26th Annual Conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music

April 19-22, 2018
Hotel Boulderado, Boulder, CO

Hosted by College of Music
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER
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Front cover: Bartolomeo Bettera – Still Life with Musical Instruments
Inside cover: Evaristo Baschenis – Still life with Musical Instruments, Books and Sculpture

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College of Music
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER
Thursday, April 19th

1:30-3:30 pm  Meeting of the SSCM Governing Board  
*Porch Room*

3:30–5 pm  Meeting of the WLSCM Editorial Board  
*Porch Room*

3:30–5 pm  Meeting of the New Grove Committee  
*Juniper Room*

1:00-5:30 pm  Registration – *Lobby*

5:30-7:15 pm  Opening Reception – *Mezzanine*

7:30 pm  Evening activity TBA

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Friday, April 20th

7:30-11:30 am  Registration – *Lobby, near Columbine Room*

7:30-8:30 am  Breakfast – *Lobby, near Columbine Room*

8:30 am-4:30 pm  Book exhibit

8:30-9:50 am  **English Anxieties I**  
Graham Freeman  
(Queen’s University at Kingston), chair
Linda Austern (Northwestern University)  
“Soul-Raping Musicke” and Other Anxieties of Aurality in Early Modern England
Jeremy L. Smith and Jordan Hugh Sam  
(University of Colorado, Boulder)  
“My Sweet Child and Wife”: Buckingham, James I, and Homoeroticism in the English Anthem and Madrigal

9:50-10:10 am  Break

10:10-11:30 am  **Affect and Habitus at the Keyboard**  
Alexander Silbiger (Duke University), chair
Alexis VanZalen (Eastman School of Music)  
Rhetoric and Declamation in the Organ Music of Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers
Rebecca Cypess (Rutgers University)  
Chordal Accompaniment at the Harpsichord in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy: Recovering Traces of Embodied Knowledge

11:45 am-1:15 pm  Lunch and SSCM Business Meeting  
*Lobby, near Columbine Room*

1:30-2:50 pm  **Christian Piety in the New World**  
Drew Edward Davies (Northwestern University), chair
Bernardo Illari (University of North Texas, Denton)  
Musical Wit of the Mexican Motet: Francisco López’s Creative Anachronism
(Friday, April 20, cont.)

Ireri E. Chávez Bárcenas (Princeton University)
Pious Indians and Righteous Slaves in 17th-Century Catholic Song

2:50-3:10 pm Break

3:10-4:30 pm **Rhetoric High and Low**
Paul Schleuse (Binghamton University), chair

Robert R. Holzer (Yale University)
In Petrarch’s Shadow: Revision and Allusion in the Vernacular Settings in Monteverdi’s *Selva morale et spirituale*

John Romey (Case Western Reserve University)
Anti-Truths: Satirical Portraits as Literary and Musical Salon Games

4:30-6:45 pm Dinner (on your own)

6:45 pm Shuttle bus to concert – *Meet in lobby*

7:30 pm Concert by Quicksilver – *Macky Auditorium, University of Colorado, Boulder*

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**Saturday, April 21st**

8:00-9:00 am Breakfast – *Lobby, near Columbine Room*

9:00 am-5:00 pm **Book Exhibit**

9:00-10:20 am **Seduction and Devotion**
Virginia Lamothe (Belmont University), chair

Aliyah Shanti (Princeton University)
Binding the Heart: Witchcraft and Enchantment in *La catena d’Adone* (1626)

Jenny Zilmer (University of Auckland)
Performing Devotion: Reimagining Buxtehude’s Sacred Vocal Works

10:20-10:40 am Break

10:40 am-12:00 pm **English Anxieties II**
Stacey Jocoy (Texas Tech University), chair

K. Dawn Grapes (Colorado State University)
Music, Legacy, and Reputational Redress in John Coprario’s *Funeral Teares* (1606)

Nicholas Smolenski (Duke University)
Caroline Propaganda in Restoration England: Thomas Tomkins’s *Musica Deo sacra*

12:00-2:00 pm Lunch on your own

12:15-1:45 pm Meeting of the JSCM Editorial Board – *Porch Room*
2:00-3:20 pm  **Spectacles of the Other I**  
Beth L. Glixon (University of Kentucky), chair  
Wendy Heller (Princeton University)  
“Invitta Veremonda”: Representing Islam and Ethics in Early Opera  
Robert C. Ketterer (University of Iowa)  
War and Peace and Opera in Venice, 1648-1649  

3:20-3:40 pm  Break  

3:40-5:00 pm  **Spectacles of the Other II**  
Beth L. Glixon (University of Kentucky), chair  
Charles E. Brewer (Florida State University)  
Folklore or Ethnic Stereotypes in Habsburg Balletti  
Kelley Harness (University of Minnesota)  
Laboring for Hercules: Constructing a Horse Ballet in Mid Seventeenth-Century Florence  

6:00-7:00 pm  Reception – *Lobby, near Columbine Room*  
7:00 pm  Banquet – *Columbine Room*  

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**Sunday, April 22nd**  

7:30-8:30 am  Breakfast – *Lobby, near Columbine Room*  
8:30-11:30 am  Book exhibit  
8:30-9:30 am  **Cosmopolitan Courts I**  
Georgia Cowart (Case Western Reserve University), chair  
Don Fader (University of Alabama)  
How Giovanni Battista Lulli Became Jean-Baptiste Lully: The Composer’s Comic Self-Representation in his Early Ballets de cour  
Michael Klaper (Institut für Musikwissenschaft Weimar-Jena)  
Giovanni Bentivoglio at the French Court and an Unrecognized Source for Seventeenth-Century Italian Cantata Poetry  

