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ABSTRACTS

(in alphabetical order by author)

SPANISH NUN MUSICIANS: EARLY MODERN CAREER GIRLS?

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This paper examines the social situation of Spanish nun musicians at women's monasteries in Madrid, Segovia, Toledo, and Valladolid during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sources for my study include contracts for reception and profession of nun musicians whose dowries were waived or reduced in exchange for their service as musician, and monastery account books which show that some religious communities paid regular monetary stipends to sister musicians. I will address the question of just what a girl's musical ability was worth and discuss ways in which the duties of and compensation to nun musicians changed from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth. It has been contended that a position as convent musician constituted one of very few "career opportunities" available to women in early modern Europe, but documentary evidence suggests that the majority of girls who received dowry waivers were prepared from early childhood by parents or guardians to become nun musicians because their families had no other means of paying a nun's dowry, let alone any prospects for securing a suitable marriage. The demands placed upon "hired" nun musicians were probably quite heavy, and most of these women, unless prevented by illness or old age, were expected to serve as convent musicians their entire lives. In one case, a nun whose age and ailment prevented her from playing was required to refund part of the dowry that had been waived for her in order to be released from her duties as convent musician. In the end, it seems that girls who could afford to pay a full nun's dowry preferred to do so rather than be obligated to a life of musical servitude; indeed, the dowry contract for one wealthy and talented young girl states emphatically that "she is not entering as a singer or instrumentalist" although the document concedes that "she will play and she will sing and she will sweep and she will do the other things that her superior may demand of her." While a position as convent musician must have provided a welcome opportunity for some girls, for others it seems to have been viewed akin to that of a maid.

'UNMEASURED' PRELUDES IN ENGLAND?

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The unmeasured preludes of the seventeenth-century clavecinistes have long been celebrated for their unusual notation, and the graceful penmanship of those by Louis Couperin in the famous Bauyn manuscript are unsurpassed visually in the keyboard literature. Nonetheless, despite their apparent popularity, the performance practice of such preludes was difficult to convey in written form and evidently baffled some players. Indeed, by the early years of the eighteenth century, Francois Couperin (nephew of Louis) had all

but given up on the notation used by the elder masters.

If the practice was difficult to convey in France, where the preludes originated, did it occur elsewhere? A thriving school of keyboard composition flourished at this time in England, and a few French pieces appeared in English sources at the end of the seventeenth century. However, there are few similarities in the constitutions of French and English suites of the late-seventeenth century, and no French unmeasured preludes appear in English sources until ca. 1691.

At least two English preludes, however, exhibit evidence of having possibly been inspired by French unmeasured preludes: one each by Locke and Roberts in Melothesia (1673). Although these two works never utilize the beautifully flowing whole notes that are a part of some French unmeasured preludes, they nonetheless seem to be based on a very similar idea. More importantly, they do not resemble contemporary English keyboard music in several ways, even other works by the same two composers.

But how did this style reach English composers? I will demonstrate that the answer cannot be found with French lutenists or clavecinistes. A more likely explanation depends on the visit by the eminent keyboard performer Johann Jakob Froberger to England in 1651 or 1652. A personal relationship existed between Louis Couperin and Froberger, and Paul Prevost has confirmed Froberger's influence on Couperin. While Froberger was in England, English composers may have had an opportunity to hear him perform the very pieces that connect him with Couperin's unmeasured preludes. This exegesis would account for the conventional notation of the English works, for Froberger's works and the preludes in question by Locke and Roberts are remarkable. This paper will examine the use of characteristic figures from the toccatas of Froberger in the preludes of English composers, as well as document other evidence (such as Thomas Ford's biographical dictionary) that English composers were acquainted with Froberger's keyboard music.

ON INSTRUMENTATION IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THE CASE OF CHRISTOPH STRAUS

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Among the many "revolutions" in musical style at the dawn of the Baroque era, one of the most enduring was a new attitude toward instruments, as composers began to specify them and theorists to describe them in encyclopedic fashion. Much has been made of the use of instruments by such figures as Giovanni Gabrieli and Michael Praetorius. But the music of Christoph Straus, who served as Kapellmeister to the Habsburg Emperor Mathias from 1616 to 1620, reveals a unique approach to instrumental practice. His Nova ac diversimoda sacrarum cantionum compositio seu motetae, 5.6.7.8.9 & 10. Vocibus quam Instrumentis (1613) is an eclectic mixture of modern and traditional styles, reflecting at once the powerful influence of the instrumental color. Straus's concerti reveal the influence of Gabrieli, both in the sweep of the melodic lines and in the use of instruments. But in certain respects Straus surpasses Gabrieli, for his instrumental palette is richer: he calls for violins, violas de gamba, cornetts, trombones, and fagotti. Moreover, Strauss specifies not only cornetto, but also occasionally cornetto muto; and in the double-choir Gabriel Angelus, not only fagotto, but specifically fagotto grande, fagotto commune, and fagotto piccolo. Yet, paradoxically, Straus never specifies basso continuo in any of his works. The objective of this paper is to reveal Straus as both an innovator and a conservative in instrumental practice, through an examination of the terminology, range, and musical context associated with his instrumental writing.

