Society for Seventeenth-Century Music

32nd Annual Conference

April 4-7, 2024



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> Lynette Bowring, Program Committee Chair Wendy Heller, Local Arrangements

Hosted by Princeton University Department of Music, with support from the Center for Human Values, Council of the Humanities, Program in Italian Studies, Department of Art and Archaeology, Department of French and Italian, Department of Comparative Literature



This conference is dedicated to the memory of two of our most beloved members, whose scholarly contributions, collegiality, mentorship, and friendship improved our lives immeasurably.

Irene Alm (1956-2000)



Irene Alm received her M.A. and Ph.D. in musicology from UCLA and was Associate Professor of Music History at Rutgers University before her premature death in October 2000, at the age of forty-four. Irene was deeply mourned by friends, colleagues, and students, who had come to love her extraordinarily generous spirit, humor, grace, and discerning intellect. Much of her work was inspired by her profound interest in the relationship between music and dance. Members of SSCM might be surprised to learn that her first major publication was "Stravinsky, Balanchine and Agon: An Analysis of the Collaborative Process," *Journal of Musicology* 17 (1989), followed by an extraordinarily valuable reference source, *The Catalog of Venetian Librettos at the University of California* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), which has been a vital tool for anyone doing research on seventeenth-century opera. Irene is best known for her dissertation and subsequent articles on theatrical dance in Venetian opera and—famously—for proving wrong the scholars who claimed that there was "no dance music to be found." She was working on a book at the time of death; I had the privilege of editing her work, along with Rebecca Harris-Warrick, entitled "Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence: Dance in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 15 (1993).

I often imagine what it would have been like had we not lost Irene so soon. She would have mentored another generation of students with the same care that she lavished upon Kimberlyn Montford, another beloved member of our Society; she would have gone on to write more articles and books, both on Venetian opera and twentieth-century American ballet; she would have been my partner not only for the 2002 SSCM meeting at Princeton, but for this one as well. A devoted member of SSCM since its inception, she surely would have been elected President of our society and celebrated as an Honorary Member. And—most importantly—we would have had her friendship over these past two decades. I console myself with the fact that we see something of her legacy in the twenty-three young scholars who have been awarded the Irene Alm Memorial Prize at SSCM each year. I still miss her more than I can say; we are lucky to have had in her in our lives.

By Wendy Heller

Barbara Sparti (1936-2013)



Barbara had at least four remarkable careers. She trained in Orff and Dalcroze methods in Geneva and Salzburg, and taught music and movement to adults and children for over forty years. As the director of the "Gruppo di Danza Rinascamentale" from 1975-1988, Barbara led Renaissance dance performances not only throughout Italy, but also as far away as Moscow, Berlin, and London. She was renowned as a choreographer for late Renaissance operas and plays by such figures as Ruzzante, Caccini, Cavalieri, Gagliano, and Monteverdi on stage and TV. Much in demand as a practical instructor of Italian Renaissance dance, Barbara taught classes throughout Europe, in North America, and Israel; she was a Distinguished Visiting Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles in 1990, guest lecturer / choreographer in Israel in 1997, at the University of California Santa Cruz (2000), and in residence at Princeton University in April 2002. She also taught generations of dancers at the Early Music Festival in Urbino for over 25 years.

As a scholar, Barbara was no less astounding. The translator of Gugliemo Ebreo's 1463 dance treatise and author of the introduction to Ercole Santucci's *Mastro da Ballo* (1614), Barbara introduced dancers, dance historians, and musicologists to these two seminal treatises. In well over two dozen essays published in English and Italian, she explored a vast array of topics on fifteenth- and seventeenth-century dance, including Jewish dancing masters, iconography, aesthetics, improvisation and ornamentation, social and political contexts of dance, the moresca, and the galliard, many of which were republished in *Dance, Dancers, and Dance-Masters in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, edited by Giordano and Pontremoli (Bologna, 2015).