9:50-10:10 am  Break  
10:10-11:30 am  **Cosmopolitan Courts II**  
Georgia Cowart (Case Western Reserve University), chair  
Devin Burke (University of Louisville)  
Jean-Baptiste Lully’s Balletti francesi and the Court of Leopold I  
Stewart Carter (Wake Forest University)  
Isabella Leonarda’s Tribute to Leopold I: Politics and Liturgical Format in the Late Seicento Motet
Abstracts

Friday morning

English Anxieties I – Graham Freeman (Queen’s University at Kingston), chair

Linda Austern (Northwestern University):
“Soul-Raping Musicke” and Other Anxieties of Aurality in Early Modern England

Seventeenth-century English thinkers across a wide range of disciplines emphasized the literal and metaphorical position of the ear between the sensate body and interior faculties of the soul. Verbal texts ranging from sermons to plays to moralizing bestiaries warn of the dangers of indiscriminate listening in terms of poison, robbery, or sexual violence to the perpetually open ear. Of special concern was music, the most “artificial and delicate” object of the sense of hearing, believed able to alter mind and body by entering the vulnerable ear and penetrating straight to the heart. The ear therefore became a contested site among theologians, physicians, moral philosophers, pamphleteers, and civic leaders with competing agendas during an era of rapid political and religious change. Some even attributed to music the capacity to sever soul from body, an idea especially disturbing to the mainstream Anglican hierarchy because of association with Roman Catholic thought on one hand, and native radical Protestant ideologies on the other. Modern cognitive linguistics and philosophy of mind have emphasized that separation between body and mind (or soul) is actually a metaphor, a phenomenological category by which subjective experience is explained through mental imagery borrowed from sensorineural domains. It must be recognized that early modern English rhetoricians clearly understood this. They explained metaphor as a trope by which words were “translated” between bodily senses and “things in the mind,” strikingly compatible with the conception of music as communicative force between body and soul, and ear as privileged portal to interior cogitation. This paper re-examines the ascribed position of music between outward sense and interior faculties in light of primary-source writings on metaphor, physical and metaphysical processes of hearing, music theory, and warnings about the spiritually deleterious effects of the wrong kinds of aural delight. The most common verbal modifiers used in these contexts originate in a conflation of terms for aural and sexual vulnerability, merge with concurrent notions of music as agent of emasculation and dissolution, and ultimately influenced musicians to respond in defense of their art.

Jeremy L. Smith and Jordan Hugh Sam (University of Colorado, Boulder):
“My sweet child and wife”: Buckingham, James I, and Homoeroticism in the English Anthem and Madrigal

The open-nature secret of the King James I homoerotic affairs led to a propagation of discourse most notably surrounding the influential Duke of Buckingham. In this paper, we find evidence of James’s fascination with Buckingham in David’s Lamentations and Vautor’s Ayres. We begin by noting that a subset of the Davidic Laments focus not on the death of David’s son Absalom—an event many scholars relate to James’s loss of his son Prince Henry (d. 1614)—but rather on the loss of Jonathan. It was the latter whom David described as a “brother” and also as someone whose “love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women” (2 Samuel 1:26). Not only do the familial and homoerotic elements of this biblical text evoke James and Buckingham’s relationship, the theological reading of David and Jonathan’s love, as a form of covenant, fits precisely the Foucauldian notion of sexuality as a “discourse that transmits and produces power.” As David Bergeron notes, “Buckingham’s privileged status with the king is specifically a family affair. He is at once James’s child and his wife … and [i]n this way James reshapes the structures of kinship to meet the requirements of his political economy.” Where the familial and homoerotic elements coalesce most prominently is in a music collection titled First set of Ayres that the composer Thomas Vautor dedicated to Buckingham in the same year, 1619, that the latter became a duke, capping off his meteoric rise to fame and infamy as the favorite and avowed lover of his king. Strikingly, in this light, Vautor’s works include an elegy to James’s son, Henry, and a work most likely designed to commemorate James’s wife, Anna (d. 1619), although always regarded as a tribute to Queen Elizabeth I (d. 1602). Most importantly, Vautor included a work in the set that not only celebrates
but also justifies homoerotic behavior, arguably unifying the entire collection around the theme of the James/Buckingham relationship.

**Friday late morning**

Affect and *Habitus* at the keyboard – Alexander Silbiger (Duke University), chair

**Alexis VanZalen** (Eastman School of Music):
Rhetoric and Declamation in the Organ Music of Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers

In sharp contrast with the cultural and political interpretations now common in musicological studies of other French baroque repertoire, scholars such as Douglass (1969, rev. 1995), Higginbottom (1999), and Shannon (2012) have consistently explained the stylistic characteristics and registration-based genres of French baroque organ music as consequences of the timbral and technical capabilities of the organs for which the repertoire was written. In his 2011 monograph, Ponsford began an important critique of this interpretation by highlighting the development of each genre in relationship to contemporary French vocal and instrumental music. Yet little consideration—beyond Higginbottom’s preliminary work (1979)—has been given as to why French baroque organists so highly valued timbral specificity.

In this paper, I place mid-seventeenth century French baroque organ music, specifically that of Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers, within the context of post-Tridentine French Catholic liturgical reform. Nivers is best known today for initiating a more precise approach to registration in French organ compositions and publications, but he also dedicated much of his career to reforming Gregorian chant. As Brulin (1999) argues, seventeenth-century French theologians valued rhetorical declamation for its ability to help spoken prayers more effectively move the hearts of listeners to greater devotion. Thus, as Davy-Rigaux (2004) and Karp (2005) have demonstrated, Nivers reformed and rewrote chant in accordance with declamatory principles.

