

*TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE
SOCIETY FOR
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC*



*Providence, RI: Providence College
April 20-23, 2017*



**Society for Seventeenth-Century Music: Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference
April 20–23, 2017**

Biltmore Hotel, 11 Dorrance Street, Providence, RI 02903

All sessions will be held in the Garden Room of the Biltmore Hotel (2nd floor), which will also be the site of the book exhibit. The registration desk will be located on the balcony just outside the Garden Room, where coffee and pastries will also be available Friday–Sunday mornings, and likewise coffee, etc., during the breaks.

Thursday, April 20

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| 1:00–5:30 pm | Registration |
| 1:00–3:30 pm | Meeting of the SSCM Governing Board (Directors Room, Biltmore Hotel) |
| 3:30–5:00 pm | Meeting of the WLSCM Editorial Board (Directors Room, Biltmore Hotel) |
| 5:00–6:00 pm | Opening Reception (L' Apogee 18, Biltmore Hotel) |
| 6:00–7:00 pm | Dinner (on your own) |
| 7:30 pm | Cappella Artemisia: <i>Invincible! 17th-century Nuns Sing of Virgins and Martyrs</i> . Lady Chapel, St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, 114 George St., Providence, RI 02906. |

Friday, April 21

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| 8:00 am–12:00 pm | Registration |
| 8:30 am–5:30 pm | Book exhibit |
| 8:30–9:00 am | Coffee and pastries |
| | <i>Print Cultures</i> (chair: Rebekah Ahrendt, Yale University) |
| 9:00–10:20 am | Jane A. Bernstein (Tufts University): “Spectacular Matters and Print Culture: Cavalieri’s <i>Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo</i> ” |
| | Leon Chisholm (Deutsches Museum, Munich): “The Sacred Concerto as Trading Zone” |
| 10:20–10:40 am | Break |

- 10:40 am–12:00 pm Naomi J. Barker (Open University, U.K.): “Frescobaldi’s *Primo libro d’arie musicali*: The Printed Book as Multimedia Experience?”
Lois Rosow (Ohio State University): “‘Publics dans leur perfection’: Lully’s Intentions in Publishing His Operas”
- 12:00–2:00 pm Lunch and SSCM Business Meeting (L’Apogee 18, Biltmore Hotel)
- Perception and Representation*** (chair: Sarah Williams, University of South Carolina)
- 2:00–3:20 pm Derek Remeš (Eastman School of Music): “Musical Rhetoric in Sweelinck’s *Chromatic Fantasia*”
Jordan Hall (New York University): “‘To Work Mine End Upon Their Senses’: Musical Listening and Bodily Subjection in *The Tempest*”
- 3:20–3:40 pm Break
- 3:40–5:00 pm Mark Rodgers (Yale University): “Replicating the Romanesca”
Roseen Giles (Colby College): “Of Letters and Laments: The *stile rappresentativo* On and Off the Stage”
- 5:00–7:00 pm Dinner (on your own)
- 7:15 pm Bus leaves Biltmore Hotel for Providence College
- 8:00 pm Andreas Scholl: *Desiring Beauty*, with Victor Coelho (lute), David Dolata (theorbo), Laura Jeppesen (viola da gamba). Ryan Concert Hall, Smith Center for the Arts, Providence College, Providence, RI 02918.
- 10:15 pm Bus returns to Biltmore Hotel

Saturday, April 22

8:30 am–6:00 pm Book exhibit
8:30–9:00 am Coffee and pastries

Local Power (chair: Drew Edward Davies, Northwestern University)

9:00–10:20 am Derek Stauff (Hillsdale College): “Monteverdi and Scacchi in Breslau: Madrigal *contrafacta* as Religious and Political Polemic”
JoAnn Udovich (Fairfield, PA): “Rites of Passage and the Exercise of Catholic Sovereignty: Contextualizing Biber’s ‘Mystery Sonatas’”

10:20–10:40 am Break

10:40 am–12:00 pm Joseph Arthur Mann (The Catholic University of America): “‘What built a World, may sure repair a State’: Royalist Propaganda Music in the English Interregnum”
Natasha Roule (Harvard University): “Who’s Judging Whom? Civic Identity, Royal Praise, and a Newly Found Libretto from the Académie de Musique of Marseille”

12:00–2:00 pm Lunch (on your own)

12:15–1:45 pm Meeting of the JSCM Editorial Board (Directors Room, Biltmore Hotel)

2:00–3:00 pm ***Performative Gestures (I)*** (chair: Alexander Silbiger, Duke University)

David Schulenberg (Wagner College and The Juilliard School): “Expression and *Discretion*: Froberger and the Invention of a New Keyboard Style” (Lecture-recital)

3:00–3:20 pm Break

- 3:20–5:30 pm ***Performative Gestures (2)*** (chair: Tim Carter, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
- Christoph Riedo (Harvard University): “The (Un)published Secret: Improvisation and the ‘Highest Degree of Excellency’ in Baroque Violin Playing”
- Andrew Lawrence-King (Guernsey, U.K.): “Redefining Recitative”
- Christine Jeanneret (University of Copenhagen): “Eloquent Bodies and the Art of Gesture”
- 6:30 pm Reception (L’Apogee 18, Biltmore Hotel)
- 7:30–9:30 pm Banquet (L’Apogee 18, Biltmore Hotel)

Sunday, April 23

- 8:30–9:00 am Coffee and pastries
- 9:00–10:20 am ***Faith and Reason*** (chair: Maria Purciello, University of Delaware)
- Ayana Smith (Indiana University): “*Allo specchio*: Mirrors and Ocular Devices in Science, Art, and Vocal Music in Seventeenth-Century Rome”
- Mary Frandsen (University of Notre Dame): “Buxtehude’s *Membra Jesu nostri* and Lutheran Passion Theology”
- 10:20–10:40 am Break
- 10:40 am–12:00 pm ***Staging Sources*** (chair: Mauro Calcagno, University of Pennsylvania)
- Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Syracuse University): “Performing Remains: Theatre-Music Sources in Restoration England”
- Hendrik Schulze (University of North Texas): “*Monteverdi rimaneggiato*: Re-evaluating *L’incoronazione di Poppea*”

ABSTRACTS

Jane Bernstein (Tufts University): “Spectacular Matters and Print Culture: Cavalieri’s *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*”

In February 1600, Emilio de’ Cavalieri staged his *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* for Filippo Neri’s Congregation of the Oratory in Rome. The timing of this performance was no accident: 1600 marked a Jubilee Year as well as the twenty-fifth anniversary of papal recognition of the Congregation. Of course, 1600 also witnessed the printing of a musico-theatrical genre perceived then (and now) as new. Cavalieri’s work stood as the first of three publications that also included Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini’s settings of *Euridice*, all of them appearing within the span of five months.