Although Barbara only attended less than half a dozen meetings of the Society of Seventeenth-Century Music, she was well known to SSCM members for her warmth, humor, and her insightful and elegant conference presentations. In 2002, when SSCM came to Princeton, Barbara spent several weeks in residence here, directing students and community members in a performance of Sigismondo d'India's *Balletto de rei della Cina*. At that same conference Barbara also presented her paper on dance in Melani's *Ercole in Tebe*, which she would later publish in *Early Music History*. (An engraving from that opera graces the program booklet). Barbara's friendship helped me to cope with the loss of Irene; now, some twenty-two years later, it is only right that we dedicate the conference to her memory as well. Whether teaching, dancing, reading a paper, or entertaining guests in her lovely flat in Trastevere, Barbara was always a powerful presence and a devoted friend.

By Wendy Heller

SSCM Conference Schedule

All paper sessions will be held in Taplin Auditorium, Fine Hall, Princeton University

THURSDAY, APRIL 4

1:30 pm-3:30 pm	Meeting of the SSCM Governing Board (Woolworth 305)
3:30 pm-5:00 pm	Meeting of the WLSCM Governing Board (Woolworth 305)
5:00 pm	Registration, (Forum, Lewis Arts Center)
6:00-6:30 pm	Panel Discussion: (Forum, Lewis Arts Center) Ottomans, Venetians, and the Politics of Cavalli's <i>Veremonda</i> Wendy Heller (Music), Jamie Reuland (Music), Molly Greene (History), Gabrielle Hooper (GS, Music), Lawrence Zazzo (Newcastle University)
6:30-7:30 pm	Concert: Forum, Lewis Arts Center An Evening with Cavalli's <i>Veremonda</i> Sara Hagenbuch (soprano); Emma Simmons (mezzo-soprano); Emma George (mezzo-soprano); Jacqueline Horner-Kwiatek (mezzo- soprano)
(Short-Term Visi	<i>Featuring guest artist Lawrence Zazzo</i> (countertenor) iting Belknap Fellow in the Humanities Council and Department of Music)
	with members of
7:30 pm	Early Music Princeton, Wendy Young, director EMP Singers, Jacqueline Horner-Kwaitek, director EMP Chamber Ensemble, Nancy Wilson, director The Cavalli Players Joyce Chen, continuo Conducted by Michael Pratt Opening Reception (Forum, Lewis Complex)

FRIDAY, APRIL 5

8:00 am-12:00 pm	Registration
8:00 am-9:00 am	Breakfast
8:30 am-5:30 pm	Book Exhibit
9:00 am-10:20 am	Jewish and Russian Orthodox Music in Context Chair: Andrew Weaver
	Paul G. Feller-Simmons (Northwestern University): "Jewish Musicianship in Leipzig after the Thirty Years' War"
	Anastasia Shmytova (Princeton University): " <i>Khabuvy, Anenaiki</i> : Towards an Understanding of the Use and Reception of Nonsensical Syllables in Russian Orthodox Chant"
10:20 am-10:40 am	Coffee Break (Brush Gallery)
10:40 am-12:00 pm	Jesuit-Indigenous Encounters in Ethiopia and Paraguay Chair: Erika Supria Honisch
	Janie Cole (Yale University): "Sacred Music, Jesuit-Indigenous Encounters, and the Economics of Patronage in the Christian Kingdom of 17th-Century Ethiopia"
	Bernardo Illari (University of North Texas): "Kerll Goes to the Paraguay Missions but Suffers in the Process: Jesuit Arrangements and Amerindian Choices"
12:00 pm-2:00 pm	Lunch (on your own)
12:00 pm-1:00 pm	Meeting of the JSCM Editorial Board (Woolworth 305)
2:00 pm-3:20 pm	Discourses of Race in Germany and Naples Chair: Emily Wilbourne
	Arne Spohr (Bowling Green State University): "'In Our Raven-Like Body Blooms a Heart as White as a Lily': Sonic, Kinetic, and Visual Imaginings of Blackness in Court Festivals of the Protestant Union, 1596–1617"