I argue that Nivers’s organ compositions exhibit a similar rhetorical approach. For example, he incorporates text painting into his hymn settings and uses ornaments to highlight important words. Nivers similarly employs a range of registrations, tempos, and characters to create a variety of affects and emotions in his mass setting, adding nuance to the meaning of that text. Even in his suites intended for use with a variety of texts, he exploits the timbral possibilities of French baroque organs for their affective potential. Thus, the value that Catholic liturgical reform placed on rhetoric offers a new explanation for the importance of registration and timbral specificity in the larger French baroque organ repertoire that Nivers helped develop.

**Rebecca Cypess** (Rutgers University):
Chordal Accompaniment at the Harpsichord in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy: Recovering Traces of Embodied Knowledge

The emergence of basso continuo in Italy around the turn of the seventeenth century reflected profound changes in compositional thought that would persist in the Western tradition for two centuries or more. Yet basso continuo depended as much on the embodied knowledge of skilled instrumentalists as it did on compositional ingenuity. In his treatise of 1607, Agostino Agazzari emphasized that continuo players required not only a solid understanding of counterpoint, but also a strong physical *habitus* that would enable them to respond immediately to the other players or singers in the ensemble without “having to search painfully for the consonances.” Agazzari’s admonition that players understand their instruments well underscores the idea of basso continuo as an idiomatic practice rooted in the bodily act of performance.

Approaches to continuo realization at each instrument must have been worked out by players through experimentation and oral tradition. While evidence of such unwritten practices is obviously lost, I argue that traces of this experimental process among harpsichordists survive in two unlikely sources: Luzzasco Luzzaschi’s *Madrigali* (1601) and Girolamo Frescobaldi’s *Toccate* (1615). Luzzaschi’s madrigals are characterized by the soprano-bass polarity made possible by basso-continuo thinking, but its harpsichord accompaniment is notated...
in full chords, which guide the player's hands in voice-leading and texture. What Luzzaschi's text fails to convey are the subtleties of idiomatic arpeggiation and figuration. These factors, however, may be elucidated through consideration of the solo keyboard toccatas of Luzzaschi's student Frescobaldi, which Frescobaldi famously said should be executed “in the manner of modern madrigals.” Like basso continuo accompaniments, Frescobaldi’s toccatas are constructed through the elaboration of schematic chordal frameworks, and they involve both contrapuntal understanding and, as the composer noted, the physical touch of the fingers “upon the keys.” His performance instructions, which treat idiomatic arpeggiation and ornamental figuration, among other topics, bear suggestive implications for continuo playing at the harpsichord, describing an idiomatic approach to the expressive realization of harmony.

Friday afternoon

Christian Piety in the New World – Drew Edward Davies (Northwestern University)

Bernardo Illari (University of North Texas, Denton):
Musical Wit of the Mexican Motet: Francisco López’s Creative Anachronism

Mexican-born composer Francisco López Capillas (d. 1674) has earned an ultraconservative reputation thanks to his overwhelming preference for old-looking vocal polyphony. Professional analyses and assessments of his oeuvre, however, are few and partial. His Masses indeed reference sixteenth-century music in several ways: they are set for a single choir, feature extensive imitation, and some are based on mid-sixteenth-century models. Yet his twelve surviving motets (in MEX-Mc, choirbook 7), while set for a single choir, exploit textural and sonorous contrast in order to represent different lines of the text and experiment with unconventional dissonances.

Two four-part motets use anachronistic procedures. *Quicumque voluerit* (for the Apostles) includes a repeated cantus firmus with proportional diminution, while *Cui luna, sol et omnia* (for Mary) resorts to a mensuration canon of sorts, by employing four different combinations of tempus and prolation, one per voice. These archaisms, however, do not shape the works’ musical substance, which remains similar to López’s other motets. Both of them are justified as text representation: the shortening of the cantus firmus notes in *Quicumque* depicts the Biblical admonition in the lyrics (“whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister”), while the four tempora in *Cui luna* visually demonstrate the text’s second line by means of a pun (“everything serves God throughout the ages,” or *per temporas*).

These veritable musical conceits seem the result of a highly individual approach to composition. López transferred to the motet the kind of wit that the Jesuit intellectual Baltasar Gracián theorized in the 1640s and that is commonly found in villancicos. He does so through creative anachronism, emphasizing tradition and learning. The whole array of features—polyphony, archaisms, wit—makes sense when considered as defensive Mexican strategies against denigrating Spanish discourses. López’s polyphony appears as a differentiating response to the polychoralism cultivated by his Spanish-born colleagues, and also lays claim to the universality of his music. Furthermore, tradition and learning were common legitimizing strategies for Latin-American literates and artists who stood up for themselves. Considered thus, López emerges as a local-born (or Criollo) colonial artist who modulated a representative musical voice through style manipulation.

Ireri E. Chávez Bárcenas (Princeton University):
Pious Indians and Righteous Slaves in 17th-Century Catholic Song

The villancicos for Christmas composed by Gaspar Fernández in Puebla in 1611 include two unusual scenes: the representation of an Indian who relates his poor conditions to the humble birth of Christ and thus disdains wealthy Spanish people, and another that portrays resolute African slaves who attempt to celebrate Christmas, even at the risk of getting punished by their irascible owner. What is remarkable is how Indians and Africans are represented as models for piety, while their patrons, likely members of the Spanish elite, are harshly criticized.
These somewhat puzzling representations are in fact part of a pastoral tradition inherent to a body of villancicos that promoted spiritual values of poverty and servitude that sympathized with the humility and suffering of Christ. These works, which were especially meaningful for the members of the laity who were encouraged to recreate the Nativity scene to worship the childlike biblical shepherds, were particularly powerful during the period when royal and church authorities were pushing for labor reforms to ameliorate the conditions of Indian workers, which had resulted in a massive influx of African slaves in Central New Spain. Such reforms are extremely sensible in Puebla because they contradicted the interests of the thriving textile industry and triggered relentless conflicts between mill owners, church and royal authorities, Indian workers and African slaves.