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A NEWLY DISCOVERED SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOURCE OF FRENCH HUNTING HORN SIGNALS

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A manuscript copied in Paris beginning in 1666 and currently housed at the Library of congress (M2.1.T2 17c case) sheds new light on several aspects of late-seventeenth-century French instrumental practice. First, the intriguing combination of repertoires appearing in a single manuscript (four suites of viol pieces, six violin tunes, and twenty-five hunting horn signals) is unique in sources of this period. Second, the number of different handwritings and their interrelationships may alter our understanding of musical apprenticeships in late seventeenth-century France, since the manuscript was almost certainly a student's notebook. Third, and most significant, the horn signals - notated in a unique tablature system that indicates articulation, relative pitch, and rhythm - are the earliest examples of horn notation to indicate more than a single pitch. These are by far the longest collection, either printed or manuscript, of hunting signals before the publication of Marc-Antoine Dampierre's twenty-six signals in 1734.

The significance of the viol music in this source is already well established: the manuscript contains the earliest dated pieces from the French viol school, the oldest French suites for any medium in the "classic" sequence, Prelude-AllemandeCourante-Sarabande-Gigue, and the earliest set of instructions written in France for bowing and fingering the instrument. In addition to the viol pieces there are six dance pieces which were almost certainly intended to be played on violin; two are unica, while the others have concordances in other violin, lute, or guitar dance collections.

We know that horn signals consisting of different pitches began to be notated sometime after Mersenne's discussion of the instrument (Harnmonie universelle, 1636-7), which illustrated signals consisting of a single pitch, and before the appearance of seven signals copied by Andre Danican Philidor at least fifty years later, which contain seven pitches. Such a shift may have coincided with the transformation of the helical horn into the hoop-like instrument (trompe de chasse) worn over the shoulder, which evidently occurred during the same period. The horn signals in the Library of congress mauscript were probably copied in the late 1660s, and therefore present new evidence to fill this fifty-year gap. The twenty-five signals call for five distinct pitches (the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and eighth partials) in a notation that also hints at rhythmic duration and groupings. Also new in this source is the increase in the number of articulation syllables from one (in Mersenne and others) to at least five. In addition, comparison of the Library of Congress and Philidor signals yields interesting melodic relationships.

The inclusion of horn signals together with pieces for viol and violin raises interesting questions about the manuscript's owner, who was probably a young man being trained for the music profession. At least rudimentary knowledge of all three instruments was seemingly necessary for certain kinds of musical posts1 with emphasis here being given to the horn signals employed during aristocratic hunts. Although surviving contracts for musical training in this period mention only one master responsible for a young musician's training, evidence in the Library of congress manuscript indicates that several specialists contributed to the student's instruction. For example, names and addresses of one and possibly two known maîtres de musique appear with the appropriate repertoires (Dubuisson, the composer of the viol pieces, and Jacques Chrestien, the royal horn maker whose atelier is often credited with creating the trompe de chasse). In addition, each

of the three repertoires is copied in a different hand; however, the same master that wrote the viol instructions also added annotations to some of the horn signals, clarifying their function in the context of the hunt. This may have been the apprentice's principal teacher, supervising the young man's instructions on the different instruments.

The history of the hunting horn's repertoire and its notation is sketchy between 1636 and circa 1700, the beginning of MarcAntoine Dampierre's career; by the 1730s Dampierre had established the basis of a tradition that still persists in France and Belgium. The sizable repertoire of horn signals that was copied into the Library of congress manuscript around 1666 not only provides clear evidence of the practices from this crucial late seventeenth-century period but, together with the viol and violin works contained therein, also reveals new information about the training of some professional musicians.

MEANTONE TEMPERAMENTS ON THE LUTE

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Few performance practice issues are more controversial or more contentious than the use of unequal temperaments on the lute. Despite the overwhelming evidence that sixteenth and seventeenth-century lutenists and players of other fretted instruments (citterns, orpharions, violists, etc.) often preferred meantone temperaments over equal temperament and despite the fact that some of today's finest lutenists and early music ensembles perform and record in meantone temperaments, a large portion of the community of contemporary lutenists, many of them professional and well-known, perpetuate the myth that unequal temperaments on lutes have no basis in historical precedent and that they are either impractical or impossible, when in fact the opposite is demonstrably true. I attribute this campaign of misinformation not to any will on the part of it proponents, but rather to a simple lack of information or in the worst case to an unwillingness to consider what they perceive to be a complicated concept. In a modern musical society where most of us have known nothing but equal temperament, being asked to contemplate unequal temperaments is not unlike asking a fourteenth-century Parisian to consider that the world might be round instead of flat. A certain amount of resistance is understandable and yet there are few performance practice issues where so many benefits can be derived from such little effort.

Although the primary purpose of this paper is not to convince skeptics that contemporary use of unequal temperaments on the lute is practical, beneficial, and based on historical precedent, we will begin with an explanation of the benefits mentioned above and continue with a concise statement of the evidence that supports the prevalent use of these temperaments on lutes and other fretted instruments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Our main focus will be an explanation of why meantone and other related unequal temperaments were created, and how they work, and how they are easily applied to the lute. We will conclude with a discussion of how to solve the relatively minor practical obstacles a lutenist confronts when the lute's frets are arranged in an unequal temperament. Throughout the course of the presentation we will review terminology and demonstrate examples using a lute tuned in 1/6 syntonic comma meantone temperament.