Much has been written about *Rappresentazione* with regard to opera, oratorio, and the new recitative style. Taking their cue from the polemical writings of Caccini, Peri, Cavalieri, and others, music historians have debated its significance to the history of opera. Scholars more recently have highlighted its role as a spiritual work that disseminated post-Tridentine ideas championed by Neri’s Congregation. This emphasis on the question of musical genre has eclipsed other important aspects of Cavalieri’s work, in particular the modernity of the printed book itself.

Of all Italian music editions published at that time, that of the *Rappresentazione* was by far the most innovative and extravagant. It was the first large-scale vocal work issued in full score from movable type, and the earliest music edition to include a basso continuo complete with figures. Even more significant, it was the first publication to present a blueprint of what makes good music theater by explaining, in a series of three prefaces, how to stage and perform the work and others like it. This paper will consider this music print from the perspective of its materiality, focusing, in particular, on how the physical appearance of the book and the presentation of its contents served as important tools in publicly broadcasting not only the music and text but also the production and spectacle of Cavalieri’s landmark work.

Leon Chisholm (Deutsches Museum, München): “The Sacred Concerto as Trading Zone”

The publication of the organ continuo part for Giovanni Croce’s *Motetti a otto voci* by the Venetian printer Giacomo Vincenti in 1594 marked the debut of the basso continuo in printed collections of ecclesiastical music. By 1602, when Ludovico Viadana’s landmark *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* appeared in print, organ continuo parts had been issued for nearly forty sacred prints, mostly by Venetian and Milanese printers. Scholars often discount this “beginning” of the continuo as a historical watershed, for several reasons: early printed accompaniments are usually not independent parts; many of the earliest printed continuo parts were the initiative of printers rather than composers; and the “debut” amounted to printed music catching up with a longstanding performance practice and, thus, represented nothing truly new.

Yet to discount the entry of a craft, like continuo playing, into print is to ignore what Marshall McLuhan called “the psychic and social consequences” of inserting a medium into a human activity. The addition of the continuo part amounted to the most radical alteration of the material form of ecclesiastical music since the advent of print. It inscribed the organ, a machine,

onto the material fiber of a centuries-old musico-liturgical repertoire designed for human voices: polyphonic settings of texts used during the services of the Catholic Church.

In this paper, closer examination of early printed continuo parts (particularly those published before 1606) illuminates a crucial yet little-studied development in early modern music history: the convergence of the craft of keyboard playing and the art of composition—a convergence that was a basis for seminal developments in eighteenth-century music, including the *partimento* tradition. Specifically, I argue that the paratexts of continuo parts and vocal partbooks of printed collections of sacred concertos helped bridge the rhetorical and social gap between these two knowledge traditions. In making this argument, I draw on science historian Pamela Long’s concept of the “trading zone,” intended to describe the role of books in abetting the social uplift of mechanical arts in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Naomi J. Barker (Open University, U.K.): Frescobaldi’s *Primo libro d’arie musicali*: The Printed Book as Multimedia Experience?

In a pan-semiotic world view such as was prevalent in the early modern period, almost anything from mundane objects to exotic animals might be used to represent or signal something beyond the obvious, and emblems and symbols could be found everywhere. With this in mind, it should probably not be surprising to find emblems in a printed book of music, yet those found in Frescobaldi’s *Primo libro d’arie musicali* printed by Giovanni Battista Landini in Florence in 1630 have never been fully explained.

As an object of material culture the book presents some unsolved conundrums. It presents a wealth of visual imagery including a frontispiece, illuminated initial letters, decorative panels, and most importantly, a series of emblems appended to five of the songs. The nature of this book as an object raises questions as to the reception and intended audience for the music. It seems unlikely that the target market for this elaborate publication would have been performers. The visual dimension adds a subtext to the music as the “reader” is also a “viewer” of the images who would have to interpret the emblems and their meanings in relation to the music and poetry, thus enriching the whole listening/reading experience. To the modern reader, the layered meanings of the emblems may offer insights into compositional or editorial strategies that reflect patronal relationships and perhaps also deliberately invoke memory, contemplation, or commemoration.

This paper suggests an interpretation of the emblems and other visual elements contained in Frescobaldi’s publication and explores the function of the printed music book as a multimedia and multifunctional package.

Lois Rosow (Ohio State University): “‘Publics dans leur perfection’: Lully’s Intentions in Publishing His Operas”

Scholars have suggested that the bulky first editions of Lully’s operas were impractical for amateur music-making; nevertheless, their owners evidently used them. Meanwhile their value as icons of royal magnificence seems obvious. This paper seeks to clarify Lully’s intent in publishing his music and to propose the printer Christophe Ballard as the likely instigator of Lully’s folio-score project (a position different from that taken by Ballard authority Laurent Guillo). In the process it will consider some of the technical issues Lully and Ballard had to deal with as they brought this music into print. Two well-known legal texts will be cited; nevertheless, the main sources for this study are the music prints themselves.

Lully’s first instinct was to publish partbooks for the luxury market, yet the result was expensive and involved formatting compromises. Whatever his reasons for abandoning partbooks, Lully turned to folio full scores, modeled on Ballard’s incomplete scores for Robert Cambert’s pastorals, printed a few years earlier. While it is reasonable to hypothesize that the powerful Lully demanded these magnificent volumes and that Ballard had little choice but to comply, no such hypothesis fits Cambert, a man bereft of power after his patron died. A more likely series of events is that Christophe Ballard, poised to take over the company from his father, welcomed, and perhaps even proposed, the Cambert project (the first folio scores ever printed in France) as a vehicle for his own ambitions; and with that project having failed for lack of funding, he later presented the incomplete scores as a model to the wealthier and better connected Lully.