Nathan Reeves (University of Tennessee): "The Moresca and the Economies of Slavery in Spanish Naples"3:20 pm-3:40 pmCoffee Break (Brush Gallery)3:40 pm-5:00 pmSituating Italian Operas Chair: Jason Rosenholtz-Witt Jennifer Williams Brown (Grinnell College): "'This Old Opera': Francesco Cavalli's House on Venice's Grand Canal" Nastasia Heckendorff (Alban Berg Foundation): "Armida and the First Opera Performed in Paris"5:00 pm-8:00 pmDinner (on your own)8:00 pmConcert (Princeton University Chapel): "Music in Memoriam: Singing about Death in Moscow, Salzburg, Dresden, Constantinople, and London," featuring the Washington Cornett and Sackbutt ensemble, directed by Gabriel Crouch & Michael McCormick		
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"Music in Memoriam: Singing about Death in Moscow, Salzburg, Dresden, Constantinople, and London," featuring the Washington Cornett and Sackbutt ensemble, directed by Gabriel Crouch & Michael	5:00 pm-8:00 pm	Dinner (on your own)
Dresden, Constantinople, and London," featuring the Washington Cornett and Sackbutt ensemble, directed by Gabriel Crouch & Michael	8:00 pm	Concert (Princeton University Chapel):
		Dresden, Constantinople, and London," featuring the Washington Cornett and Sackbutt ensemble, directed by Gabriel Crouch & Michael

SATURDAY, APRIL 6

- 8:00 am-12:00 pm Registration
- 8:00 am-9:00 am Breakfast
- 8:30 am-5:30 pm Book Exhibit
- 9:00 am-10:20 am Dance in England

Chair: Anita Hardeman

Joseph V. Nelson (College of the Holy Cross): "Echoes of Lost Music in Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (1611)"

Caro Lesemann-Elliott (Royal Holloway, University of London): "Dancing, Didactics, and Doctrine: New Evidence of Early Modern Cross-Cultural Transfer via English Convent Schools"

10:20 am-10:40 am Coffee Break (Fine Hall Lobby)

10:50am-12:30 pm	Workshop (Woolworth 102) Caroline Copeland (New York Baroque Dance Co. and Hofstra University)
12:30 pm-1:30 pm	SSCM Business Meeting with lunch (Frist Multipurpose Room A&B)
1:30 pm-2:30 pm	Break
2:30 pm-3:50 pm	Editing and Interpreting French Music Chair: Graham Sadler
	Rebecca Harris-Warrick (Cornell University): "From the Stage to the Page: How Dance Research Informs the Preparation of Critical Editions"
	Adrian Powney (Royal Birmingham Conservatoire): "The Beginning of the End: End of Section Meter Sign Changes in Marc-Antoine Charpentier's Autograph Manuscripts and their Significance in Performance"
3:50 pm-4:10 pm	Coffee Break (Fine Hall Lobby)
4:10 pm-5:30 pm	Graduate Student Lightning Talks Chairs: Amanda Eubanks Winkler and Wendy Heller
7:30 pm	Banquet (Chancellor Green Rotunda)
SUNDAY, APRIL 7	
8:00 am-9:00 am	Breakfast
8:30 am-11:00 am	Book Exhibit
9:00 am-11:00 am	Music, Civic Identity, and Diplomacy Chair: Rose Pruiksma
	Deborah Kauffman (University of Northern Colorado): "Music for the Consecration of a Bishop at Saint-Cyr"
	Peter Bennett (Case Western Reserve University): "Civic Identity and Institutional Conflict in Seventeenth-Century Tours: Music for the Translation Ceremonies of 1641"
	Elizabeth Weinfield (Juilliard School): "'Extraordinary Subtill Queanes': Jewish Women and Musical Diplomacy in the Early Modern Constantinople Harem"

ABSTRACTS

FRIDAY, APRIL 5

Jewish and Russian Orthodox Music in Context

Session Chair: Andrew H. Weaver (Catholic University of America)

Jewish Musicianship in Leipzig after the Thirty Years' War

Paul G. Feller-Simmons (Northwestern University)

