4 *La leçon de harpe* (“The Harp Lesson”)

Jean Antoine Théodore Giroust (1753-1817) was one of the foremost neoclassical painters in pre-Revolutionary France and was employed almost exclusively by Louis Philippe II, duc d’Orléans until 1793. *La leçon de harpe*<sup>48</sup> is one of his most significant contributions to the d’Orléans family. Exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1791, this painting was not only a lovely conversation piece with precise detailing and a vivid palette, but it also served a political purpose. With this painting, duc d’Orléans was trying to “craft a public image of his family and retinue as paragons of Enlightenment virtue and progressive cultural tastes.”<sup>49</sup> Three educated women partaking in music and wearing Revolutionary-era fashions was Giroust’s way of portraying their modern taste and Revolutionary spirit. More explicitly, the statue in the background is that of Minerva, the Roman goddess, holding a pike, one of the symbols of the Revolution. The duc d’Orléans also used this imagery to publicly distance the d’Orléans family from the Bourbon dynasty, which was on the verge of collapse.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Database #13.

<sup>49</sup> Sevelis, “The Harp Lesson.”

<sup>50</sup> The duc d’Orléans (or, as he preferred to be called, Philippe Égalité) was a fervent supporter of the French Revolution, but due to his son’s alliance with General Dumouriez and his ties to the Bourbon family, he was guillotined in 1793.





fig. 5

Giroust depicts three women; playing the large harp to the right is Stéphanie Félicité, comtesse de Genlis (of single-action harp fame),<sup>51</sup> the governess and harp tutor of fourteen-year-old Louise Marie Adelaïde Eugénie de Bourbon d'Orléans (center, with small harp). Louise Marie Adelaïde's English teacher, Mademoiselle Paméla, is pictured on the left, turning pages. The three women are dressed in fashions that are not particularly extravagant. Rather, they don a loose, wrapped, and flowing style of drapery that harkens back to the robes of antiquity. This was a common image created by neoclassical portraitists at this time, who were shying away from the grand *robes à l'anglaise*<sup>52</sup> and *robes à la française* in favor of looser, more casual styles, like the *chemise à la reine*.<sup>53</sup> This portrait is an example of the turning point between the

<sup>51</sup> Her seminal work for the harp, *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Harpe*, was one of the most popular method books for women in France until the 1830's. Genlis was also the mistress of Louis Philippe II, duc d'Orléans.

<sup>52</sup> For examples of *robes à l'anglaise*, see Database #3, 11, 12, 14, 29, 44, and 63.

<sup>53</sup> Hollander, *Fabric of Vision*, 101.

‘Marie-Antoinette style’ of dress (as seen in *l’Accord Parfait*), and the egalitarian look of the early Romantic period.

Though the harp was still an expensive commodity that exhibited a great deal of wealth, Giroust painted this scene to make the women look serious about their studies. The women are meant to be examples of Enlightenment (and Revolutionary) ideals of dedication, work, and intelligence. The French had been debating the issue of equal sexes since the *querelle des femmes* began in the middle of the seventeenth century,<sup>54</sup> so by 1791, the notion of highly-educated women was not as threatening as it appears to have been in contemporary Britain.<sup>55</sup>

If we compare *La leçon de harpe* to the portrait of Lady Louisa Hervey, for example, we can see the difference in the relationships between women and their music. Lady Louisa is casually posed at the harp without any perceived interest in the instrument, and the portraitist did not pay much mind to the detail of the harp itself, sending a message to the viewer that the harp was more of an ornament than an interactive instrument. Conversely, in this painting, the women are very involved in their harp playing, depicted with proper hand position and interacting with musical scores.<sup>56</sup> Louise Marie Adelaïde is looking at the viewer as she plays, inviting the audience into her performance. The harps are painted very accurately, except that Louise Marie Adelaïde’s harp would have been larger in real life. I suspect that Giroust made her harp smaller

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<sup>54</sup> Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex*, 10-11.

<sup>55</sup> This is not to say that women were even close to gaining political or social equality in France, however, after the publication of numerous pamphlets in favor of women’s education, such as *La femme n’est pas inférieure à l’homme* and *De l’égalité des deux sexes*, the *bourgeoisie* and noble classes were, on the whole, more accepting of female education than the British. See Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex*, 10.

<sup>56</sup> Note that Louise Marie Adelaïde is shown with her left hand higher on the strings than her right hand. This was a common technique in single-action harp playing in order to get a clearer bassline that wouldn’t muddle the sound. This technique is hardly ever seen in modern harp playing.

to portray the girl's young age, give room for the all-important Revolutionary statue in the background, and to create spatial interest.

*La leçon de harpe* is an excellent example of the 'learned woman' trope in Enlightenment art. An artistic counterargument to the highly sexualized coquettes depicted during the *ancien régime*, the enlightened woman was a symbol of the new *bourgeoisie*. Women were depicted in fashionable, yet sensible dress, often alone in a room, and engaged directly with their art. They are often looking directly at the viewer while playing, which conjures a notion of assertiveness and confidence. Another fine example of the enlightened woman in French portraiture is Marguerite Gérard's painting of a young woman in 1791 (fig. 6).<sup>57</sup> The woman is playing a well-detailed instrument while gazing at the audience, inviting them to hear her play.



fig. 6

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<sup>57</sup> Database #50.