In this paper, I focus on the Christmas villancicos as one of the central ways in which notions of the society were formed. I show how multiethnic societies are represented and I analyze the ways in which social struggles were integrated in the Nativity narrative. Only by understanding the essential components of this feast in the context of post-Tridentine spirituality, we begin to see the possible intentions and meanings—whether theological, religious or political—that villancicos acquired in Puebla’s multi-ethnic society. Whether these villancicos captured a real or a superficial image of Indians and Africans in Puebla at the turn of the century, they reveal the intricate tensions among marginalized social groups, viceregal authorities, and the growing middle class in emergent industrial capitals in Spanish America in the early seventeenth century.

**Friday late afternoon**

Rhetoric High and Low – Paul Schleuse (Binghamton University), chair

**Robert R. Holzer** (Yale University):

In Petrarch’s Shadow: Revision and Allusion in the Vernacular Settings in Monteverdi’s *Selva morale et spirituale*

The two Petrarch settings that Claudio Monteverdi placed at the head of his *Selva morale et spirituale* have evoked considerable commentary, much of it inspired by Nino Pirrotta’s claim that they represent “a screen to the expression of personal sentiments.” In this paper, I offer a fresh perspective, formalist rather than autobiographical. I argue that in setting Petrarch, Monteverdi reworked the poet’s words to emphasize similarities between two disparate texts, while in the three settings of verse by other poets that follow, his choices conjure a Petrarchan presence.

In the first setting, as many have noted, Monteverdi reordered lines from *Trionfo della morte*. Generally overlooked is that the resulting text begins with a vocative (“O ciechi”) and ends with a moralizing *sententia* (“Miser chi speme in cosa mortal pone”), its structure matching Petrarch’s own in Canzoniere 1 (“Voi che ascoltate” / “Che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno”), which Monteverdi set second. Imposed similarity creates complementary addresses, to those who in the first setting do not see (“ciechi”) and those who in the second are called upon to listen (“ascoltate”). Similarities of musical style and gesture further bind the works together.

The Petrarchism of the work that follows, “È questa vita un lampo,” is more oblique. Though the text scarcely resembles anything by the Trecento poet, its author, Angelo Grillo (1557–1629), was considered his successor: in the widely read fictions of Traiano Boccalini’s *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (1612), Petrarch himself proclaims Grillo such. The music, too, is an outlier, a five-voice madrigal with basso seguente that recalls the style most associated with *petrarchismo*.

Monteverdi concluded his vernacular settings with two canzonettas, “Spuntava il di” by Francesco Balducci (1579–1642) and the anonymous “Chi vuol che m’innamori” (authorship for which I present two likely candidates). Both allude strongly to Petrarch’s “Chi vuol veder quantunque pò Natura” (Canzoniere 248). The second canzonetta’s *capoverso* begins as does the sonnet’s, while the first’s refrain (“cosa bella qua giù passa, e non dura”) nearly matches the end of the sonnet’s second quatrains (“cosa bella mortal passa e non dura”). The prominent placement and setting Monteverdi afforded both lines tie their poems’ common theme—life’s brevity—to Petrarch’s identical reflection in foreshadowing the death of Laura.
John Romey (Case Western Reserve University):
Anti-truths: Satirical Portraits as Literary and Musical Salon Games

The practice of *la parodie*, or turning a serious poem into a burlesque while preserving, as much as possible, the original rhymes, words, and cadences, blossomed in seventeenth-century Parisian literary circles. These parody texts could imitate the pithy verse of another poet at a salon, and poets also modeled their work on dialogues from operas. Similarly, participants at salons performed new parody texts to the latest airs *sérieux* and opera airs. These games of wit demonstrate the close connection between literature, which was performed out loud (*à haut voix*) in the salons, and song. In this paper, I will reconstruct the evolution of a salon game in which participants constructed satirical portraits, known as “*les contrevéritez,*” or “anti-truths,” from a literary game to a musical one. In this genre, a poet would exaggerate or invert the physical characteristics or personality traits of an individual to create anti-portraits. Although the salon game seems to have originated as a *mazarinade*, a type of political pamphlet published during the Fronde, it soon took on a new life in literary circles at the court and at salons. After the Fronde, new literary “contrevéritez” targeting courtiers proliferated. In 1668, after Louis XIV’s first *grande fête*, poets began to adopt Jean-Baptiste Lully’s instrumental dance melody “Air pour les Bergers,” from the divertissement to Molière’s *George Dandin*, to create musical “contrevéritez.” Hundreds of these musical anti-portraits survive in manuscript *chansonniers*, where they are preserved alongside parodies of dialogues of opera scenes and *vaudevilles*, popular tunes commonly associated with street singing on the Pont-Neuf. From this point forward the salon game transformed from a literary to a musical one, always sung to Lully’s tune. Although some of Lully’s tunes became veritable *vaudevilles* and were sung by all social ranks, “*les contrevéritez*” seems to have flourished within the confines of literary circles. “*Les contrevéritez*” reveals the fluidity between literary and musical games performed by members of seventeenth-century French fashionable society and how song was another tool used to propagate, through public performance, one’s reputation as a wit.