THE "PROBLEM" OF SACRED MUSIC BETWEEN SCHÜTZ AND BACH

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Although the Baroque period represents the "Golden Age" of Lutheran church music, scholarly attention to the repertoire of this era has been uneven. Two of the great heroes of the age, Schtitz and Bach, dominate either end of the period, but a tacit assumption exists, perpetuated by the conspicuous absence of this repertoire in scholarly discourse and music history texts, that those who flourished in the interim - the Buxtehude generation - were for the most part forgettable. Much of their music still lies unedited in libraries, little of it has been recorded, and no comprehensive study of the repertoire exists. Granted, some real barriers to performance have worked to keep many of these compositions off concert programs, particularly the level of virtuosity demanded by many of the vocal and instrumental parts. But does this alone account for the neglect of the repertoire? Or have we judged it against a definition of greatness that cannot accommodate many of its defining characteristics? Whatever its true causes, this neglect has left us with only a partial understanding of the period as a whole, and has undermined our attempts fully to contextualize the music of the giants as well.

When the repertoire of this middle generation is approached with traditional analytical methods, it often fares poorly, for musical aspects that have traditionally engaged scholars have ceded place to those that offer little to "tear apart." Counterpoint no longer dominates these musical structures, which depend on more transparent melody and accompaniment textures. The tonal language, now crypto-tonal rather than quasi-modal, has lost the "spice" of Schützian harmony, but does not yet approach the chromatic richness of Bach. And the musical rhetoric of the Schtitz generation has also been supplanted by a new conception of affect.

But the differences that we perceive in this repertoire are not solely musical. Around mid—century, the essential nature of German sacred music began to change, in response to a new consciousness of the personal in devotional life. While the repertoire of the earlier half of the century - the era of the 30 Year's War - attempted to reassure a ravaged population of God's power through a 'monumentality' of message, the latter half of the century exchanged this monumentality for a quality of quiet intimacy. These changes are most evident in the adoption of a new style of text, often extra-scriptural and poetic in nature, that came out of Italy, and which focused on the piety of the individual rather than the traditional "community of believers." As a result, the later repertoire is dominated by texts that probe the speaker's (and thus the listener's) personal relationship with God. In their musical response to these texts, composers reach for a similar degree of intimacy, and project the "voice" of the individual believer through the voice of a soloist. Thus "preaching in music" largely disappears, and the use of vocal counterpoint - the musical analogue of the "community" - becomes less prominent, losing place to simple1 lyrical melodies that capture the sensibility of the text.

In this paper, I will locate the origins of this repertorial "problem" in the nature of the musical responses to the new spirituality of the era, and will demonstrate how these often conflict with our notation of "greatness" in music - the power to elicit intense intellectual and emotional responses from the auditor. Such a view fails to take into account the changes in the nature of public and private spiritual life that occurred over the course of the seventeenth century, and that fostered a movement toward quiet introspection in sacred music. If we attempt to view the music of Buxtehude, Pohle, Geist, Bernhard, and their contemporaries through the lens of either Schütz or Bach, we will always encounter disappointment, for they do not share the same musical agenda. Thus it is essential that we establish the religious and cultural context of this music, in order better to understand the forces that animate it.

DUFAUT AND THE ORIGINS OF THE TOMBEAU

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The tombeau, a commemorative piece of lament in the form of a pavan or allemande, became a distinctive feature of the lute repertory in the seventeenth century. Although scholars, such as Philippe Vendrix, have speculated in passing about the origins of the tombeau, no one has attempted to determine exactly what led to its seemingly sudden appearance with Le Vieux Gaultier's Tombeau de Mezangeau (1638). For example, Vendrix has suggested that the tombeau may have been inspired by John Dowland's air "Flow My Tears," since a number of tombeaux, including Gaultier's, begin with figures outlining a falling fourth; however, the resemblance of the latter themes to Dowland's is not convincing.

Francois Dufaut (d. after 1665) was one of the leading innovators in the development of a new style of lute music in the 1630s. His Tombeau de Monsieur Blancrocher (1652) may furnish substantial clues as to the origins of the tombeau. The theme on which it is based so closely resembles the head motive of Anthony Holborne's pavan The Countess of Pembroke's Funerall (published in 1599, but possibly datable to 1586) that it seems likely that Dufaut's theme is a quote. Almost every note of the upper parts of the piece comes from the theme or permutations of it, a feature unique in French lute music. The intensity of this treatment suggests that is has extra-musical significance. Dufaut's tombeau further resembles Holborne's pavan in its use of repeated notes in the bass suggesting "tolling bells" (also found in Froberger's Tombeau de Monsieur Blancrocher), and its choice of key (G minor). Anthony Rooley has recently demonstrated the pivotal importance of Holborne's work in establishing the pavan as a commemorative piece in England. The appearance of pavannes d' Angleterre in such French publications of lute music as Anthonie Francisque's Tresor d'Orphée (1600) suggests that the singular characteristics of the English pavan were known in France in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Thus Dufaut, and perhaps Gaultier and others, may have been inspired by English commemorative pavan to create a French equivalent.