There is a wide variety of portrait styles within this collection, and thus it is impossible to make a definitive conclusion about how the public judged these lady harpists. Ideals of femininity and luxury are ubiquitous throughout the collection, but other than that, women were put in very different categories based on their location, their generation, and the wishes of their families. It appears that the vast majority of these portraits were not meant for the enjoyment of the women themselves but were used as some type of propaganda for marriage arrangements, for the progression or regression of a proto-feminist agenda, or for political reasons. Were these women willing participants in their own objectification? Were they using their position as aesthetic subjects to forward their own educational goals? There is no clear answer among such a varied collection, but I do believe that lady harpists did have at least some agency in their musical choices, expanding their individual freedoms within the confines of the domestic sphere. Their agency was expressed through the music they chose to play, their choice to continue harp lessons after marriage,<sup>58</sup> and their influence on music publishers and composers.

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<sup>58</sup> This was a common point of controversy for many women, most notably Marie-Antoinette, who chose to take rigorous harp lessons after her marriage to Louis XVI.

### Chapter 3

#### The Repertoire

The single-action harp was invented during an era of rapidly changing musical values in Europe, wherein the distinctive national styles of the Baroque were diminishing in favor of a “fusion of eclectic styles.”<sup>1</sup> The century in which the single-action harp was most popular (between 1750-1850) overlapped with several eras of classical music canon (at least through the lens of contemporary western musicology). There are essences of the late Baroque, Classical, and early Romantic periods within the repertoire of the single-action harp. The majority of the repertoire, though, is associated with the *galant* and *Empfindsamer* styles. This is in part because the single-action harp rose in popularity around the same time that most *galant* style music was written,<sup>2</sup> but also because the harp’s sonic and visual characteristics paralleled many *galant* attributes. The very definition of *galant*, in the words of Voltaire, means “seeking to please,”<sup>3</sup> which is undoubtedly one of the fundamental ideals of the eighteenth-century harpist. By examining the values of repertoire written for the single-action harp, I will argue that the Enlightenment values discussed in reference to the portraits in Chapter 2 are reflected directly in the repertoire of the harp.

A unique aspect of the harp repertoire is that the majority of it was composed by harp players, harp manufacturers, and harp teachers (subsequently referred to as ‘harp composers’). Few pieces exist that were composed by people whose careers were not directly associated with the harp. While some of the most well-known harp pieces from this era are, in fact, not by ‘harp

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Cudworth is credited with establishing this definition of the *galant* style in mainstream musicology. Radice, “The Nature of the ‘Style Galant,’” 613.

<sup>2</sup> The *galant* style is difficult to pin down as one ‘era’ of classical music, but most *galant* music was written between 1730-1780. For more on the tricky definition of *galant*, see Radice, “The Nature of the ‘Style Galant.’”

<sup>3</sup> Voltaire wrote “being *galant*, in general, means seeking to please.” See Hertz, “Galant.”

composers,' it is interesting to note that only the pieces by these few exceptions remain in the mainstream harp canon. Mozart, C.P.E. Bach, Spohr, and Boieldieu all composed for the harp, but besides Spohr, each composer only wrote one or two pieces for the harp.<sup>4</sup> The canon of harp repertoire was enormous during the century between 1750-1850, yet only a seldom few pieces written by composers who were not labeled as 'harp composers' are recognized today.

Additionally, most harp repertoire was specifically written for women, perhaps as a way to keep their musical accomplishments within the walls of amateurism, and thus, domesticity. In the words of the Enlightenment moralist Hannah More, "if indeed the *material* substance, if the body and limbs... be really the more valuable objects of attention, then there is little room for animadversion and improvement."<sup>5</sup>

#### 4.1 The Music and its Style

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, very little music existed that was written especially for the harp. There are a few pieces written for the Baroque harp, such as Handel's *Concerto in B-flat Major, Op. 4*, and the harp parts included in the orchestra of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, but the harp before 1720 was largely used as a *basso continuo* instrument. Therefore harpists played from parts that were written for any *continuo* instrument. For solo repertoire and some chamber works, harpists transcribed keyboard music.<sup>6</sup> Even after the advent of publications of single-action harp music, transcription continued as a common practice.<sup>7</sup> Because of the lack of early repertoire and the practice of transcription, it is difficult to trace the exact pieces that

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<sup>4</sup> Though Spohr is considered a major composer of the nineteenth century, his wife was a harpist, and he often wrote pieces for her. In the case of this study, then, I will refer to Spohr as a 'harp composer' because of this connection.

<sup>5</sup> More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, 41.

<sup>6</sup> Cleary, "The Invention of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century," 24.