**Saturday morning**

Seduction and Devotion – Virginia Lamothe (Belmont University), chair

Aliyah Shanti (Princeton University):
Binding the Heart: Witchcraft and Enchantment in *La catena d’Adone* (1626)

In Canto 13 of Giambattista Marino’s *Adone*, the enchantress Falsirena attempts, unsuccessfully, to ensnare the heart of Adonis by magic. All of the love spells that Falsirena uses—such as tying knots in a lock of Adonis’s hair and piercing the heart of a wax figurine representing her lover—would have been familiar to Marino’s audiences; they are all charms whose use was attested by contemporary Italian witches. Indeed, the purpose of much folk magic—used mainly by women of varying social stations—was to win a lover. A man who had been affected by such magic and made to love inappropriately and against his will was said, both in popular parlance and legal testimony, to have been “bound” or “tied.” Ottavio Tronsarelli, in his libretto for *La catena d’Adone* (1626), with music by Domenico Mazzocchi, condenses the episode of Adonis’s capture by Falsirena. Tronsarelli omits Falsirena’s use of folk magic, and replaces her use of necromancy to learn the name of Adonis’s lover with her conjuration of Pluto, who ascends from Hades to speak to her. Tronsarelli’s libretto places great emphasis on the magic chain that Falsirena uses to prevent Adonis from escaping. This element is absent from Marino’s poem. Chains, however, were commonly used in love magic. In an act of symbolic sympathy common in witchcraft, in *La catena d’Adone*, the physical binding of the magic chain replaces the binding of Adonis’s heart through witchcraft.

In this paper, I will show how Italian concepts of witchcraft helped to create the figure of the enchantress in 17th-century opera, as a woman who uses her powers to tie men to her against their will. I will explore the figure of Falsirena in *La catena d’Adone*, a literal “false siren” who uses magic and artifice to seduce. I will show how Tronsarelli, in his adaptation of Marino’s text, including his invention of the magic chain, creates a narrative that is more dramatically unified and allows for greater stage spectacle, while still retaining the essential idea of magic as a snare to bind the hearts of men.
**Jenny Zilmer** (University of Auckland):

**Performing Devotion: Reimagining Buxtehude’s Sacred Vocal Works**

Prominent among the libretti of Dieterich Buxtehude’s 113 extant sacred vocal works are devotional texts: poetry and prose in German or Latin, composed for or utilized in the context of individual prayer and meditation. While we do not know in which contexts Buxtehude’s vocal settings were performed nor who might have heard them, aspects of seventeenth century Lutheran devotional practice can illuminate our scholarly and performing interpretations of them. Of particular importance are seventeenth-century perspectives on the multi-faceted themes of mystical love and the Passion meditation, dominant in Buxtehude’s settings and those of his contemporaries, and in which we find powerfully intimate and at times palpably worldly expressions of love for the divine. In this context it could be suggested that Luther’s meditatio—the deep contemplation of and engagement with a text—may have extended to sounding performances of devotional settings, shaping experiences of performer and listener absorption.

This paper contributes to a growing body of work that seeks to explore seventeenth century Lutheran vocal repertories in their musical and cultural contexts. But while much has been done to identify musical figures and direct portrayals of textual content in Lutheran Baroque music, I will argue that Buxtehude’s settings are not mirrored representations of their textual themes. Instead I aim to show that the musical fabric of his works transforms these themes with affective immediacy. Drawing on Bettina Varwig’s concept of “reimagining” possible historical meanings of musical works in performance, I will discuss two case studies whose devotional texts express mystical love for Jesus. In attempting a reimagining of these works, Buxtehude’s manipulation of stylistic convention and his arrangement of textual and musical structures are considered in the light of contemporary devotional associations. Furthermore, I emphasize the agency of the performer in this repertoire by considering such aspects as the singers’ embodiment of the principal actors in these meditations on love, lust, and suffering.

**Saturday late morning**

**English Anxieties II – Stacey Jocoy (Texas Tech University), chair**

**K. Dawn Grapes** (Colorado State University):

**Music, Legacy, and Reputational Redress in John Coprario’s *Funeral Teares* (1606)**

Sir Charles Blount, 8th Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire, died in April 1606. Just three years earlier, he had cemented his legacy in English history, or so he thought, bringing an end to a decade-long rebellion in Ireland, an ongoing conflict that cost both sides many lives and valuable resources. He returned to London a national hero, awaited by a newly crowned king who immediately created him Earl of Devonshire and granted him an elevated status in court. It would seem that three years later, Devonshire’s death should have elicited prolonged national mourning, with a great outpouring of grief manifested through the London press. Yet the Earl’s death was largely ignored, due to a scandal some months earlier, in which he married his long-time lover, Penelope Rich. One English composer, however, boldly mourned the loss of Blount and defended his name through a printed sequence of lute songs-airs. John Coprario’s *Funeral Teares* (1606) combines early modern verse elegy with a series of seven musical laments and dialogues to speak to the Earl’s nobility, humanity, and virtue.

The publication of musical funeral elegies in early seventeenth-century England is well established, but most elegies were presented as single songs appended to larger collections. This paper examines the ways in which Coprario’s anthology follows expectations of early modern English musical funeral elegies, while affording Devonshire special treatment through careful musical setting, organization of song texts, and the unusual choice of creating an entire musical volume as a specific memorial tribute. Especially curious is Coprario’s failure to dedicate the volume to a named patron, bypassing an opportunity for future favor and financial gain. A close reading of Coprario’s texts and musical settings, as represented in the original 1606 artifact, comments on the use of music to salve the grieving heart, while restoring a seventeenth-century gentleman’s reputation, in a time when societal faux-pas could destroy the achievements of a lifetime.
Nicholas Smolenski (Duke University):
Caroline Propaganda in Restoration England: Thomas Tomkins’s Musica Deo sacra

Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656) was likely in contact with Charles I in the years prior to the English Civil War (1642-51); the composer’s Chapel Royal position, continual contributions to the Anglican repertory, and interaction with Archbishop William Laud suggest his Royalist sympathies. While Musica Deo sacra, the single-composer collection of Tomkins’s sacred music, was published posthumously in 1668, the project was likely started by the composer himself in the 1630s. The print’s anomalous monarchal dedication further suggests Tomkins’s intention to construct Royalist propaganda that also reinforced Laud’s Arminian values in the Church of England. Furthermore, Musica Deo sacra’s publication in the first decade of the Restoration coincides with continued debates of Caroline politics and publication of pamphlets and artworks that caution repetition of the Civil War and the fate of the ruling monarch.