TUNING AND TEMPERAMENT IN THE WORKS OF MARIN MERSENNE

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From the time of Fétis, the writings of Mann Mersenne have been described as a hodgepodge of contradictory observations and theories. I believe, however, that by presenting disparate views, Mersenne is attempting to reconcile humanist musical thought with scientific musical inquiry. To support my claim of a synthesis in Mersenne's later musical thought, I examine his writings on tuning and temperament to determine how a humanist construction of intonation in an earlier writing may either be reinterpreted or combined with a scientific discovery in a later work. Mersenne did not advocate one standard tuning, which seems odd at a time when musicians sought to standardize intonation and scientists attempted to rationalize tuning. Yet seen as a connection between sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thought, this acceptance of multiple systems displays rational purpose on Mersenne's part rather than injudicious loquacity. The treatment of tuning and temperament in his treatises, especially the Harmonie universelle, is widely acknowledged to be of great importance: his chaotic writing aside, Mersenne is regarded as one of the important figures in the evolution of modern tuning. Yet, his writings on tuning, temperament, and intonation have never been completely translated, nor even collected together. They remain scattered throughout his treatises, isolated descriptions cataloging a fantastic variety of tuning systems and new instruments designed to realize them. This paper will collate Mersenne's propositions for just intonation, meantone temperament, and equally tempered tuning with the purpose of demonstrating how his changing views on intonation reflect his dual role of humanist scholar and scientific inquirer. Mersenne believed, for example, that tuning systems and the differing intervals produced by meantone temperament, just intonation, and equal temperament each produce unique resonance's in the mind, a humanist construction. In the Harmonie universelle, Mersenne attempts to locate scientific proof for this assertion to further his claims that

music is a rational art. His preoccupation with the effects of the distance between scale steps represents a manifestation of his reliance on humanist, neo-Platonic philosophy. He couples this, however, with a mechanistic viewpoint to draw a connection between ancient and modern theory. An illustration of this is his attempt to link the Greek harmony of the spheres with the scientific seventeenth-century view of musical harmony. Mersenne did not believe that musica mundana produced perceptible music, but that the motion and relation of the celestial bodies was instead an analog to the intervals of a well-tempered scale. Thus, a philosophical view is reconciled to a scientific proposition

GIOVANNI ANTONIO RIGATTI'S MESSA E SALMI, PARTE CONCERTATI (1640) AND THE SELVA MORALE E SPIRITUALE (1640/41) OF CLAUDIO MONTEVERDI

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Shortly before his death, Monteverdi compiled a collection of sacred music which may be seen as a summa of his sacred works composed during his service as maestro di capella at St. Mark's in Venice. In the same year, another Venetian composer, born the year Monteverdi came to Venice, published a print virtually unknown today that he may have conceived as a counterpart to the Selva morale e spirituale. Rigatti's Messa e salmi, parte concertati (1640) bears striking resemblance to Monteverdi's print, and it may be seen both as an emulation of the elder's works and as a self-conscious statement of Rigatti's own achievements in the modern concertato style. In this paper the common aspects of both collections as well as their differences will be discussed. Large-scale concertato settings, sectional organization, recurring refrains, elements of the Selva morale, bear closer resemblance to the compositional procedures of the '10s and '20s and have no counterpart in Rigatti's print. Both collections were printed in 1640 by Magni and are dedicated to the highest members of the imperial family in Vienna. Both composers provide multiple settings of the standard Vesper psalms (multiple settings of individual psalms are rare in the 17th-century prints of Vesper music), yet Rigatti's greater predilection for small-scale ostinato compositions reveals an emphasis on a North Italian concertato idiom which will become common practice only after Monteverdi's death. The character of this new idiom will be demonstrated by a closer examination of Rigatti's "Nisi Dominus a 3 voci et 2 violini": the continual vocal-instrumental flow of this salmo arioso, its sensual sonority, and the ceaseless return of the tetrachord ostinato contribute to a highly unified character of the extensive setting. Rather than translating the textual contrasts into music, as had become typical of the concertato settings of this psalm in the 1620s and 1630s, Rigatti turns the text into an intense adoration of divine "dulcedo." Thus, his setting demonstrates that the new, popular aria idiom is well capable of reflecting current religious concepts: the sensual musical flow appears as a literal translation of the ecstatic outpourings of Seicento mystical literature.

The results presented in this paper are part of the research done for a modern edition of Giovanni Antonio Rigatti's Messa e salmi, concertati, op. 4 (1639), (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2001).

THE HARPSICHORD IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

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French harpsichord culture during this period is particularly significant because it includes both the invention of the "expressive" two-manual harpsichord and the rise of a school of harpsichordists whose compositions skillfully exploited the capabilities of the instrument. Nevertheless, sevententh-century French harpsichords have received scant attention in standard histories of the instrument, largely because of a dearth, until recently, of known surviving examples.

Documents provide information about instruments in use before the earliest dated examples from the middle of the century. Sixteenth-century sources suggest that small virginals predominated. The earliest clear evidence of a harpsichord per se is from 1600, a clavesin belonging to Pierre Chabanceau de La barre I. In 1617, the organist J. Lescecq owned two harpsichords, each with two stops. In Jean Jacquet's workshop in 1632 there were two harpsichords, one with a single set of strings; the other, with 100 strings, presumably had two registers and a keyboard compass of 50 notes, probably GG/BB to c''', a small downward extension of the C, D, to C''' compass found in French organs of the period. Thus, the bass compass was significantly fuller than in Flemish and Italian harpsichords of the period, typically with C/E short octaves.