<sup>7</sup> Even though plucked instruments may *sound* more like a harp, it is by far preferable to transcribe keyboard music. This is a commonly misunderstood concept, but the keyboard and harp are much more closely related than other plucked instruments.

harpists played before the 1750's. By the 1760's, however, the harp was gaining its own cache of music, and new music for the harp was well-documented. The principal categories of music publications for the single-action harp include treatises, solo sonatas, and accompanied sonatas for other instruments or voice.<sup>8</sup>

Treatises introduced the single-action harp mechanism to the public and became the authority for technique and performance practice. Expert harp teachers were rare until the 1760's, so treatises enabled music tutors to familiarize themselves with the new instrument. Treatises began with essays that addressed the mechanical features of the harp, provided reviews of recent harp compositions, and taught proper tuning methods.<sup>9</sup> Most of the treatises were targeted at young women, either explicitly or implicitly, with phrases like “[the harp] only seems suitable for a woman when she is young and beautiful.”<sup>10</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, a woman's musical training was considered negligible after marriage, so (theoretically) only young, unmarried ladies would have read treatises. These treatises could include short pieces at the end of the publication in order for harpists to practice the techniques learned in the first chapters.<sup>11</sup> Most treatise authors also composed separate solo harp sonatas which required a knowledge of their treatises for proper fingerings, ornamentation, etc.<sup>12</sup> The prevailing sentiment implied by all of the treatises is that a harpist should develop *good taste*. The appeal of the fundamental *galant* values appears to have been ubiquitous among harpists. Several treatises warn against “plucking

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<sup>8</sup> For an excellent list of compositions for single-action harp, see Beat Wolf's publication on harp literature, which can be found on his website <https://www.beatwolf.ch/HarpKnowledge/Worthtoknow/tabid/826/language/en-US/Default.aspx>.

<sup>9</sup> Nagasawa, “Understanding the characteristics of the single-action pedal harp...,” 20.

<sup>10</sup> “...qu'il semble ne convenir à une femme que lorsqu'elle est jeune et belle.” Genlis, *Nouvelle Méthode*, 1.

<sup>11</sup> For example, see Meyer, *Essai*. There are thirteen short pieces that make up the second half of the treatise.

<sup>12</sup> For example, Meyer composed “Four Original Lessons,” to accompany his *Essai*. Harpists could practice all the techniques and ornamentation from his treatise in these pieces.

the strings with too much force” and “encourage delicate execution.”<sup>13</sup> The harpist was to be sensible, play cleanly, be expressive, but not overly sophisticated. The prevailing approach was essentially ‘less-is-more.’ The omnipresent contradiction of the harp comes to mind here, when one thinks of the ornately decorated harps and colorfully dressed women in portraits from this time. The very people wearing the most lavish costumes are the same people who were encouraged to remain “subtle.”<sup>14</sup>

In France, the most important treatises include the *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe en moins de six mois de leçons* (1811) by Stéphanie Félicité de Genlis, *Essai sur la vraie manière de jouer de La Harpe avec une Méthode de L'accorder* (1763) by Philippe-Jacques Meyer,<sup>15</sup> and *Principes pour la harpe* (1809) by Jean-Baptiste Krumpholz.<sup>16</sup> There were more treatises published in France than in any other European country, but England and Germany had a few significant publications of their own. Johann Georg Heinrich Backofen wrote the esteemed manual, *Anleitung zum Harfenspiel* (1801), for the German audience. In Britain, Jean Bernard Mayer published *Complete instructions for the Harp* (1800). After the invention of the double-action harp there were a few new treatises published, however it should be noted that single-action repertoire was widely played on double-action harps, and vice versa. When the double-action harp was invented, manufacturers published their own ‘manuals’ for the new instrument, but they mostly comprised information about the harp’s mechanisms rather than

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<sup>13</sup> Lane, “Expressing Emotion on the 18<sup>th</sup> Century French Single-Action Harp,” 79.

<sup>14</sup> Genlis, *Nouvelle Méthode*, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Meyer wrote two treatises, the first written in 1763 and the second in 1774. For an in-depth study of Meyer, see Nagasawa, *Understanding the characteristics of the single-action pedal harp and their implications for the performing practices of its repertoire from 1760 to 1830*.

<sup>16</sup> See the *Appendix* for a full list of treatises.



playing technique.<sup>17</sup> The single-action harp remained popular long after the invention of the double-action, and repertoire was largely playable and accessible to both markets.<sup>18</sup>

Many of the sonatas for harp were written as a progressive set of pieces that either increased in overall difficulty or focused on specific technical concepts. The most famous example of this is F.J. Naderman's *Sept Sonates Progressives, Op. 92* (c. 1832), which remain a staple of teaching repertoire today. Sonatas were also often referred to by their level of difficulty, such as Krumpholz's *Quatre Sonates non difficiles, Op. 12* (c. 1788). There seem to be no pieces that are named *difficile*, or difficult, for the harp. Matthew Head sums up this phenomenon as “the assumption (met as early as the sixteenth century) that music for women should be concessively ‘easy.’”<sup>19</sup> Most harp sonatas were written by harp composers, partially because the harp was a new invention with which most composers were unfamiliar (hence the many treatises and mechanical guides to the harp). Another argument is that mainstream composers wanted to write for more ‘serious’ instruments and ensembles, rather than for domestic settings in which their music would be heard by just a few people. The few exceptions, like C.P.E. Bach's *Harp Sonata in G Major* (1762), or Mozart's *Flute and Harp Concerto in C Major* (1778), were based on the circumstances of the composer (in Mozart's case, a hefty commission), rather than the composer's individual interest in the harp.