In the wake of the Thirty Years' War, a remarkable movement of Jewish musicians unfolded in Leipzig, a city where their presence was least to be expected due to civic restrictions. Driven by the annual trade fairs, which temporarily opened the city gates to members of the minority, Jewish musicians embarked on often dangerous journeys, converging in Leipzig to share their practices for a profit. Scholars, however, often frame the mobility of Jewish music north of the Alps as a modern phenomenon, perpetuating misconceptions about Jewish cultural stasis before the nineteenth century and assimilation thereafter. Considering the work of cultural historians Iris Idelson-Shein, David Ruderman, and Joshua Teplitsky, however, it becomes evident that the early-modern Jewish intellectual elite developed intricate, active, and dynamic networks of cultural exchange throughout Europe. Similarly, the musical activities of Jewish musicians facilitated the establishment of musical networks, albeit shaped by sometimes tense interactions between Jews and Christians. As such, moving beyond the higher strata of the Jewish and Christian communities highlights the role of everyday interactions in shaping cultural dynamics.

This paper studies the "non-liturgical" musical practices of Jewish musicians in the central regions of the Holy Roman Empire during the mid- to late-seventeenth century and their presence at the annual trade fairs in Leipzig. I argue that Leipzig became an ideal forum for Jewish musicians to successfully navigate their socioeconomic situation and the constrictions placed upon them. Examination of civic records from Saxony, early modern ethnographies, and rabbinical literature provides compelling evidence of the challenges faced by Jewish musicians, stemming from tensions with both Christian and Jewish authorities. On one hand, civic officials granted exclusive privileges to Christian musicians and attempted to control the practices of Jewish performers. Simultaneously, the rabbinate held strong reservations regarding non-liturgical music and dances and expressed concerns about cultural intermingling between Jews and non-Jews. Consequently, a significant number of Jewish musicians were compelled to seek performance opportunities beyond their immediate communities. In this regard, the complex social backdrop that the seventeenth-century Jewish communities inhabited not only enabled or even forced cross-cultural exchanges but also blurred the boundaries between cultural spheres.

Khabuvy, Anenaiki: Towards an Understanding of the Use and Reception of Nonsensical Syllables in Russian Orthodox Chant Anastasia Shmytova (Princeton University)

The Russian Orthodox liturgical tradition prides itself on its conservatism; to this day, instruments are not allowed in services, since, in the words of Johann von Gardner, "a musical instrument cannot speak, and therefore cannot pray, teach, narrate." Music is permitted in the liturgy only insofar as it emphasizes, clarifies, or provides an emotional exegesis to the liturgical text being sung. This sentiment is contradicted, however, by the phenomenon called *anenaiki* and *khabuvy* repeated nonsensical syllables ("*na-ne-ni*," or "*he-bu-ve*") interpolating the liturgical text in particularly ornate compositions sung on major feast days in Old Russian monophonic *znamenny* and polyphonic *demestvenny* chants. While the origins of this practice are unclear, anenaiki are found in manuscripts as early as the twelfth century and are likely linked to a similar Byzantine genre of florid chants with nonsensical vocables called *kratemata*. However, the history and transmission of this tradition from Byzantium to Rus' has not yet been examined by scholars.

After nearly five centuries of singing anenaiki and khabuvy, the practice of nonsense syllables was suddenly subject to critique and questioning in the seventeenth century. The anonymous author of a letter addressed to the Russian Patriarch Germogen, dating to the first decade of the seventeenth century, complains of the insertion of khabuvy into the liturgy by singers, denouncing the singing of syllables which are "superfluous and obscure the meaning of the words." Indeed, it appears that by the seventeenth century, church singers themselves did not understand how these syllables came to be performed. I examine several documents reflecting upon the use of nonsense syllables are notated. It is the first paper to discuss this practice, both in its liturgical context and in its reception in contemporaneous primary source documents, aiming to locate the nexus of its varied interpretations: liturgical function, artistic merits, and theological significance.