Despite the compromises involved—in particular the need to mix fonts and in one case to substitute an incorrect metrical level—these scores not only succeeded but also initiated an important printing tradition. Lully’s focus on detail, evident for instance in the manuscript annotations a team of scribes made in completed editions, shows his concern for accuracy and clear communication as he presented his music to the public. That concern is entirely compatible with the production of monuments to the king’s glory.

Derek Remeš (Eastman School of Music): “Musical Rhetoric in Sweelinck’s *Chromatic Fantasia*”

As Pieter Dirksen has shown, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck’s (1562–1621) most famous work, the *Chromatic Fantasia*, divides into *exordium*, *medium*, and *finis*—a tripartite structure used in rhetoric. However, no author has examined the specific means by which Sweelinck unites contrapuntal devices with rhetorical form to create a compelling musical “argument.” In this paper, I argue that three contrapuntal devices—stretto, suspension, and diminution (the same three Michael Praetorius associates with *fantasia*)—work to support the rhetorical function of Sweelinck’s *exordium*, *medium*, and *finis*. In particular, a four-voice stretto, repeated in diminution, concurrently articulates the two principal divisions of the form, and distills the three aforementioned contrapuntal devices.

Cicero describes how one should establish authority (*ethos*) in the beginning of a speech, use logical arguments (*logos*) in the middle, and appeal to emotion (*pathos*) at the end. My analysis of the *Chromatic Fantasia* combines Gallus Dressler’s tripartite musical form (*exordium*, *medium*, *finis*) with Cicero’s descriptions and identifies musical figures in accordance with each function. A key structural event in the *Chromatic Fantasia* is a passage of what Joachim Burmeister calls *fuga realis*, or overlapping imitation in all voices (stretto). This

remarkably chromatic passage is repeated in rhythmic diminution—the only repeated passage in the entire work. These structural “pillars” (to borrow a metaphor from Vicentino) distill the three primary contrapuntal devices of stretto, suspension, and diminution.

Jordan Hall (New York University): “‘To Work Mine End Upon Their Senses’: Musical Listening and Bodily Subjection in *The Tempest*”

In the opening stage directions of *The Tempest*, William Shakespeare instructs that “a tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning is heard.” It is no coincidence that the stage direction is concerned with sound rather than sight. Sound plays a vital role in shaping the dramatic action of the play throughout. While *The Tempest* is understood as one of Shakespeare’s most musical works, the acts of listening that it depicts have been insufficiently explored, particularly in relation to the central theme of power. In this paper, I examine the relationship between listening and subjection throughout the play and consider how its dramatization can broaden our understanding of seventeenth-century anxieties over music and its bodily effects. Questioning the dominant reading of Prospero as despotic with absolute power, I emphasize the contingent nature of his rule by highlighting the chief means of his manipulation: exploiting listeners’ vulnerability to the music of his servant Ariel. Anxieties over listener vulnerability abounded in seventeenth-century England, illustrated in Neoplatonist warnings about the effects of “effeminate” music and Calvinist suspicions of sensuous sound in the sacred setting. What is at stake in these discourses is whether music enslaves its listener, and *The Tempest* engages this concern throughout, representing music’s power as a function of listening practices. Contrasting the listening practices of Prospero with those over whom he rules, *The Tempest* idealizes Prospero’s awareness of music’s influence on the body, enabling him to enjoy its “heavenly” sound without surrendering control of his senses. This contrast is exemplified in the manifestations of Ariel, whose invisibility to all but Prospero signifies how unawareness in musical listening enables bodily subjection. Understood in this light, the power of music—like the power of Prospero—is largely dependent upon an unsuspecting subject.

Mark Rodgers (Yale University): “Replicating the Romanesca”

Among the music examples in the preface to Giulio Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche* (1602) is the fragment of a song “in aria di romanesca,” two verses of an *ottava stanza* beginning with the words “Ahi dispietato amor.” Historians generally consider “Ahi dispietato amor” to be a work of Caccini’s; the fragment is listed, without further qualification, among his works in *Grove Music Online*. Yet the fragment shares many of its features with other songs “in aria di romanesca,” which ought to complicate its status as an authored work. When Caccini’s earliest readers encountered the fragmentary song, how did they reconcile his authorship with the identity of the well-traveled romanesca?

My paper argues that the identity of the romanesca was never fixed, but was instead the emergent outcome of a socially mediated process of negotiating resemblance. Thus I align myself with a recent consensus more inclined to interpretive flexibility than to the categorical distinctions that preoccupied earlier generations of scholars. Facing the ontological complexity of the romanesca, however, historians have continued to rely on the conventional schematic representations of its identity. Such representations obscure the historicity of form by proposing

decontextualized prototypes, and thus they fail to capture a subtle shift in the way the identity of the *romanesca* was conceived around the turn of the seventeenth century.

To bring this shift into focus, I adopt terminology from a recent art-historical intervention. In their *Anachronic Renaissance* (2010), Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood identified two paradigms that guided the apprehension of historical artifacts in the Renaissance: the *substitutional* and the *authorial*. Arguing for the salience of these categories to music as well, I show that although the *romanesca* enjoyed extraordinary popularity both before and after 1600, significant differences among the surviving sources from the two periods evince a changing conceptual balance between the paradigms. Implicated in those differences was the receding significance of improvised polyphony to the identity of the *romanesca* in the seventeenth century. Whatever Caccini's role in this shift, the complex authorial dynamic of "Ahi dispietato amor" was symptomatic of broader changes in the history of the *romanesca*.