Harpists were frequently playing the accompanying role in the *salons*. The harp is particularly well-suited for arpeggiated figures, which also makes it a very good accompanying instrument. Single-action harps were ideal instruments for “accompanying tender, expressive and

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<sup>17</sup> See Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present and Improved State, Compared with the Original Pedal Harp*, London, 1821.

<sup>18</sup> This was especially the case in France, where Naderman's single-action harps were played at the Paris Conservatory long after the double-action harp was invented.

<sup>19</sup> Head, “If the pretty little hand won't stretch,” 208.

languorous *Romances*,” according to an anonymous treatise from 1787.<sup>20</sup> Alberti bass figures, modulating arpeggiation, and improvisatory arpeggiated preludes were all common musical idioms for the single-action harp. Composers used them endlessly, as in this example from the first movement of Mozart’s *Flute and Harp Concerto* below, when the harp is accompanying the flute:

fig. 7

Many duo sonatas were written for harp and violin, harp and voice, and harp and keyboard, and like their solo counterparts, they were usually written by harp composers. Sonatas for harp and violin were composed by Krumpholz, Boieldieu, Petrini, and Spohr. Though many of these pieces are seldom played today, they were popular *salon* pieces for harpists and their friends. Lady harpists could also play with their husbands, of course, in the accompanying role. Louis Spohr’s wife, Dorette, was a harpist, and Spohr wrote several harp and violin sonatas that they performed together on European tours.<sup>21</sup> For harp and voice, there are several collections by Philippe Joseph Hinner, harp teacher of Marie-Antoinette. These pieces were clearly written for

<sup>20</sup> Lane, “Expressing Emotion on the 18<sup>th</sup> Century French Single-Action Harp,” 79.

<sup>21</sup> Dorette eventually abandoned her harp career to care for their children, but she still played at home. For more on Dorette Spohr, see Aspnes, *Dorette Schindler Spohr: A Biographical Study*.

female performances, with names like “Gracious Aria,” “Tender Aria,” and “Profiting from our youth.”<sup>22</sup> It was also possible for harpists to transcribe the keyboard part of sonatas written for other instrumentation to expand their literature, though the only female harpist who documents this practice is Madame de Genlis. There are several portraits in the *Historical Harp Portrait Database* that depict harpists playing duets and trios in *salon* settings.<sup>23</sup>

The names of many pieces of harp music tell us a lot about the style of the music. For example, works by Philippe Joseph Hinner for the harp include “Haughtiness,” and “The Chatterer,” titles that “evoke the harp’s ability to project a player’s coquetry.”<sup>24</sup> He dedicated these pieces to Marie-Antoinette, which makes one wonder if he considered the Queen herself to possess those attributes. In British repertoire, Thomas Billington’s “Eight Canzonets peculiarly adapted for Ladies,”<sup>25</sup> is a prime example of composers feeling compelled to change a piece’s character so it would be suitable for the fair sex. There are many examples of the feminization of solo and chamber repertoire in Germany, Italy, and Scandinavia.<sup>26</sup>

Before discussing the reception of harp repertoire, I will provide an example of a quintessential violin and harp sonata that demonstrates some values of the harp repertoire mentioned previously. In this excerpt from Spohr’s *Sonate No. 1 für Violine und Harfe*, the harp

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<sup>22</sup> *Air Gracieux*, *Air Tendre*, and *Profitions de notre jeunesse* can be found in Hinner, *Receuil de 12 airs de chant*, *Op. 11*, Paris: Naderman.

<sup>23</sup> See Database # 30, 33, 34, 61, and 63.

<sup>24</sup> Koda, *Dangerous Liaisons*, 46.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Billington, *Eight Canzonets peculiarly adapted for Ladies: with an accompaniment on pianoforte or harp*, London, UK: Longman & Broderick, 1780.

<sup>26</sup> For German repertoire, see Steven Zohn, “Morality and the ‘Fair-Sexing’ of Telemann’s Faithful Music Master,” in *Consuming Music*, ed. Emily Green (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2017), 65-102. For Scandinavian repertoire, see Helenius-Oberg, Eva, *Svenskt klavikordbygge 1720-1820: Studier i hantverkets teori och praktik, jämte instrumentens utveckling och funktion i Sverige under klassisk tid*, (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell Int., 1986).

begins with a soloistic exposition that has a swaying rhythm, simple bass line, and a lot of expressive dynamic shifts.

The image displays a musical score for a piece in 6/8 time, marked "Andante". The score is in B-flat major and consists of two systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a soloistic violin line and a simple bass line. The second system shows the harp taking over the accompaniment with an arpeggiated "basso continuo" role. The score includes dynamic markings such as "mf" and "p", and various articulations like "legato" and "pizzicato".

fig. 8

After the opening bars the harp falls into the arpeggiated *basso continuo* role, providing seamless harmonic transitions through *legato* articulation. Again, the bassline remains simple, allowing the melodic line of the violin to sing, unobstructed. The ideals of simplicity, technical facility, good taste, and pleasant music are on full display here. The harpist has her moment in the spotlight, moves graciously to the accompaniment, and provides lovely ornamentation for her soloist.