The most voluminous French source of information about harpsichords before the 1640s is Mann Mersenne's Harmonie Universelle (1636-7), but this must be used with caution since he indiscriminately describes both the commonplace and the unusual. His main description of the harpsichord is illustrated by a realistic engraving of a single-manual instrument, presumably a typical Parisian harpsichord of the period. The instrument has characteristics of the early northern-European "international" style of harpsichord making prevalent in Germany, England, and pre-Ruckers Antwerp. Consistent with harpsichords in the Lescecq and Jacquet inventories, it has a two-register (8' + 4') dis-position and a 50-note compass.

Approximately 35 extent 17th-century French harpsichords are known. Most of these have been discovered recently, and few have been described in detail. The earliest signed and dated example (in the Musee de l'Hospice Saint-Roch, Issoudun) was made by Jean Denis II, Paris, 1648. It has two keyboards, GG/BB to c''', with three stops, 8' + 4,' on the lower manual, 8' on the upper, and a shove coupler. It could be regarded as a combination of two typical single-manual harpsichords, one, like Mersenne's, disposed 8'+ 4', the other with only a single 8' stop, like the single-strung harpsichord in the Jacquet inventory of 1632. This view corresponds to the description, written in 1648 by Pierre Chabanceau de La Barre III, of a new type of harpsichord "with two manuals... (which) make different strings sound from each keyboard; . . . they are two harpsichords joined together." The maker Jean Denis, in his Traité de l'accord de l'espinette (2nd ed., Paris 1650), mentions the use of such harpsichords " for passing all the unisons," that is to play pièces croisées, the earliest extant examples of which were written about this time by Louis Couperin.

Although some earlier writers have speculated that 17th- century French harpsichords commonly had only a solo 4' stop on the upper manual, well preserved examples invariably have the disposition found in the 1648 Denis. only a few 17th- century French single-manual harpsichords are known. Generally, as in an instrument by Nicolas Dufour, Paris, 1683 (in the Shrine to Music Museum), they are disposed 8' + 8'. The more substantial tone provided by this disposition, might reflect increased use of the harpsichord for basso continuo.

While some harpsichords with expanded compasses, such as GG, AA to c''', began to be made shortly before 1700, the GG/BB to C''' compass was commonly made as late as the 1690s. The keyboards and actions of the 17th-century French harpsichords are especially elegant. Keys are quite small, with a narrow octave span allowing a normal-size hand to span the interval of a tenth, as is necessary for certain

compositions of the period, including Jean Denis's Prelude pour sonder si l'Accord est bon par tout.

Although among the extant instruments there is a great degree of uniformity in dispositions and in details of the keyboards in actions, other features of design and construction vary considerably. More than one pitch level seems to have been in use, and some instruments might have been designed for a pitch above a'=440 hz. No chronological progression is apparent in case shape, construction, materials, scaling, or other technical characteristics. Nor are the origins of French harpsichord making to be seen as the result of Italian or Flemish influence. Rather, the French school seems to be the natural outgrowth of the 16th-century international style.

Flemish harpsichords were used in France as early as the 1640s. Toward the end of the century, as indicated by a harpsichord made in 1688 by Michel Richard but provided with a false Hans Ruckers rose and date 1613 (in the Yale Collection) , Ruckers harpsichords were beginning to influence some French makers. Although the Ruckers style of scaling, case construction, and soundboard design became dominant in the 18th century, important aspects of the native style, particularly the disposition and the design of the keyboards and action, were never abandoned.

THE THIRD WAY: SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HARPSICHORD BUILDING OUTSIDE OF ITALY AND FLANDERS

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One of the important contributions of post-war harpsichord scholars such as Raymond Russell and Frank Hubbard was the conceptualization of the regional character of European string-keyboard building. For almost 50 years now, it has been customary to link local harpsichord-building traditions either to the Northern school, encompassing Flanders, France, England, Central and Northern Germany and Scandinavia; or the Southern School, composed mainly of Italy.

But just as Ptolemy's employment of eccentrics and epicycles to explain the variations of the orbits of the planets eventually weakened his cosmology, so the neat fabric of the thesis of two harpsichord-building orbits began to unravel when seventeenth-century French, South-German, and English instruments were considered. Neither fully Northern nor Southern, the harpsichords of these regions came to be regarded as hybrids, or Northerners with Southern accents. However, as more of these exemplars have been uncovered and their characteristics better understood, it has become clear that seventeenth-century harpsichords from these regions (such as the Shrine to Music Museum's 1683 instrument by Nicolas Dufour) were neither Northern or Southern, but represented variations of a separate and independent International style. Although the existence of this "third way" has been known for some time, it has never been adequately described.

Accordingly, this paper will establish the characteristics of the International style by examining the salient features of seventeenth-century French, German, and English harpsichords. Comparisons will also be made between these instruments and those of the next century.