Tomkins’s Musica Deo sacra as case study of Royalist propaganda is presented in two cultural contexts for this presentation: its initial compilation before the Civil War and its publication during the Restoration. The result is a more holistic understanding of Royalists’ use of musical propaganda to bolster Laud’s Arminian interests and Charles I as reigning monarch, and how the presence of pre-war propaganda was unearthed at a time of transition, monarchical triumph, and anxiety for those who experienced first-hand the fall of “Charles the Martyr.”

Saturday afternoon

Spectacles of the Other I – Beth L. Glixon (University of Kentucky), chair

Wendy Heller (Princeton University):
“Invitta Veremonda”: Representing Islam and the Ethics of Early Opera

During the penultimate scene of Francesco Cavalli’s Veremonda L’Amazzone d’Aragona (Venice, 1652) the Spanish army, assisted by Queen Veremonda and her band of amazons, defeats the army of the Moorish Queen Zelemina staging a sneak attack during a Muslim feast that turned the streets of Gibraltar into “rivers of blood.” The final scene takes place in the mosque. When the magnanimous Veremonda calls for Zelemina to be released from bondage, the conquered queen begs the Spanish rulers for clemency in a moving lament accompanied by a halo of viols. Agreeing to give up Mohammed and “go to God,” she declares her love for Spanish General who is both her lover and enemy. This union of lovers so typical of a Venetian lieto fine is interrupted as the victorious Spaniards rushing to protect the fortress walls, as the victory “may not yet be secure.” Unique in its bloody show of Christian imperialism, Veremonda is one of only two seventeenth-century Italian operas to deal so explicitly with the conflict between Islam and Christianity, the first being Cicognini’s Celio (Florence, 1646), upon which Veremonda is based.

My paper explores the contrasting ways in which the ideological and political complexities of this libretto not only shaped the opera’s genesis in Seicento Venice but profoundly impact productions in the twenty-first century. I begin with a detailed examination of the many layers and revisions in Cavalli’s notoriously messy manuscript, which reveal the extent to which compositional process was driven by a preoccupation with the opera’s political and social content. I then turn to a close consideration of the two modern revivals of Veremonda—Spoleto (2015) and Schwetzingen/Mainz (2016)—in which the producers chose manifestly different ways representing the conflict between the Christian and Muslim world, in one case erasing the conflict in favor of an exotic, fairytale realm, and the other underscoring the opera’s inherent violence and brutality. In so doing, I confront basic questions about ethics in staging early opera, the tension between the allure of authenticity and the demands of conscience, and the moral challenges we face as scholars.
Robert C. Ketterer (University of Iowa):
War and Peace and Opera in Venice, 1648-49

This paper explores political resonances in two Venetian operas on eastern themes from 1648-49: *Semiramide in India* (libretto: Bisaccioni; music: Sacrati) and *Argiope* (libretto: Micheli and Fusconi; music: Lenardini). The Cretan or Candia War began in the 1644 with the Turkish invasion of Crete. The Venetians suffered multiple setbacks, and by 1648 there were only five cities left in their control. However, a Venetian blockade of the Hellespont in the 1650s resulted in notable naval victories. Prologues to Venetian operas in those years reflected optimism and the exaltation of the power of Venice that was typical in its Carnival celebrations. In Minato’s *Xerse* (1654), Zeus and Victory offer to crush the guilty Ottomans and raise triumphal trophies for the Lion of the Adriatic. In Minato’s *Artemisia* (1656) there are multiple references to *Adriacì eroi*. Military trumpets, arms and trophies are celebrated, and Apollo will crown the Venetian Lion with eternal laurels.

*Semiramide in India* (1648) and *Argiope* (1646/1649) stand in stark contrast. Both were produced in the early, disastrous phase of the war, and are focused on the virtues of peace and love. In the prologue of *Semiramide*, Athena sings clichéd praises of virtues of war, but a chorus of Assyrians beg her to leave them in peace. The final chorus sings, “No more of war, … let Bellona and Mars keep away!” *Argiope* makes the case more strongly, with a Prologue that is interconnected with two intermedi during which the figure of War is confronted and then thwarted by the efforts of Peace, Love and Well-being, just as the wars on stage are resolved into forgiveness and peace. This paper argues that 1) the eastern settings of these operas draw attention to Venice’s anxieties about their losses in the Cretan war; 2) that they reflect continuing Venetian adherence to a well-established “myth” of Venetian pacifism, neutrality and stability that is evident in contemporary historiography and paintings in the Ducal Palace (cf. J.R. Hales, “La Guerra e la Pace,” *Storia di Venezia*, v.6, 1994); and 3) that in consequence, there is a more positive depiction of eastern characters in these operas than in the those of the 1650s.

Saturday late afternoon

Spectacles of the Other II – Beth L. Glixon (University of Kentucky), chair

Charles E. Brewer (Florida State University):
Folklore or Ethnic Stereotypes in Habsburg Balletti

In his studies of dance associated with the Habsburg lands, Paul Nettl noted the influence of folk music on the theatrical and social balletti during the reign of Leopold I, especially in the works of Johann Heinrich Schmelzer. This generally benign view of the imitation or adaptation of traditional musics is also found in more recent scholarship by Schnitzler, Brewer, and Rawson. While the music does contain features reflective of traditional dance types found among the different ethnic groups, these scholars do not address another darker level of cultural meaning that would have been evident in the performance of these dances at carnival balls or on stage, ethnic stereotypes tinged with a strong cultural prejudice.