### 4.3 Implications and Reception of Repertoire

With only a few exceptions, harp repertoire was written for a specific market: women who played at home. An advantage of the treatise, and a reason why a large number of treatises were written within a short period of time, was that it ensured that harpists learned the proper values of domestic performance. If women followed a prescribed method of expression, technique and style, it would theoretically keep them in line with the ideals of femininity, domesticity, and sensibility. The treatise created a situation in which women became proficient enough to fill time and produce lovely sound, but not virtuosic enough to approach professionalism. Matthew Head elucidates on the de-professionalization of women's music as such:

Music for the fair sex posed a double disciplinary function. On the one hand it invited women to the practice of music as an alternative to the false pleasures of, and moral dangers, posed by the social world. On the other hand, it sought to prescribe the nature of that musical practice, to de-professionalize it, to tether it to ideals of female character, and to inscribe women's primary roles within the patriarchal family as wife, mother, and daughter. The disciplinary focus of this music thus moves promiscuously between the practice of music specifically and questions of women's character and their place in the world.<sup>27</sup>

I believe that Head's argument lies not only within the individual pieces composed for the fair sex, but also within the canon as a whole. The number of treatises compared to the number of solo or chamber pieces in circulation shows the emphasis on elementary proficiency as the value of female music. This focus on 'easy' music and technical primers complicates the debate over the virtuosity of female musicians. Madame de Genlis, for example, was one of the first (single-

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<sup>27</sup> Head, "If the pretty little hand won't stretch," 210.

action) harpists to perform in France. She practiced up to twelve hours a day and adapted works from the harpsichord onto the harp, creating, in her words, “a splash,” onto the French musical scene.<sup>28</sup> Clearly de Genlis was not reading straight from her treatise; she was creating her own performance practice that was followed by many other women.<sup>29</sup> It is no wonder, then, that de Genlis was a controversial, albeit successful, figure who managed to remain employed by the royal court until the French Revolution. But de Genlis was an exception among a population of women whose music was not deemed important enough for public critique, positive or negative.

The concept of the ‘harp composer’ hindered the reputation of harpists in the professional world, because the harp canon was largely separated from professional music-making. Even works by composers of the professional sphere, like Mozart, were performed in domestic settings. The Mozart *Flute and Harp Concerto*, for example, was commissioned for a *salon* performance by the Duke of Guînes and his daughter, Marie-Louise-Philippine Bonnières. The harp did not have a seat in the orchestra, and consequently, did not have a seat in the public sphere. Though the same could be said about women’s keyboard music, at least there was a repertoire of professional keyboard music that ran parallel to it, making it easier to imagine a professional female keyboard player, at least from a twenty-first century viewpoint. The reason for the existence of harp composers, as previously mentioned, could be chalked up to the new invention of the harp and a lack of understanding about the instrument. But it is my opinion that major composers in the long eighteenth century were simply disinterested in writing music for the harp, for several reasons.

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<sup>28</sup> Adelson and Letzter, “For a woman when she is young and beautiful,” 317.

<sup>29</sup> Genlis, *Nouvelle Méthode*, 189.

The single-action harp was latched onto by female musicians very quickly after its invention, possibly because of its ornate beauty or tender sound, but regardless, the harp never got a real opportunity to be heard in large concert halls or within orchestras. This is possibly due to the harp having a soft and nuanced sound, requiring only a very delicate change in touch to create dynamic changes.<sup>30</sup> It so quickly became associated with tenderness and delicacy, however, that it was pigeonholed into a single genre of musical style, beyond even what we might consider to be the *galant* style. It must be noted that the *galant* style was not feminine in itself, but certain aspects that were associated with *galant* music, such as dance rhythms, simple harmonies, and song-like melodies, were appropriated as amateur music for women.<sup>31</sup> Harp composers generally clung to such clichés in their compositions, and therefore harp music remained wholly unsophisticated in the eyes of the *bourgeois* public sphere.<sup>32</sup> This reputation followed harpists for centuries, and its repercussions are still felt today.

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<sup>30</sup> Lane, "Expressing Emotion on the Eighteenth-Century French Single-Action Harp," 78.

<sup>31</sup> Johann Mattheson's concept of the *gallant homme* included both sexes, and in fact, his publication *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre...* was dedicated to the noble lady, which "indicates that much *galant* music was intended for female amateurs." See Hertz, "Galant," in *Oxford Dictionary of Music*.