RECONSTRUCTING THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TRANSVERSE FLUTE AND ITS MUSIC

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The one-keyed conical instruments of the Hotteterre family and the repertory associated with them dominate our image of the late-Baroque transverse flute as it developed from an earlier keyless, cylindrical instrument. Recent studies have begun to question the traditional view that the Hotteterre workshop was responsible for the transformation of the flute from "Renaissance" to "Baroque," but so far little concrete information has been offered. This paper reexamines present views of Baroque flute development, and considers the evidence for instruments that have been identified as a "Renaissance" type and the ones fashionable at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It also examines the putative repertory of the seventeenth-century transverse flute.

The "Hotteterre flute" paradigm is based primarily on our understanding of the appearance and repertory of the flute in the period ca. 1700, when the first parts explicitly for the transverse flute appeared in print. Particularly influential for the modern view of the earliest conical keyed flutes and their music have been La Barre's Pieces pour la flute traversiere of 1702 and the frontispiece to Jacques-Martin Hotteterre's (1674-1763) treatise Principles of the Flute, Recorder & Oboe (1707). Other icongraphic sources, such as the famous group portrait of five French musicians in the British National Gallery from ca. 1707 (formerly attributed to Tournières, recently assigned to Antoine Beuys), have also had a major impact on our perception of the late 17th-century flute. These images depict three-piece conical instruments of boxwood or ivory, with six toneholes, a single key, large, decorative caps, and double ferrules. Moreover, they are shown being played by privileged wigged gentlemen in elegant French attire. Such evidence points to the conclusion that by the time of Hotteterre's rudirnentary treatise and La Barre's first published solos for the flute, the instrument had already become the domain of wealthy amateurs, undoubtedly the targeted consumers of publications and of specially commissioned elegant, ornate instruments.

Based on iconographic evidence, the contemporary instrument maker Marc Ecochard had proposed an hautbois design that might have been used by Lully's players from 1670, that is, an instrument transitional between the shawm and the oboes used at the end of the century. Other woodwind instruments may have had similar transitional versions, and indeed there is considerable evidence concerning transverse flutes pre-dating those depicted at the turn of the eighteenth century.

But although references to the transverse flute in writings about earlier Baroque music are numerous, very few instruments have survived and music specifically calling for them is rare. Most modern studies have focused on seventeenth-century developments as antecedents for the eighteenth-century flute, rather than examine the earlier instruments in their own right. The earliest surviving three-piece conical flute may be the sole extant instrument of this type by the Dutch maker Richard Haka (1646-1705), a one-keyed instrument that challenges our stereotype of the late 17th-century flute. The Haka flute, which I have recently played and examined, is part of the Ehrenfeld collection (Utrecht) It is in beautiful condition but poses an enigma because it matches neither the elaborate profile of the Hottteterre flute nor its pitch. The Haka flute is clearly the product of mature tradition, albeit one that did not receive the self promotion of Hotteterre's. A one-keyed flute by Lissieu (Kunsthistorischesmuseum, Vienna) possesses a profile and certain other features similar to the Haka, but its bore is cylindrical. Both instruments perhaps form links between the eighteenth-century flute and the key- less instrument which Marin Mersenne described in 1636 as "one of the best flutes in the world." Although no exemplar of the latter type of instrument survives, it evidently represented the ideal transverse flute for at least one early-Baroque writer; its properties can be provisionally reconstructed from Mersenne's account.

I will conclude by considering possible associations between the types of flutes mentioned above and specific repertory from 17th- and early 18th-century France, including the earliest publications by Marais, La Barre, and Hotteterre, which began to appear in increasing numbers from 1692. I will also examine La

Barre's trio of 1707 (whose printed edition is depicted in the Beuys group portrait) as well as clues from flute parts by Lully and Charpentier.

CLEFFING IN ENGLISH MUSIC ca. 1575-1650

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In continental vocal music of the sixteenth centuries, the composer's choice between low (clc3c4F4) and high (g2c2c3F3) clef combinations can mark a distinction between authentic and plagal modes, offering a short-hand method of indicating the notated ambitus of each part; it may also relate to issues of transposition. In England the situation is different in some respects. For one thing, after the cessation of public Catholic ritual in the 1550s, there seems to have been virtually no functioning theory or practice of mode. Second, although Morley himself explained the two standard continental combinations of clefs, there seems to be in reality a much wider variety in choice of clefs in England than on the continent.

Most scholars, including especially David Wulstan, have taken cleffing in England to be solely an indication of transposition. In recent years, however, some scholars, notably Philip Brett, have issued challenges to Wulstan's clef code theory, partly on the grounds that the theory is intrinsically illogical and impractical, and partly on the basis of the evidence of surviving sources. To my knowledge, however, no one has attempted to bring to bear on this problem the evidence culled from a systematic exploration of cleffing in English music. As part of a larger study of tonal structures, I propose to investigate cleffing practices by examining the complete surviving repertory of music published in partbooks in England from about 1575 to about 1650 (I am deliberately excluding the lutesong repertory). The investigation should reveal practices of individual composers as well as the methods of ordering within printed collections, and contribute to our understanding of differences between England and the continent.