Roseen Giles (Colby College): "Of Letters and Laments: The *stile rappresentivo* On and Off the Stage"

The *stile rappresentivo* ("theatrical style") was first proposed by Vincenzo Galilei (d. 1591) to define a new way of representing text through music. Though typically associated with dramatic recitative and thus linked with opera, the *stile rappresentivo* was also used to describe *concertato* madrigals not meant as theater music; the term first appeared on the title-page of Giulio Caccini's 1600 opera *Euridice*, but also prefaced several non-operatic pieces in Claudio Monteverdi's Seventh and Eighth books of madrigals. Monteverdi's treatment of two "love letters" —Achillini's "Se i languidi miei sguardi" and Rinuccini's "Se pur destina e vole"—raises important questions about the dramatic, or in some cases non-dramatic, nature of the *stile rappresentivo*. The texts of madrigals in *stile rappresentivo* were similar to operatic laments in their subject matter, musical disposition, and psychological pacing, though the former were typically found in madrigal books while the latter most often formed part of a staged drama. Indeed, Monteverdi's *lettere amorose* were reprinted in 1623 alongside his famous lament of Arianna, the only piece to survive from the 1608 opera. What then was being "represented" in the *stile rappresentivo* and what exactly could it mean for a madrigal?

This paper will reconsider the idea of musical representation on and off the stage by focusing on musical "love letters": madrigals in *stile rappresentivo* that resemble operatic laments but do not have a clear dramatic function. Despite the characteristics they share with laments, *lettere amorose* exploit the vividness and emotional potency of the *stile rappresentivo* to a non-dramatic end: they transform the lamenting lover into a Marinist *concerto*. The difference between letters and laments lies therefore both in performing contexts and in Baroque understandings of musical rhetoric. The *stile rappresentivo* of love letters refers to the creation of stylized musical images in the language of madrigalian artifice; the trope of the lamenting lover is used for aesthetic instead of dramatic purposes. The way in which composers approached musical setting in *stile rappresentivo* points to the changing aesthetics of the early Baroque, and to an ongoing debate about music and drama in both operatic and chamber settings.

Derek Stauff (Hillsdale College): “Monteverdi and Scacchi in Breslau: Madrigal *contrafacta* as Religious and Political Polemic”

Two sets of *contrafacta* from Breslau (Wrocław) show how an unknown Lutheran author transformed Italian madrigals by Monteverdi and Scacchi into polemics directed at the religious and political opponents of Breslau’s Lutherans. Both sets come from the Emil Bohn collection, now housed in Berlin, which preserves a sizeable number of seventeenth-century music manuscripts from Breslau’s main Lutheran churches. Among the collection’s many anonymous pieces is a previously unrecognized *contrafactum* of Monteverdi’s *Hor che ’l ciel e la terra e ’l vento tace* from his Eighth Book of madrigals. Its anonymous text is different from, but probably related to, the *contrafactum* of the same madrigal published by the Breslau organist Ambrosius Profe in one of his anthologies. Profe’s circle also must have had a hand in a manuscript set of *contrafacta* of Marco Scacchi’s *Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1634). Only two of Scacchi’s original printed partbooks now survive, making the *contrafacta* manuscript the only complete source for his publication.

Taken together, these madrigal *contrafacta* are more than just a barometer for the interest in Italian music in Protestant regions of central Europe, or for the cultivation of Italian-style spiritual madrigals in Lutheran devotion. Some of the new texts vividly evoke key religious issues plaguing central Europe during the Counter-Reformation, and many plead for a return to peace after years of war. At the time when they were written—likely in the 1640s or 1650s—the security of Breslau’s Protestants was still under threat from Vienna and from the recatholization efforts of the local bishop. The retexted madrigals seem designed to bring to mind this religious and political turmoil: they call on God to protect and strengthen the Church, they quote Psalm 83, which Lutherans often interpreted polemically at the time, and they lament the current misery of war. Furthermore, they appear to upend Monteverdi and Scacchi’s own political intentions: both composers dedicated their madrigal prints to the Catholic Emperor Ferdinand III, but by reworking these madrigal texts, the anonymous author seems to have turned this music against its original dedicatee.

JoAnn Udovich (Fairfield, PA): “Rites of Passage and the Exercise of Catholic Sovereignty: Contextualizing Biber’s ‘Mystery Sonatas’”

In early modern Salzburg, the bishop of the archdiocese also ruled as head of government, precluding distinctions between Church and State. As is well known, the Prince-Archbishop, Maximilian Gandalf of Kuenburg (ruled 1668–87), was the employer to whom Heinrich Biber (active in Salzburg from 1670) dedicated his unpublished “Copper-Engraving” (or “Mystery” or “Rosary”) Sonatas. Recent research by archivists in Salzburg has revealed an unexpected, relevant setting (Christoph Brandhuber, *Gymnasium mortis: Das Sacellum der Universität Salzburg und seine Sitzgruft*, 2014). The ceiling of the crypt of the university chapel (the burial site for professors) included fifteen painted medallions (dating from the 1660s) depicting the mysteries. The Salzburg archives also house a copy of the printed broadsheet (published by metalworker Paul Seel in 1686–87), the source of the cutout, engraved illustrations pasted at the beginning of each of Biber’s fifteen multi-movement sonatas in the surviving manuscript of them.

The university at Salzburg was founded as a gymnasium in 1618 with the purpose of training priests to oppose the Protestant insurgency prevalent in the countryside. Alongside the rise of the nation-state and the Counter-Reformation reassertion of Catholic dominance, the isolated archdiocese of Salzburg, with its atypical government, became a theater for the cruel exertion of power, punctuated with violent waves of expulsions and executions of Protestants, Jews, vagrants, and others. Contemporaneous with Biber's arrival in Salzburg, a twelve-year-old, disabled vagrant boy was arrested, initiating the Zaubererjackl trials which resulted, by 1690, in the hideous torture and execution of 139 people (mostly young men) as witches.

This paper explores the ways in which Biber's sonatas appropriate the culture of the countryside (including the violin, the instrument of street musicians and the diaspora; dance; the rosary, the religious devotion of the uneducated; and even magic), recasting populist features as elite expressions of sovereign power. Particular attention is given to sixteen movements identified as French court dances. Finally, the Counter-Reformation *ars moriendi*, which emphasized freedom of will, the power of sacraments, and the intercessory role of the Church and saints, provides an enveloping context.