The presence of what Nettl termed an “österreichischer ‘Dörperheit’” (an Austrian rusticness) is an important component of the melodiousness that can be found in instrumental and vocal music throughout the Habsburg lands. While this might have included the relatively benign imitations by Central European nobility of the antics of the lower classes in a Landschaft or musical landscape performed during the various Wirtschaften throughout the year, such as the sleigh rides or “peasant” weddings (evident in balletti by Schmelzer, such as his *Pauaren Ballett* [1665], or Biber’s *Die pauern-Kirchfarth genandt* [1673]), the musical representation of different ethnic groups, the “others” within the Hapsburg realms, was based upon assumed but intolerant stereotypes.

Through an examination of contemporary descriptions, graphic representations, and the music itself, it can be shown that these “folkloric” compositions could be sonic representations of ethnic prejudice. This context is important for a fuller understanding of works as various as the anonymous “Villana Hanatica,” the ethnic variations from the “Aria Allemagna” in Poglietti’s *Rossignolo*, or musical representations of the Zingari (Romani). At its most extreme, antisemitism was evident in the seventh section of Daniel Speer’s *Musikalisch-
türkischer Eulenspiegel (1688), in which the “Hungarisch Ballet” and song of the simpleton, Lompyn, are described in the index as depicting “Lompyn schlägt einen Juden im Feld.” In order to more fully understand the performative meanings of these works, they should not be isolated from their original cultural signification.

**Kelley Harness** (University of Minnesota): Laboring for Hercules: Constructing a Horse Ballet in Mid Seventeenth-Century Florence

On 1 July 1661 thousands of spectators crowded into the temporarily expanded Boboli Garden amphitheater to view the Medici court’s newest equestrian spectacle, *Il mondo festeggiante*, with poetry by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia and music by Domenico Anglesi, performed as part of the month-long festivities celebrating the marriage of crown prince Cosimo de’ Medici and Marguerite Louise d’Orléans, cousin to King Louis XIV. Savvy audience members would have expected to see mythological personages and musicians atop lavishly decorated pageant floats, mounted Florentine noblemen engaged in fearsome combat using a variety of weapons, and a demonstration of those same noblemen’s equestrian skills in the concluding balletto, all to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music. These events typically served a larger narrative, in this case the conflict and reconciliation of Europe and America, fighting on behalf of Apollo, with Asia and Africa defending Cynthia (Luna). Aiding Apollo’s troops and thereby ensuring their success was Hercules, a role assumed by the crown prince.

What this and similar audiences would not have seen were the carpenters, blacksmiths, papier-mâché specialists, and other artisans, whose labor allowed princes to demonstrate their magnificence to political allies and competitors alike through conspicuous consumption whose symbolic capital depended in part on an event’s recognized ephemerality. These workers are also often absent from scholarly accounts, due to the fragmented nature of surviving documentation. The situation differs for *Il mondo festeggiante*, thanks to the preservation of three complete account books and daily journals, which document in detail the human and material resources required for the 1661 production. For ten months that year, over 500 workers labored to bring the project to completion and then to dismantle it to recycle the raw materials. The documents preserve all weekly pay registers, enumerating individual names, trades, and number of days worked. Entries hint at behind-the-scenes dramas ranging from seven-day workweeks when preparations fell behind schedule to on-the-job injuries and last-minute repairs. Together, these books provide one of the century’s most informative accounts of the amount of work required to appear effortless.

**Sunday morning**

Cosmopolitan Courts I – Georgia Cowart (Case Western Reserve University), chair

**Don Fader** (University of Alabama):
How Giovanni Battista Lulli Became Jean-Baptiste Lully: The Composer’s Comic Self-Representation in his Early Ballets de cour

At the court of Louis XIV, courtiers demonstrated their status not only by conforming to norms of behavior (*bienséance*) but by mocking comportment considered inappropriate. This technique formed part of Lully’s strategy for demonstrating his rejection of his Italian roots in his early ballets of the 1650s and early 1660s. The texts, vers de personnage (verse addressed to the dancers in the libretto), and the music of Lully’s Italian comic scenes often stage him as composer, dancer, or both, in music that exaggerates Italian characteristics to mock them (and his Italian competitors). Italian musical characteristics deemed objectionable by critics of the period include those considered artificially showy (fioriture) or too “learned” (elaborate counterpoint), those using overblown emotion (irregular dissonance practice), or those distracting from expression (excessive text painting).

The vers de personnage played an important role in Lully’s crafting of his persona because they usually addressed nobles, and their inclusion of him served to distinguish him from other performers. They often praised his talent, as in the entrée “Les contrefaiseurs” (the imitators) from the *Ballet de la raillerie* (1659), a
comic pantomime where Lully lead a group of dancers who imitated one another to fully canonic music. The vers make it clear that the use of this “learned” counterpoint was a pun, and note that while Lully could imitate others, no one could imitate him. Lully also played the two national styles against one another, most famously in the dialogue between “La musique française” and “La musica italiana” in Raillerie. He also purposefully evoked out-of-date Italian genres. In the same ballet, three characters tease one another by awkward imitation and exaggerated fioriture in the vein of Luzzaschi Luzzaschi. In the Ballet de l’impatience (1661), Lully had cardinal Mazarin’s Italian singers perform their own ridicule in the guise of a music master and his students taking snuff in five-part madrigal style where the resolution of horrendous dissonances are interrupted by sneezing pauses. Lully’s mocking exaggeration of these inappropriate style features thus demonstrated his understanding of French “good taste” to the court.