<sup>32</sup> The *bourgeois* public sphere is in this case referring to Jürgen Habermas' definition of a discursive space, but with the important distinction made by Joan Landes, that women were largely excluded from this space, even in high social classes. See Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, and Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

## Chapter 4

### Contemporary Reception of Enlightenment Harpists

Sébastien Erard's 1808 patent for the double-action harp is considered by many to be the genesis of modern harp playing. Whether or not Erard was actually the first to invent the double-action mechanism is up for debate,<sup>1</sup> but nevertheless, his patent marks a significant turning point for the harp, in terms of its repertoire and its role in professional ensembles. The harp was included for the first time in a major orchestral work with Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* in 1830, and the Paris Conservatoire instituted its first harp studio in 1825. The professionalization of the double-action harp was well underway by the 1850's, and at this point the production of single-action harps ceased completely. One clue about the shifting values of harp culture comes from the manufacturers, who shifted their efforts away from mechanical innovations and ornate decorative elements and towards mass production. Hand-carved columns and painted soundboards were replaced with unadorned soundboards and *gesso* decorations made in molds.<sup>2</sup> The harp became bigger and the string tension increased to create a larger sound that would cut through an orchestra. In fact, the harp never stopped growing. Lyon & Healy harp-makers, currently one of the premier manufacturers in the world, introduced the "Salzedo Model" harp in 1928. With a height of 191cm and weight of 39kg, it is the largest harp on the market.<sup>3</sup>

The harp quickly developed a major role in the orchestra, becoming a favorite for composers like Wagner, Mahler, Debussy, and Ravel. The harp appears to have become a man's instrument without much acknowledgment of the women who made the instrument popular in

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<sup>1</sup> See Robert Adelson, "Originality and Influence: Charles Gröll's Role in the Invention of the Double-Action Harp," *Muzyka* 64, no. 1 (2019).

<sup>2</sup> Parker, *Child of Pure Harmony*, 13.

<sup>3</sup> See [www.lyonhealy.com/](http://www.lyonhealy.com/) The Salzedo model is more than 20cm higher than the early Erard double-action harps, which were about 170cm in height.



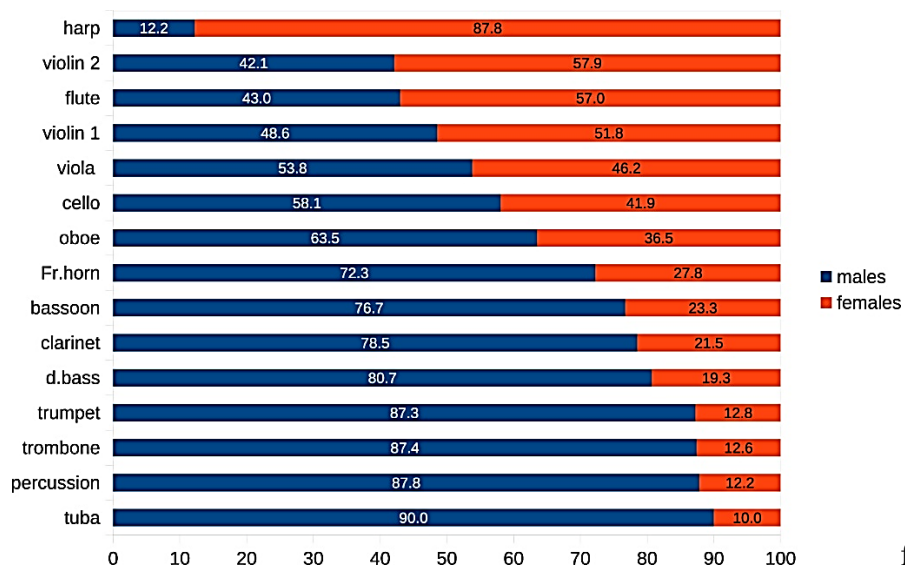
the first place. The century between 1830-1930 presented a dichotomy between the male professionals and the female amateurs, with males playing orchestral and operatic works and women continuing with domestic music.

It is notable, however, that harpists were some of the first females to be allowed into professional orchestras. Women were not accepted into orchestras until 1913 when female violinists were hired into The Queen's Hall orchestra. In 1930, harpist Edna Phillips made history as the first female musician in an American orchestra (The Philadelphia Orchestra). It was not until 1997 that the Vienna Philharmonic officially hired its first female player: Anna Lelkes, a harpist.<sup>4</sup> This raises the question: were men ultimately unsuccessful in masculinizing the harp in the eyes of the public? I believe that they were unsuccessful, and that the gendered nature of the harp was rooted too deeply into western European culture to be undone. No matter how large or 'masculine' the harp became, women kept playing it. The trend continues today. The graph below shows percentages of male and female musicians in major orchestras as of 2019. 87.8% of harpists are female, by far the largest female representation of all the instruments. The harp is the most feminized instrument in western classical music, so why are we so reticent to play the music from its gendered past?<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See Tracy Wilkinson, "First Woman Joins Vienna Philharmonic," *LA Times*, February 28, 1997.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Adelson writes "no other instrument became so rapidly and so strongly linked to one sex than the harp in mid eighteenth-century France." Adelson, "For a woman when she is young and beautiful," 316.

fig. 9<sup>6</sup>

#### 4.1 Ideology of Progress

Because the double-action harp was considered such a grand improvement upon the single-action, harpists left behind the techniques and repertoire of the eighteenth century, preferring the modern canon. I speculate that men also did not want to play women's music from the previous century, as it would reinforce the harp's feminine stereotype. Harp music became more virtuosic throughout the nineteenth century, especially after the 1880's, with pieces like Pierné's *Impromptu-Caprice* (1885) and Saint-Saëns' *Fantaisie, Op.95* (1893). The style was fantastical and brilliant, which was obviously a product of the Romantic era, but also a development of style to fit the public spectacle in which the harp now participated.