Memorialized in music, the honor granted the professors in death contrasts with the tortured destruction of the bodies of those deemed suspect.

Joseph Arthur Mann (The Catholic University of America): “What built a World, may sure repair a State’: Royalist Propaganda Music in the English Interregnum”

The Royalist community in England during the Interregnum (c. 1650s) was undeniably persecuted, disenfranchised, and in some ways held captive in the very nation that they had dominated only years before. To add insult to injury, the abolishment of the Church of England, the legal restrictions placed on Royalists, and the consistent efforts of the Commonwealth government to establish a new religious and secular orthodoxy in England were also a significant threat to the survival of their culture. In the face of such overwhelming opposition, there was one area of English cultural output that Royalists curiously continued to dominate after the fall of the monarchy: music printing and art-music composition. Not only was John Playford likely a Royalist, but nearly all composers whose works were published during this period were at least connected to the court of Charles I if not demonstrably Royalist in their sympathies, including Henry Lawes, John Gamble, John Hilton, and Walter Porter.

In spite of the dominance of Royalist composers in the music publications of this period, scholars have examined only some of John Playford's anthologies and some of Henry Lawes's songs in light of their political context and with an eye for their possible political functions. Other works by Lawes, Gamble, Porter, and others remain unexamined. This paper examines previously undiscussed works by Lawes, Gamble, and Porter in light of their political contexts and argues that Royalist musicians and printers included a significant amount of propaganda in their anthologies that was aimed at maintaining the Royalists' cultural identity and community during the Interregnum by reminding their audience of their glorious past at court, commenting on their depressed state in the Interregnum, and offering hopeful visions of the future to strive toward.

By examining these previously undiscussed works in their political context, this paper expands our understanding of music and politics in seventeenth-century England and reveals a greater emphasis on music propaganda in the Royalist community than has previously been shown. It also encourages further scholarship on music and propaganda by demonstrating how propaganda can be disguised in some cases as seemingly apolitical song.

Natasha Roule (Harvard University): “Who’s Judging Whom? Civic Identity, Royal Praise, and a Newly Found Libretto from the Académie de Musique of Marseille”

When Pierre Gautier (c. 1642–1696) became the first individual in France to receive permission to establish a music academy outside of Paris, he installed his institution in Marseille, inaugurating it in 1685 with his *tragédie en musique*, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*. Gautier’s *tragédie* marked a momentous shift in the history of early French opera. Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–87), who, along with his librettist, Philippe Quinault (1635–88), had developed the *tragédie en musique* under the aegis of Louis XIV during the 1670s and 1680s, had never before permitted his compositions or other large-scale stage works to be produced beyond his oversight at the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris. Gautier’s opera, which emulated Lully’s compositional style, introduced French audiences outside of Paris and the court to the operatic genre.

Despite Gautier’s significant contribution to early French opera, he is often overlooked by scholars in favor of Parisian-based composers. In this paper, I engage with Gautier’s opera as an important chapter in the history of the *tragédie en musique* while introducing his libretto (long thought lost) to scholarly attention. First, I expose how deeply Lully’s *tragédies* influenced Gautier’s work. *Le Triomphe de la Paix* bears striking resemblance to Lully’s *Persée* (1682) and, intriguingly, to Lully’s *Le Temple de la Paix*, which opened at the royal court nine months after Gautier’s premiere. More significantly, I argue that *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, along with Gautier’s second opera, *Le Jugement du Soleil*, participated in broader ideological discourses that were shaping the relationship between Marseille and the crown in the late seventeenth century. During a period of unprecedented increase in royal presence and authority in the city, Marseille insisted on adhering to classical republicanism, a political ideology that conflicted with Louis XIV’s agenda of royal absolutism. Gautier’s operas, I argue, performed Marseille’s negotiation between royal authority and civic identity by foregrounding references to the city’s commercially valuable maritime geography and recent local events involving royal interference over municipal authority. In pivoting away from Paris, my study sheds light on the role that the *tragédie en musique* played in the urban fabric of *ancien régime* France.

David Schulenberg (Wagner College and The Juilliard School): “Expression and *Discrétion*: Froberger and the Invention of a New Keyboard Style” (Lecture-recital)

This lecture-recital reflects recent work and continuing questions about the music of Johann Jacob Froberger, whose 400th birthday was observed in 2016. It focuses on three interrelated issues: Froberger’s evolving style and approach to expression; the emergence of what he seems to have called “discretion” in performance; and a question of attribution involving three toccatas from the circle of his teacher Girolamo Frescobaldi.

The three toccatas preserved at the end of the Roman manuscript Chigi 25 have been claimed as both early works of Froberger and late compositions by Frescobaldi. To give listeners an opportunity to consider the issue for themselves, the three toccatas will be heard in conjunction with Toccata 1 from Frescobaldi’s 1627 collection and Froberger’s Toccata 18, probably one of his earlier works of this type with a firm attribution.

Freedom of tempo in the performance of these toccatas, which Frescobaldi likened to contemporary practice in “*madrigali moderni*,” was part of the expressive language of early Baroque music. Another was the experimental use of devices such as the ancient Greek chromatic tetrachord, as in a relatively early canzona by Froberger also on the program. But a distinct approach to expression emerges in Froberger’s laments and certain related compositions. These are unique in seventeenth-century music for their autobiographical headings, which often call for *discrétion* in performance. The gradual development of the underlying concept will be demonstrated by the juxtaposition of Froberger’s early Suite 23, still close to older lute music, with his later Suite 14, whose written-out ornamentation is accompanied by a rubric demanding not only “discretion” but also the abandonment of “*aucune mesure*.”

The putative absence of meter in such pieces was an innovation in European instrumental music. Although akin to the variable tempo prescribed by Frescobaldi, it coincided with new and more varied types of figuration and with a more modern conception of modulation or tonal design.