Michael Klaper (Institut für Musikwissenschaft Weimar-Jena):
Giovanni Bentivoglio at the French Court and an Unrecognized Source for Seventeenth-Century Italian Cantata Poetry

Virtually unknown in the scholarly literature, the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid’s ms. 19277 reveals itself as undoubtedly one of the most important sources for poesia per musica of the 17th century. Consisting of nearly 800 pages, its contents are grouped in four parts: (1) sonnets, (2) Idilli Amorosi, e Cantate per musica, (3) madrigals, and (4) Canzonette, e Scherzi per Musica. But the codex names neither its poets nor its compiler. Nevertheless, as I will show, one can establish that Madrid 19277 transmits the collected poems of a single author, Giovanni Bentivoglio (1611-1694), who in the late 17th and even in the 18th century was remembered as a versatile poet, but who afterwards was entirely forgotten.

Remarkably, Bentivoglio, who began his career in Rome, settled at the French court during the early 1640s and subsequently became a most influential figure in the cultural exchange between Italy and France during a politically crucial period: first, under the regency of Anne d’Autriche and Cardinal Mazarin, and later under the King Louis XIV. Indeed, although Bentivoglio had written his earliest cantata texts in Rome, he composed the overwhelming majority of his poetry, as contained in Madrid 19277, in France. An analysis of the identifiable concordances of his texts reveals that Bentivoglio, for more than three decades, wrote a prolific amount of cantata poetry for the Italian composers in Paris, beginning with Marco Marazzoli and Luigi Rossi, and reaching as far as Theobaldo di Gatti in the later 17th century. Thus, my identification and contextualization of this source throws new light on a widely neglected study: the production of Italian cantatas in France between ca. 1640 and 1680.

Sunday late morning

Cosmopolitan Courts II – Georgia Cowart (Case Western Reserve University), chair

Devin Burke (University of Louisville):
Jean-Baptiste Lully’s Balletti francesi and the Court of Leopold I

In the body of theatrical music composed for the court of Leopold I, one set of French dances, innocuously titled Balletti Francesi à 4, has been a subject of recurring curiosity for nearly a century. In 1921, Paul Nettl puzzled over the set’s uncharacteristic programmatic content and its overt French style, which was out of place for its date, 30 May 1667. At that time, the political rivalry between Vienna and Versailles meant that French ballet was essentially an underground commodity at the imperial court. Only eight months prior, the rare public performance of a French ballet had caused a great scandal. Why the Balletti francesi appeared when Vienna was particularly inhospitable to French music has been an enduring mystery.

An additional enigma is the single name on the manuscript, “S. Ebner,” because the real composer is Jean-Baptiste Lully. The set’s eight dances were selected by anonymous hand from Lully’s entrées for Francesco Cavalli’s opera Ercole amante (1662). Though Carl Schmidt identified the source material in 1987, no one has compared the sources in detail or investigated the set’s raison d’être. In addition, scholars have overlooked the
significance of these dances as an early appearance of Lully’s music outside of Paris, and as the only surviving four-part harmonizations of some of Lully’s dances.

This paper draws on archival research conducted in Paris and Kromeríž, and shows that the unknown adapter compiled the dances from multiple sources. The arrangements are musically faithful to Lully’s originals, but most intriguing, half of the dances are recast for living statues. These programmatic changes, as well as the connections of the source material with Louis XIV’s marriage to Maria Theresa, suggest a possible political context. When Leopold became Louis’s half-brother-in-law in 1666, the rulers’ rivalry intensified over their shared claims to the Spanish throne. For two years, Leopold staged lavish theatrical works proclaiming Hapsburg superiority in Europe. Peter Burke and others have determined that several of these works appropriated French elements in order to elevate Vienna over France. I argue that the *Balletti francesi* similarly borrowed French dances to subvert their propagandistic imagery.

**Stewart Carter** (Wake Forest University):
Isabella Leonarda’s Tribute to Leopold I: Politics and Liturgical Function in the Late Seicento Motet

In 1686 Isabella Leonarda published a collection of sacred works, which she dedicated to Emperor Leopold I. Her *Motetti à voce sola* (Opus 12) includes thirteen Latin motets for solo voice and one sacred cantata in Italian. It also includes three sonnets dedicated to Leopold, two by Isabella herself and one by her nephew, Nicolò Leonardi. Lazaro Agostino Cotta, in his biographical dictionary of prominent citizens of Novara (*Museo novarese*, 1700), includes a substantial entry on Leonarda, specifically mentioning the motets of Opus 12 and their connection to Leopold I. The entry concludes with a sonnet by Amedeo Saminiati Lucchese that compares Leonarda’s musical skills to the emperor’s military prowess. According to Cotta, the sonnet was presented to the emperor after his military victories over the Turks.

Two of the motets from Opus 12, *Victoria* and *Miei fidi all’armi*, both of which are appropriately martial in style, bear their own dedications to Leopold. Like the other works in this publication, they are typical examples of the solo motet of the late Seicento. This was a unique genre, distinct in certain respects from large-scale Latin works, both liturgical and non-liturgical. The distinction is largely due to two prominent characteristics: the presence of recitatives and the sensuous nature of the texts. These works may be regarded as sacred analogs of the immensely popular secular cantatas by such composers as Marc’Antonio Cesti and Giovanni Legrenzi.

My paper examines the political objectives of Leonarda’s publication, suggesting how a relatively obscure Ursuline nun from Novara might have benefitted, albeit indirectly, from her encomium to the Habsburg ruler. It presents evidence for the performance of solo motets in non-liturgical contexts and shows how these works were particularly appropriate vehicles for Leonarda’s political agenda.
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