THE INSTRUMENT AND ITS REPERTORY: A LECTURE-RECITAL (WITH OPTIONAL DISCUSSION)

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That an "original" instrument should be essential for producing an "authentic" reconstruction of historical performance practice has been commonly assumed by students of both organology and performance practice. Yet antique instruments can tell us only as much as their state of preservation and restoration permit, and accounts of historical performance techniques are notoriously ambiguous and incomplete. Performers and audiences alike frequently perceive a particular novelty in the experience of hearing music played on what is thought to be an instrument from the composer's approximate time and place, but how and to what extent this subjective impression reflects an objective addition to the understanding of early music remains debatable on both theoretical and practical bases.

The object of this presentation is not to settle the fundamental questions posed above, but rather to raise them specifically in regard to a recital of seventeenth-century keyboard works, performed on what might be regarded today as a historically appropriate instrument in the collection of America's Shrine to Music Museum. I will summarize the philosophical and theoretical issues and briefly describe the instrument in question: the Italian harpsichord of ca. 1662-82 attributed to Giacomo Ridolfi. Through my residency at the

Museum during the 1999-2000 academic year I will have gained an intimate familiarity with this as well as a number of other seventeenth-century instruments in the collections, and I will be able to point out specific aspects of each of the following musical compositions that make the latter appear to be either particularly suitable or, on the other hand, problematical for performance on each of these instruments or similar ones. The works, which I will then perform, are drawn from the Italian and the Italianate Iberian and German repertories of the mid- to late seventeenth century.

Luigi Rossi (1598-1653), Passacaille [in a] from GB-Lbl Add. MS 39569

Michelangelo Rossi (ca. 1602-1656), Toccata I [in C] (Rome, by 1638?)

Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710), Basso Continuo [Sonata I in D] from GB-Lbl Add. MS 31501/1

Juan Bautista Jose Cabanilles (1644-1712), Tiento [XXIII] [in a], Pasacallas [II] [in d]

Johann Jacob Froberger (1616-67), Toccata [XVIII] [in F]

Matthias Weckmann (ca. 1620-1674), [Suite in d] from Luneberg KN 147,
Allemande, Courant, Sarabanda, Gigue

Johann Phillip Kneger (1649-1725) Passagaglia [in d]

The repertory has been chosen not only for its apparent suitability to this instrument but for its relevance to recent scholarly work in the field of seventeenth-century music. The opening and closing works are important documents for the history of the passacaglia, recently surveyed in the Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music by Alexander Silbiger (in addition, the Krieger work shows significant and hitherto unnoticed parallels to a famous passacaille by Telemann). The set of pasacalles by Cabanilles represents a related Iberian genre. The partimento sonata by Pasquini relates to my own recent article on the subject in the same journal, and the chronology and textural transmission of the works by M.A. Rossi and Froberger have been subjects of ongoing research by Silbiger and Akira Ishii. In addition, the series of toccatas, tiento, and sonata represents a coherent tradition emanating from Italy and therefore generally assumed to be appropriate to the instrument chosen; the suite belongs to a genre usually associated with France but represented in the Italian tradition as well and therefore also potentially appropriate to this type of instrument.

TERPSICHORE'S HARP AND THE TEMPTATION OF ST. JEROME: HARPS, GENDER, HISPANIC MUSIC AND SOCIETY

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As is well known, depictions of the harp as a practical musical instrument in the Renaissance place the instrument and its players in many contexts, but most especially in courtly surroundings. The harp was generally used as a soft instrument - it formed part of the basse musique, for example, at the Court of the Duke of Burgundy, whose musical establishment was taken as a model for many other courts, and whose musical practices were emulated as well. The court composer Giles Binchois, known especially for his delicate and intricate chansons, is depicted with a harp in a famous drawing (from a manuscript of Martin le

Franc's poem Les champion des dames). In another image from Les champion des dames the harp is among the instruments both loud and soft, played by the nine Muses. It is played by Terpsichore, muse of the dance (rather than by the muse of epic songs, for example). While carefully selected early Renaissance images might leave us with the impression that the harp was forever destined to remain a soft instrument associated with delicate lyrics and even female, non-professional players, the harp's musical function, social status, and mythical associations were of course both broad and diverse.

This paper will take a careful look at the changing iconography of the harp around 1600 and the gendered associations that tended to shape the iconography of this instrument during the seventeenth century, especially in Spain and the Spanish colonies in Latin America. As harps grew in size, weight, compass, and strength of tone, the allegorical and the social status of the instrument took on a new and more masculine imagery, so that by the early seventeenth century the harp was the "instrument of Princes," a perfect instrument capable of producing a polyphonic accompaniment to all kinds of song, both sacred and profane. The weighty legitimacy of King David as harpist of the Counter-Reformation, and of Apollo as the superior musical deity of Renaissance humanism both influenced this change in imagery toward a predominantly male and well-dressed harper. On the other hand, feminine and angel harpists appear in genre paintings of certain religious scenes (the harps they carried were "realistic" or just decoratively allegorical).

Within the musical culture of the Hispanic dominions, two further associations seem to have been important in the seventeenth century. In the famous painting by Francisco Zurbaran of the Temptation of St. Jerome, a contemporary harp
is played by a lovely young girl; one of a serious and placid group of six female musicians who visit St. Jerome to tempt him. Though the girls may seem not only modest but without artifice, the Saint immediately throws up his hands in an exclamation of horror. Though the imagery of the painting is far removed in almost every way from the nine Muses with musical instruments offered in the early Renaissance drawing from the Martin le Franc manuscript, the earlier association of the harp with the muse Terpsichore bears considerable relevance to my interpretation of the Zurbaran painting, in light of other Spanish paintings on the same subject. The painting has important things to tell us about the harp, its music, and its 17th-century Hispanic context, such that this analysis is the focus of my paper.