Christoph Riedo (Harvard University): “The (Un)published Secret: Improvisation and the ‘Highest Degree of Excellency’ in Baroque Violin Playing”

Polyphonic improvisation has recently attracted particular academic attention. “*Contrappunto alla mente*” and “*cantare super librum*” are concepts we still mostly associate with the Renaissance and its vocal genres. My paper, however, discloses the equally widespread prevalence of improvisation in solo and small-ensemble bowed instrumental music of the Baroque period.

In *The Division-Violist* (London, 1659) Christopher Simpson gives *An Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground*. In a very detailed report, Simpson reveals the mystery of extempore playing in trio, namely of how two viols could improvise together upon a ground bass. Although Simpson’s *Introduction*, the only such precise source to shed light on polyphonic instrumental improvisation, is addressed to viol players, I will suggest that his instruction was actually relevant at that time to violinists throughout Europe too. As historians of the book point out, by considering the possible motivations for the publication of a text, in particular its intended audience, we necessarily begin to uncover the reasons why some knowledge is left unpublished, why certain aspects of musical knowledge remain oral. By pursuing these questions, the reasons why violinists had no interest in unveiling the improvisational techniques they were

implementing in their everyday practice will start to become clear. In fact, understanding why the English viol player Simpson revealed a secret that continental violinists kept unrevealed enables us to understand more fully the “Highest Degree of Excellency” in seventeenth-century violin playing.

Andrew Lawrence-King (Guernsey, U.K.): “Redefining Recitative”

Modern-day performances of early-seventeenth-century monody are shaped by largely unexamined assumptions about musical rhythm. It is taken for granted that expressivity requires rubato, that accompanists should follow singers, that recitative should be rhythmically free, and that opera should be conducted. But even our “instinctive” understanding of time itself differs crucially from pre-Newtonian models: monody is music of an earlier time.

This time was Aristotelean, depending on “movement ... before and after,” shown by the hand beating the tactus: *equale, saldo, stabile, e fermo ... chiaro, sicuro, senza paura, & senza veruna titubatione* (Zacconi, 1592). The music of the spheres associates rhythm with a healthy human pulse and with the proper movement of heavenly bodies. Tactus represents the Hand of God; time-beaters must “above all things, keep the Equalitie of Measure” (Ornithoparcus, 1517; trans. Dowland, 1609).

Jacopo Peri (1600) seeks license for contrapuntal, not rhythmic, freedoms. Monody is “text and rhythm, with sound last of all” (Caccini, 1602). *Sprezzatura* is a noble neglect of voice-production, not of rhythm. There are only two instances of rhythmic alteration in Caccini’s music examples, both guided by tactus. Frescobaldi (1615) confirms that even “difficult” music is facilitated *per mezzo della battuta*, limiting changes of tactus to the end of sections. Agazzari (1607) requires continuo-players to “guide the entire ensemble.” In the theatre, the principal continuo-player might wave a hand to guide large ensembles, but dramatic monody was not conducted (Monteverdi, 1619; *Il corago*, c. 1630).

There is no suggestion that what we now call recitative is treated any differently. Indeed, the designation *stile recitativo* is little used, *rappresentativo* being preferred. *Il corago* defines *musica recitativa* as dramatic music for one singer; this may include *aria*, which he and Cavalieri define as any repeated unit, especially a rhythmic pattern. The pitch contours of what we call recitative, Peri’s “course of speaking,” are named *modulatione*. Both Peri and *Il corago* describe how these pitches are derived from the delivery of a fine actor; the carefully notated rhythms similarly follow the patterns of rhetorical speech.

Expressivity is achieved not with rubato but by Delivery, both vocal (*pronuntiatio*) and dramatic (*actio*). Listeners’ passions are moved by crescendos on a single exclamatory syllable (Caccini, 1602). Changes of tone-color, “line-by-line even word-by-word” (*Il corago*) “emphasise the word, not the sense of the phrase” (Monteverdi, 1627). Changes from one *affetto* to its opposite (Cavalieri) are pointed out by hand gestures and signs of the whole body (Bonifacio, 1616), cued by deictics in the libretto (Calcagno, 2003).

The changing textures of monody can mix a few notes of *aria* into what we call recitative, as well as creating larger-scale contrasts. But how should we understand these differences in the context of steady rhythm? A new, evidence-based approach to performance requires a re-examination of modern-day assumptions and the development of new training methods for singing-actors and continuo players.

Christine Jeanneret (University of Copenhagen): “Eloquent Bodies and the Art of Gesture”

Beyond music and text, the body of the singer represents one of the most efficient dramatic resources of the operatic stage. It is not only a sound-producing instrument but also an eloquent one which moves, gesticulates, and produces facial expressions. The body played a crucial role in expressing the affects in the early modern world. Yet, if early musical practices have been thoroughly investigated and reconstructed, historical acting practices in Italy have been completely overlooked by scholars until now. In France, a few attempts at reconstructing French declamation and gestures have been made by performers and stage directors (Eugène Green and Benjamin Lazar). Due to a paucity of sources, almost no such experiment exists for the Italian stage. However, I believe that an interdisciplinary approach to disciplines that deal with the body, involving natural philosophy, the history of medicine, rhetoric, etiquette handbooks, theater, opera, dance, and gymnastics, allows us to understand the relationship between the early modern body, gestures, and the expression of the passions.

This paper will present an attempt at reconstructing a history of gestures on the Florentine operatic stage. Visual sources such as engravings of opera sets from *Ipermestra* (Giovanni Andrea Moniglia and Francesco Cavalli, 1658) and *Ercole in Tebe* (Moniglia and Jacopo Melani, 1661) precisely depict the singers’ gestures and postures and will be compared to their respective librettos and scores. Stefano Della Bella left us with the only existing drawings of opera costumes—for *La Tancia* (1657) and *Il pazzo per forza* (1658), both by Moniglia and J. Melani, and for *Ipermestra*—where singers are represented with rhetorical body and hand gestures. Various treatises—on opera staging (the anonymous *Il corago*, c. 1630), on theater (Andrea Perrucci’s *Dell’arte rappresentativa*, 1699), on dance (Gregorio Lambranzi’s *Neue und curieuse theatralische Tantz-Schul*, 1716) and on gymnastics (Arcangelo Tuccaro’s *Trois dialogues de l’art de sauter et voltiger en l’air*, 1599)—extensively deal with bodily gestures and give us valuable insights into the relationship between movements and the expression of passions. Acting precepts and bodily movements will then be applied to operatic acting.