Jesuit-Indigenous Encounters in Ethiopia and Paraguay

Session Chair: Erika Supria Honisch (Stony Brook University)

Sacred Music, Jesuit-Indigenous Encounters, and the Economics of Patronage in the Christian Kingdom of 17th-Century Ethiopia

Janie Cole (Yale University)

The Jesuit mission to the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia (1557-1632) was one of its earliest and arguably most challenging projects in the early modern period, bringing one of the most ancient and remote Christian churches, albeit temporarily, under the authority of Rome. While music was central to Jesuit conversion practices as attested by some recent studies, we still know little about the full spectrum of Jesuit liturgical and musical production, distribution, and power on the Ethiopian highlands in relation to ancient Ethiopian liturgical rites and local Ethiopian economies of royal patronage which underlay these activities and cultural dynamics. Drawing on 16th- and 17th-century travelers' accounts, new archival Jesuit documentation, and indigenous sources, this paper examines the musical context of the royal court of King Susanyos and his sponsorship of Jesuit liturgical practices to explore the material economies that upheld and shaped the Jesuit musical art of conversion and transcultural Ethiopian-European encounters during this period. It reconstructs the musical practices developed by Jesuit missionaries, which blended indigenous African, Indian, and European elements, and argues that these musical activities were based on a well-established Jesuit model from Portuguese India, which employed music as evangelical and pedagogical tools. By outlining key missionary sites, musicians, and repertories, it explores a three-way interplay between the indigenous and foreign to consider discourses in cultural accommodation, identity, and indigenization that underpinned the materialities of local economics in the collisions of political, social, and cultural hierarchies in the North-East African highlands. These Afro-Eurasian musical

encounters offer significant broader insights into the workings of an intertwined early modern Indian Ocean World and the role of embodied aurality in constructing identity and religious proselytism in early modern Ethiopia.

Kerll Goes to the Paraguay Missions but Suffers in the Process: Jesuit Arrangements and Amerindian Choices

Bernardo Illari (University of North Texas)

Like most subalterns, the Guarani of the "Jesuit republic of Paraguay" are generally quiet in historical sources; the efficient propaganda machine of the Jesuits articulates a Catholic orthodox discourse in their name but pushes them aside. However, when documents switch from presenting the missions for outsider edification to representing everyday life, exceptions that musically envoice Amerindians may be found.

In the thirty Guarani towns that Jesuits established in the Paraguayan hinterland beginning in 1609, European-style church music was highly prized due to its persuasive power. The Guarani played along and enthusiastically adopted the practice. Their enthusiasm may have stemmed from a love of the music or from convenience or utility—we may never know. While Jesuits appropriated their performances for publicity and turned it into an emblem of success, Guarani preferences and opinions were systematically silenced.

I argue that some of these missing predilections may be discerned by reading "in-between the notes" of local motet copies. Tiny remains from a collection mostly by Johann Caspar Kerll were found inside the bindings of newer music in Chiquitos (Bolivia). The copies were made by Guarani speakers under the supervision of the Tirolese Antonio Sepp SJ (1655–1733), foremost promoter of the Austro-German Baroque and a harsh critic of older Spanish music. The copies, however, alter Kerll's compositions, possibly to cater to Native preferences. Sepp borrowed two favorite Iberian devices and worked them into the newer motets: polychoral dialogue (turning solos into duets) and alternatim performance (with real or made-up chant).

Within Sepp's value frame, this process implied bastardizing his beloved new music with gestures from a musical world he despised. That he carried it out seems yet another instance of the Jesuit accommodation to their working environment. Latin American indigenous populations typically continued to cultivate older pieces way beyond their Spanish-hegemonic expiration dates. "Hispanicizing" later motets could have lessened the impact of change and made it more palatable to local musicians and audiences. For us, Sepp's arrangements disclose otherwise lost Guarani musical preferences, faint and vague but nevertheless important due to the extreme rarity of ethnic musico-historical records.