The rejection of the single-action harp held strong for over a century, until at least the 1980's, after the historically-informed performance movement had already taken shape in

<sup>6</sup> This graph from University College London (published in August 2019) shows gender imbalances in orchestras. Data was collected from 40 orchestras in Europe and the USA.

Europe and the USA. Even today the single-action harp is regarded as the predecessor to the double-action harp, rather than an instrument in its own right. There is, however, a small but mighty group of harp scholars and performers who research the long-forgotten Enlightenment repertoire and rediscover single-action performance.<sup>7</sup> Technique is an especially important topic of interest for historical harp players, who argue that many single-action techniques are playable on the contemporary harp and should be taken into account when playing music from the long eighteenth century. Around the mid-twentieth century, when Marcel Grandjany and Carlos Salzedo established their respective schools of technique, it appears that no one looked back at previous schools of thought.<sup>8</sup> With increased interest in historical harp performance, particularly in Europe, there is hope that single-action techniques might find their way into contemporary performances.

As it currently stands, however, only a few remnants of the single-action era are still considered relevant in the mainstream harp world. Such remnants include music by celebrity composers, such as Mozart, Spohr, and C.P.E. Bach. As mentioned in Chapter 3, works by harp composers are seldom included in the contemporary harp canon. Many composers have been forgotten, and their work considered inferior, because they were composers for the domestic sphere and not for the public one. Ironically, even the famous composers' works for harp were not written for the grand stage; they, too, were written for the *salons*. It is understandable why harpists would cling to their most famous pieces because there are so few from before the nineteenth century. And who does not want a Mozart concerto they can call their own?

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<sup>7</sup> Experts include Masumi Nagasawa, Mike Parker, Paul Knoke, Robert Adelson, Panagiotis Pouloupoulos, Mike Baldwin, Frances Kelly, Mara Galassi, to name a few. See [www.theearlypedalharp.net](http://www.theearlypedalharp.net) for updates from the international research cohort.

<sup>8</sup> These schools were established in America, however, many harpists use Grandjany interchangeably with the "French" style of playing, and Salzedo with the "American" style.

The problem with the ideology of progress is that it has reinforced the characterization of single-action harp performance in a negative light. Harpists strive to create a professional reputation for themselves which they believe contradicts the domestic and amateurish reputation of harpists from previous centuries. Despite the fact that most eighteenth century harpists gave up their studies after marriage, they were not necessarily novices. Madame de Genlis is a prime example of a harpist who had great influence over compositional trends, and she was, by all accounts, an exceptional musician.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, because harp composers are generally considered inferior, an entire body of repertoire has been essentially ignored. I argue that harp composers were not inferior to their famous counterparts, they were simply tossed to the side because of what they represented. Though artistic merit is a subjective issue, composers must be considered before being critiqued, and, in my opinion, the harp community has not yet reached this juncture.

#### **4.2 Portraits of the Modern Harpist**

To illuminate the changing perceptions of harpists in the public eye, I will present a portrait from the late-modern era<sup>10</sup> for comparison. The example below is the August 1926 cover of *Vogue* magazine, in which a lady harpist is playing on a balcony.

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<sup>9</sup> See François Bessire, ed. *Madame de Genlis: littérature et éducation*, Paris: Le Havre, 2008.

<sup>10</sup> In this case, I refer to *late-modern* as mid-1800's to the end of World War II.



fig. 10

I found this portrait to be a striking comparison to Enlightenment-era portraits. Most notably, the harpist is playing with a neutral expression on her face, not smiling at the viewer. She is portrayed as a serious player, focused on her fingers,<sup>11</sup> unconcerned by the audience's perception of her. The young harpist is very stylishly and expensively dressed in the flapper style (this is *Vogue*, after all) which echoes the Enlightenment ideals of a beautiful, young, well-dressed, upper-class woman. The harpist is alone in a somewhat ambiguous space,<sup>12</sup> with her figure on full view, another similarity to Enlightenment portraiture. Here is an example of an Enlightenment portrait with similar attributes to the *Vogue* cover.

<sup>11</sup> Harpists almost always look at their fingers (or the strings) when they play, unless they are glancing at another musician in chamber or orchestral settings.

<sup>12</sup> The art-deco floor tiles make the space fashionable, even though it is simple.



fig. 11

This portrait of Lady Francis Seymour-Conway, painted by William Hoare in 1778,<sup>13</sup> is also that of a serious harpist, but note that she is not looking directly at her fingers. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a pointed separation between the harpist and her music. The woman is never overly focused on her playing, as that would detract from her beauty and conjure a notion of serious music-making. There are no portraits in the *Historical Harp Portrait Database* in which a harpist is looking at her fingers, but this is the closest example. I speculate that the slight turn of the head in the *Vogue* portrait is a marker of changing values for female harpists. Though she is still young and beautiful, at least she is looking at her own hands, which, in my opinion, is a sign of progress for the reputation of female musicians.