Ayana Smith (Indiana University): “Allo specchio: Mirrors and Ocular Devices in Science, Art, and Vocal Music in Seventeenth-Century Rome”

The Great Comet of 1680 frightened and astonished many observers throughout Europe. As the first comet to be sighted and studied using the modern telescope, this celestial event garnered much speculation. Publications describing the comet, which ranged from the superstitious to the religious and scientific, displayed wide-ranging concerns about observation, perspective, and truth. In Rome, much of the resulting intellectual activity was gathered by Giovanni Giacomo Komarek (c. 1650–1705), a self-described Bohemian with a publishing shop near the Trevi Fountain. My reconstruction of Komarek’s catalogue shows how, beginning with his early pamphlets on the Great Comet in 1681, and proceeding with volumes on science, art, literature, and music, Komarek’s output shaped a broader intellectual culture of ocularcentrism in late seventeenth-century Rome.

Komarek’s catalogue illustrates connections between the prevailing scientific and literary academies of the time—the Accademia Fisico-Matematica organized by scientist Giovanni Giustino Ciampini (1633–98), and the Accademia degli Arcadi led by literary historian and critic Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni (1663–1728). Both academies worked on ocular devices, whether scientific or literary. Ciampini’s academy built and experimented with telescopes, microscopes,

and the *camera obscura*, all of which use lenses and mirrors to shape and project images. Crescimbeni's academy posited theories of literary and dramatic verisimilitude based on perspective, images, and imagination.

This paper will demonstrate how Komarek's catalogue provides a rich, nuanced understanding of the intellectual culture that influenced the aesthetic debates of the Accademia degli Arcadi, which in turn established new rules for verisimilitude in literature and music drama. As case studies, I will briefly discuss several "monuments" of ocularcentrism drawn from Komarek's catalog. Then I will use these as a framework for analyzing scenes from music drama associated with the Arcadian Academy by composers such as Carlo Francesco Pollarolo (1653–1723), Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), and George Frideric Handel (1685–1759).

Mary E. Frandsen (University of Notre Dame): "Buxtehude's *Membra Jesu nostri* and Lutheran Passion Theology"

Buxtehude's *Membra Jesu nostri* (1680), with its multivalent texts and evocative musical settings, has long fascinated scholars and listeners alike. In this cycle of seven cantatas, Buxtehude juxtaposes verses of scripture with stanzas from an extended medieval Passion hymn, the *Rhythmica oratio*, in which an anonymous believer engages in mystical contemplation of the wounded feet, knees, hands, side, breast, heart, and face of the crucified Christ. Such expressions of mystical love are central to seventeenth-century Lutheran Passion devotion, and manifest themselves in literature, art, and music. Buxtehude's *Membra* is no exception, as the penetrating analyses of several recent scholars have revealed. But the cycle still holds some secrets. In developing the texts, for example, did Buxtehude select the scripture verses simply for their references to the same parts of the body as those of Christ that suffered degradation during the crucifixion? Or did deeper, more theological concerns drive his decisions?

Part of the answer, I will argue, rests in contemporary Lutheran devotional literature on the Passion. In their efforts to move readers to repentance and faith, devotional writers wove the basic precepts of Passion theology into affective meditations designed to encourage readers to contemplate the meaning of Christ's sacrifice. They placed great emphasis on Christ's wounds, and in these discussions frequently employed the very scripture verses later adopted by Buxtehude. The verse with which he opens *Ad genua* ("Ad ubera portabimini"), for example, is used in the literature to depict Christ as a loving mother who dandles sinners consolingly on His gnarled knees, while the cleft in the rock in the verse for *Ad latus*, "Surge, amica mea," is presented as an allegory for Christ's wounded side in which a sinner might take refuge. By marrying these particular verses to the medieval hymn stanzas, Buxtehude provided his devotional cycle with an implicit theological frame, one grounded in long-standing textual associations familiar to many contemporary listeners. In my paper, I will discuss the specific aspects of Passion theology with which these scriptures were associated, and explore the implications of these associations for modern interpretations of the cycle.

Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Syracuse University): "Performing Remains: Theatre-Music Sources in Restoration England"

In Restoration London, theatre lovers could attend the playhouse, enjoy the singing and acting of their favorite performers, and then procure a copy of their songs for future use. This paper considers the relationships among material culture, celebrity, and performance as I extend the

observations made by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard about Restoration-era creative practices into the theatrical song repertory. I focus on printed and manuscript sources for three of John Eccles's most popular pieces—"I burn, I burn" from Thomas D'Urfey's *Don Quixote, Part 2* (1694), "As Cupid roguishly one day" from Charles Boyle's *Altemira* (1701), and "Haste, give me wings" from *The Fickle Shepherdess* (1703), considering how these material objects functioned as records of past theatrical performance and guides for new performances by amateurs.

Printed theatre songs were arranged for domestic use. String parts were often omitted, facilitating performance at the keyboard and also reducing printing costs, making the sheets more affordable to consumers. Flute (recorder) arrangements were sometimes provided as well. Amateur musicians who compiled manuscripts for personal use frequently used these printed songsheets as their sources, although they introduced creative variants, reshaping the music to suit their own ends. Although these printed songsheets were intended for amateurs, they sometimes preserved traces of theatrical performance through ornamentation, unique variants, and the inclusion of tempo markings, the latter being quite unusual for this repertory. These elements may have been notated by audience members, some of whom attended the theatre with the intention of transcribing songs for commercial use. In other cases, Eccles appears to have recorded the performance style of a close collaborator (Anne Bracegirdle) in his omnibus *Collection of Songs* (1704). Another kind of engagement with performance is cued by the headers of printed songsheets—"As sung by . . ."—which encouraged the consumer at home to recall and replicate a celebrity singer's vocal style. In sum, this paper will show how commerce, a burgeoning amateur market, and the emergence of a celebrity culture that reified performance in print shaped Restoration musical practices.