Discourses of Race in Germany and Naples Session Chair: Emily Wilbourne (CUNY)

"In Our Raven-Like Body ... Blooms a Heart as White as a Lily": Sonic, Kinetic, and Visual Imaginings of Blackness in Court Festivals of the Protestant Union, 1596–1617 Arne Spohr (Bowling Green State University)

Court festivals in early modern Germany, staged at major occasions of state, employed a variety of theatrical forms and media to affirm and legitimize the power of the celebrating social elites. These festivals not only emphasized self-proclaimed virtues, often represented by characters from Greek and Roman mythology, but also showcased representations of Others such as "Turks" and "Moors" who served as a negative foil to highlight these claims through the lenses of race, religion, and civilization. While previous scholarship has mostly focused on the political contextualization of court festivals, their importance as spaces of early modern race-making has not yet been comprehensively studied.

Building on Jennifer Stoever's and Noémie Ndiaye's work on Black sound and dance, this paper explores imaginings of blackness in early modern German court festivals through sonic, kinetic, and visual media. Based on my analysis of festival descriptions, illustrations in festival books, and notated music, I ask how sonic and performative components such as music and dance as well as visual elements, especially clothing and black-up techniques, were employed to construct sub-Saharan Africans as racialized Others. Focusing on a group of festivals staged at courts of the Protestant Union at the eve of the Thirty Years' War, I will examine three case studies that feature "Black" characters: an ensemble of musicians and dancers as part of an Africa-themed pageant (Kassel, 1596), Duke Johann Friedrich of Württemberg's impersonation of a dancing "Moor" (Stuttgart, 1616), and an entry of "Moorish" knights and crumhorn players in Halle in the same year. I will also investigate a group of notated instrumental dances representing racialized Others in festivals of the Protestant Union that I have been able to identify as music associated with the English court masque.

As I will show, these multi-media imaginings of sub-Saharan Africans were designed to affirm racial hierarchies by discursive strategies of generalization and denigration, and by blurring boundaries between human beings and animals—strategies of race-making that demonstrate that Germany around 1600 was by no means a political and cultural backwater but participated in racial discourses representative of Europe's leading colonial powers Spain, France, and England.

The Moresca and the Economies of Slavery in Spanish Naples

Nathan Reeves (University of Tennessee)

In the mid-sixteenth century, Neapolitan dialect songs began to circulate in print music and pamphlets of popular poetry throughout Italy. By the 1560s, these publications had assumed a semi-standard format comprised of two main genres: the *canzone villanesca alla napolitana* and the *moresca*. Written in a rustic musical style for three to six voices, both featured carnivalesque themes of promiscuity and violence that parodied the city's lower classes. Yet the *moresca* was distinct in its representation of a population of Black Africans, both slaves and freedmen, that became substantial in Naples. Composers of *moresche* typically portrayed two "Moorish" characters engaged in a dialogue of obscene insults and erotic serenades, using a distorted form of Neapolitan dialect that exhibits similarities to Afro-Iberian contact languages. In recent years scholars have granted these songs

renewed critical attention, asking important questions about how their racially charged content contributed to the social construction of blackness in early modern Italy. However, little remains known about how the scenes they portray relate to the real practices of slavery that structured the lives of most Black Africans present in early modern Naples.

This paper examines the Neapolitan *moresca* as a congruence between the conventions of sixteenthand seventeenth-century recreational music and the social encounters that occurred in Naples during a period of heightened attention to the presence of ethnic and racial minorities, which included Black Africans. I examine the discursive and musical techniques through which composers of *moresche* portrayed a musical "blackness" that resonated with the physical and cultural differences through which slaves were often identified. Yet rather than focus exclusively on aspects of representation, I demonstrate how this economy of song practices engages in dialogue with the precarious states of labor being represented. I draw from newly discovered notarial records from the Archivio di Stato di Napoli that demonstrate the malleable conditions of Mediterranean slavery and reveal the roles played by enslaved Black Africans and manumitted freedmen in their local communities. I argue for the opacity of these musical texts, which conceal the spaces of Black African life from European consumption even as they subject them to racist ridicule.