SO IST DENN DIES DER TAG: THE ERBHULDIGUNG OF PRINCE ELECTOR CARL HEINRICH OF MAINZ

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The documents recording the Erbhuldigung, or ceremony of homage, to the newly-appointed Prince Elector, Carl Heinrich of Mainz, in Erfurt in 1679 provide an important historical description of civic ceremony, give clues to musical performance practice, and provide evidence of what may be the first recorded composition of Johann Pachelbel.

Since medieval times, Erfurt's city council was under the sovereign rule of the Elect bishopric of Mainz, and the appointment of a new Prince Elector required a fitting occasion duly to celebrate the new leader. The Predigerkirche (Preacher's Church) was the main Protestant church of the city by virtue of its designation as the Ratskirche, or church of the city council. In his first year as organist at the Predigerkirche, Johann Pachelbel was selected for the prestigious honor of composing for the Erbhuldigung.

The external documents describing the event include speeches, descriptions of the event, two engraved prints showing the indoor and outdoor ceremonies, and the texts and music to two songs of homage, both by Johann Pachelbel. The festive trumpet aria, "So ist denn dies der Tag" is one of Pachelbel's earliest autograph copies, and features solo voice, chorus, trumpets; timpani, and string accompaniment.

This paper examines the iconographical evidence of the event, both pictorial and descriptive, to understand better the nature of such a civic ceremony and the musical performance practice required for such celebrations. In addition, it places the Pachelbel arias in the context of a mid-seventeenth-century German song tradition characterized particularly by a group of Nuremberg composers, including Erasmus Kindermann, Paul Hainlein, Johann Krieger, Johann Philipp Krieger, and Johann Löhner. The use of concertato style, instrumentally conceived melodies, and simple harmonies evident in the Erbhuldigung arias can be seen in Pachelbel's greater body of aria compositions as well.

SEXLESS SPIRITS?: GENDER IDEOLOGY IN SCENES OF MAGIC ON THE RESTORATION STAGE

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Scenes of magical spectacle provided an excuse for music on the Restoration stage. Music was considered magical and, according to the writings of neoplatonists, a tool with which the adept could Conjure spirits. John Dryden, one of the most important playwrights of this era, wrote many such incantation scenes, allowing scholars to identify musical and dramatic conventions. In spite of the abundance of available source materials, one aspect of these scenes has been consistently misread or ignored by modern critics: the issue of gender.

The misinterpretation or elision of this critical issue is exacerbated by Dryden' own statements. Dryden claimed that spirits were sexless in a polemical response to his rival Elkanah Settle's The Empress of Morocco ("it is non sense to say Woman-Spirits, as if spirits had sexes"). Critics have quoted this statement out of context, using it as a justification for ignoring gender issues, or sometimes, deploying it to support the claim that Dryden's spirits were indeed gender "neutral" (Price 1984). In fact, Dryden did not practice what he preached. Dryden and the composers who set the music for the spirits were completely inculcated in a patriarchal gender system, in which female voices were suited for seduction or persuasion, and male voices were suited for the description of supernatural warfare or making noble proclamations.

Using examples from John Dryden's Tyrannick Love (1672 and 1694), King Arthur (1691), The Indian Emperour (1691) and The Indian Queen (1695), this paper demonstrates how the texts, the performers chosen for the roles, and the music contain these spirits within "appropriate" gender categories. For example, Henry Purcell composed the pivotal role of the God of Dreams in The Indian Queen for a boy soprano, Jemmy Bowen. This casting allowed Purcell to mark the God as otherworldly (a treble voice emanating from a male deity) without placing a woman in this powerful masculine role. On the other hand, in King Arthur an actress played the role of Philidel. While Philidel was generally referred to with masculine pronouns, he was completely feminized by his rival, the evil Grimbald, who described him as "a pueling Sprite" whose "Make is flitting, soft, and yielding Atomes." Given this "effeminate" description, it would have been extremely difficult for a Restoration audience to accept a man in the role of Philidel. Reaffirming Restoration ideas about the seductive qualities of the female voice, Philidel's musical and dramatic role in King Arthur is primarily one of persuasion, as "he" successfully convinces Arthur to take the correct path. A more misogynist example of the power of the female voice is found in Tyrannick Love. Although both Nakar (a male spirit) and Damilcar (his female counterpart) are summoned, it is Damilcar who sings a siren song designed to seduce St. Catharine from her vow of chastity. Purcell assigns Damilcar

musical conventions associated with amorous or seductive music on the Restoration stage, such as the key of G minor, chromaticism, melismas emphasizing the pleasures of love, and pervasive repetition. Predictably, Damilicar is brought low by her impertinence, reduced to cowering in a corner by St. Catharine's guardian angel, Amariel, and his "flaming Sword." In all these cases, the music, text, and choice of performer work together to reaffirm a binary gender system. Even spirits cannot escape the patriarchal assumptions of Restoration gender ideology.

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