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<sup>13</sup> Database #15.

It is clear that certain values of harp playing have remained remarkably unchanged, even though huge strides have been made towards gender equality in music. Harpists' individual experiences vary widely, but gender imbalances and stereotypes of previous centuries remain prominent today. My hope is that contemporary musicians will be able to consider the single-action harp as not just a precursor to modernity, but as an instrument in its own right, and its musical style as a reflection of the cultural and political transformations during the long eighteenth century.

## Appendix

### Treatises and Method Books

- Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*. Berlin, Germany: 1753. [Treatise on keyboard]
- Backofen, Johann Georg Heinrich. *Anleitung zum Harfenspiel, mit eingestreuten Bemerkungen über den Bau der Harfe*. Leipzig, Germany: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1801.
- Barthélémon, François-Hippolyte. *Tutor for the harp, in which are introduced progressive examples of arpeggios and sonatas with favorite airs and Scotch songs, with an accompaniment for that instrument, and also an early method for tuning*. London, UK: Longman & Broderip, 1787.
- Bochsa, Nicholas Charles. *Nouvelle Méthode de Harpe, Op. 60*. Paris, France: Duhan, 1813.
- . *A New and Improved Method of Instruction for the Harp*. London, UK: Chapell & Co., 1819.
- Bochsa, Robert Nicholas Charles, fils. *Standard tutor for the harp*. London, UK: Mayhew & Co., 1823.
- Cardon, Jean Baptist. *l'Art de jouer de la Harpe, démontré dans ses Principes*. Paris, France: Chez Cousineau Pere et fils, 1784.
- Challoner, Neville, Butler. *A New Preceptor for the Harp, Op. 16*. London, UK: Mayhew & Co., 1808.
- Corrette, Michel. *Méthode pour apprendre á jouer de la harpe*. Paris, France: l'Auteur, 1774.



Corbelin, François Vincent. *Méthode de Harpe pour apprendre, seul et en peu de temps, à jouer de cet Instrument; avec un principe très simple pour l'accorder*. Paris, France: l'Auteur, 1779.

Cousineau, Jacques Georges. *Méthode de Harpe*. Paris, France: Cousineau Pere et fils, 1772.

---. *Méthode de harpe*. Paris, France: Hanry, 1803.

Damar, Theresia. *Méthode de Harpe divisée en Trois Parties, Op. 21*. Paris, France: l'Auteur, 1814.

Desargus, François-Xavier. *Nouvelle Méthode de Harpe*. Paris, France: l'Auteur, 1803.

---. *Cours Complet de Harpe*. Paris, France: l'Auteur, 1810.

Dizi, François-Joseph. *École de Harpe*. London, UK: Chapell, 1827.

Genlis, Stéphanie-Félicité. *Nouvelle Méthode pour à apprendre jouer de la Harpe*. Paris, France: Mme. Duhan et Compagnie, c. 1811.

Herbst, Johann Fredrich Wilhelm. *Über die Harfe, nebst einer Anleitung, sie richtig zu spielen*. Berlin, Germany: Marienkirche, ca.1792-96.

Heyse, Anton Gottlieb. *Anweisung die Harfe zu spielen*. Leipzig, Germany: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803.

Horn, Henry. *Rudiments for the single and double movement harp*. London: Author, c. 1820.

Krumpholz, Jean-Baptiste. *Principes pour la harpe*. Paris, France: P.J.D. Plouvier, 1809.

Mayer, Jean Bernard. *Complete Instructions for the Harp*. London, UK: Birchill, 1800.

Merelle, “Mademoiselle.” *New and Complete Instructions for the Pedal Harp in Two Books.*

London, UK: Broderip & Wilkinson, 1799.

Meyer, Philippe-Jacques. *Essai sur la vraie manière de jouer de la Harpe, avec une Méthode de l'accorder.* Paris, France: l'Auteur, 1763.

---*Essai, ou Méthode sur la vraie manière de jouer de la Harpe; avec les règles pour l'accorder.*

Paris, France: La Chevardière, 1772.

---*Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Harpe avec la manière de l'accorder.* Paris,

France: M. Bouïn, 1774.

Naderman, François-Joseph. *École ou Méthode raisonnée pour la Harpe.* Paris, France: S.

Richault, 1832.

Newbourg, la Comte St. Pierre, de. *La Nouvelle Méthode Française pour la Harpe.* London, UK:

Preston, 1808.

Oberthür, Charles. *Theoretisch, practische Anleitung zur Erlernung der Harfe.* London, UK:

Schott & Co. 1910.

Pollet, Jean Joseph Benoit. *Méthode de Harpe.* Meine, Germany: A. Offenbach, 1810.

Rague, Louis Charles. *Principes de Harpe, suivis de 18 Airs d'une difficulté graduelle pour suivi d'exemples.* Paris, France: Le Duc, 1786.

Wenzel, Johann, *Neue vollständig theoretisch praktische Pedal- und Haken-Harfenschule.*

Vienna, Austria: Cappi, c.1800.

Weniche, J.C.S. *Versuch einer richtigen Lehrart, die Harfe zu spielen.* Berlin, Germany: Winter, 1772.

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