Hendrik Schulze (University of North Texas): "*Monteverdi rimaneggiato: Re-evaluating L'incoronazione di Poppea*"

The rediscovery of a second manuscript score for Claudio Monteverdi's opera *L'incoronazione di Poppea* in Naples in the early 1930s sparked a discussion about Monteverdi's authorship of the opera. As the two scores—one found in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (henceforth **V**) and one in the Archive of the Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella in Naples (henceforth **N**)—differ in many aspects, it seems indeed logical that at least some of the extant music cannot be by Monteverdi. In the preface to his 1931 edition Giovanni Francesco Malipiero concluded that any material found in **N** but not in **V** must necessarily not be by Monteverdi. In 1958, Wolfgang Osthoff identified Francesco Cavalli's handwriting in **V** and advanced the theory that the score represented a collaboration between Monteverdi and Cavalli. Subsequently, scholars such as Alan Curtis and Ellen Rosand further refined the argument, introducing aspects of notation and musical style, and concluding that large portions of the opera as represented in the extant manuscripts were not by Monteverdi. These portions include the prologue, the entire part of Ottone, and the famous "Pur ti miro" that concludes the opera. The use of 3/2 time emerged as main identifier for attribution of these passages, as Monteverdi used 3/1 time if notating triple meter.

Based on a new evaluation of the extant scores, especially regarding the use of black and white notation and typical copyists' mistakes, this paper will, however, argue that the 3/2 time signatures are very unreliable indicators for authorship as they often reflect editorial alterations made during the production process rather than different authorship. Monteverdi's authorship

will be reaffirmed for most of the passages in question, and proposed for at least a few of those passages extant in **N** but not in **V**. Furthermore, I will introduce a new stemma and suggest that **V** was copied in 1651/52 as a production score to replace Cavalli's own opera *La Calisto* which had run into difficulties, but was left incomplete when the idea was subsequently dropped because *L'incoronazione* posed problems similar to the opera it was meant to substitute.

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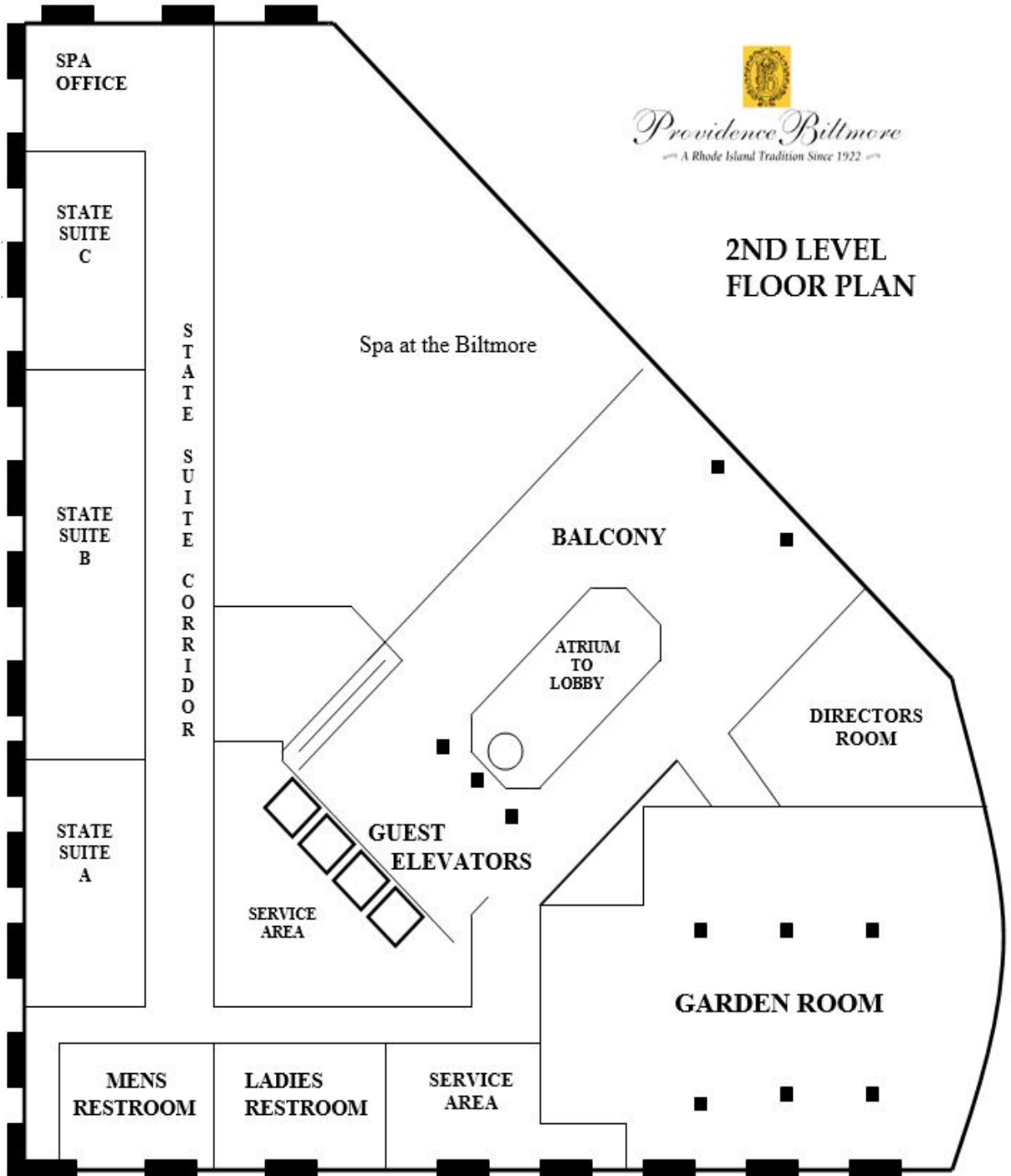
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NOTES





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