Situating Italian Operas

Session Chair: Jason Rosenholtz-Witt (Western Kentucky University)

"This Old Opera": Francesco Cavalli's House on Venice's Grand Canal

Jennifer Williams Brown (Grinnell College)

The history of Cavalli's house provides a marvelous analogy to the history of his operas—and to those of most other opera composers in the seventeenth and later centuries. It illustrates the ways in which physical artifacts—like buildings and opera scores—testify to the processes of creation and alteration. Venice is the very embodiment of this concept: its famous decrepitude allows its past to leak through to the present. If we peer behind the façade, we may be able to see fragments of earlier archeological layers. We can do the same thing when studying seventeenth-century Venetian opera scores.

I'll present the case for identifying Cavalli's house—where he lived for the last 30 years of his life and where he wrote most of the operas that made Venice the center of opera production—then discuss some of the architectural changes that accrued over time. I'll take you on a tour of the interior, as I've reconstructed it from the death inventory of his possessions. Finally I'll focus on what Cavalli did there in his career as an opera composer, explaining the written documents that are our only record of how he hammered out his own operas and remodeled those of other people.

As we envision the Cavallis—both Francesco and Maria—in their workshop, working away on various operas, we can almost hear the hammers pounding, the disputes between architect and laborers, composer and singers. We can hear the operas taking shape, but fitfully, with many reversals and alterations in the original plans; we can see the workers tearing down walls and passages of recitative or adding porches and arias.

My own house is currently undergoing renovation. The process of deconstructing and reconstructing my house parallels the operations I recently performed on one of Cavalli's operas. In short, Venice is a city whose very stones seem to embody two competing human impulses: the urge to adapt and the urge to preserve. These are two ways of interacting not only with buildings, but with the full range of artistic creations.

Armida and the First Opera Performed in Paris Nastasia Heckendorff (Alban Berg Foundation)

Whereas recent scholarship has grown confident *that* an Italian opera was performed in Paris in spring 1645 (Freitas 2009), the 100-year-old discourse on the subject has not offered much beyond speculation regarding *which* opera was performed. The goal of my paper is twofold. I offer a novel hypothesis regarding the work in question: an Armida-themed *Intermedio* on a text by Giovanni Bentivoglio (Stein 2012, Klaper 2022) that was obviously set to music by Marco Marazzoli. And I provide a systematic argument for this hypothesis based on an analysis of relevant librettos and archival material.

The main part of the argument identifies multiple links between the *Intermedio* and Marazzoli's other Armida-themed opera, *Gli amori d'Armida*, commissioned by the Bentivoglio family (Ferrara, 1641,1642). As close examination reveals, the *Intermedio* synthesizes *Gli amori* and references its libretto (by Ascanio Pio di Savoia), which implies that the *Intermedio* must have been composed after *Gli amori*. Given that a *compagnia* of Italian musicians (including Marazzoli) left Paris by early 1645, the creation of the *Intermedio* can be narrowed down to a timespan between later 1642 and spring 1645. There are further links between the two pieces: for example, Giovanni Bentivoglio served as Corago during the production of *Gli amori* before leaving for Paris in December 1642.

I also argue that the form of the *Intermedio* suggests that it indeed was intended to be performed in Paris in 1645. For example, its form matches the musical capacities (especially with regard to singers) that were available in Paris at the time.

The form of the work also raises further questions. In light of its length (featuring 490 verses, 329 in the abridged version) and narrative complexity, was the *Intermedio* intended to be performed alone or together with a ballet? Based on an examination of documents in the Torino State Archives, I examine the circumstances of creation of the *Intermedio*. I will also consider its performance practice in the context of the Ballet de cour as well as the significance of the theme of Armida in France.

SATURDAY, APRIL 6

Dance in England

Session Chair: Anita Hardeman (Western Illinois University)

"Echoes of Lost Music in Dekker and Middleton's The Roaring Girl (1611)"

Joseph V. Nelson (College of the Holy Cross)

Both Moll Cutpurse and Tom o' Bedlam were fictional characters who also resembled or represented real people to the audiences of city comedies in the early seventeenth-century London. Yet while music survives for the Tom o' Bedlam ballad from William Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606) and his later broadsides, we have no apparent evidence for extant music associated with Moll from Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (1611). However, the survival of two ballad tunes connected to Tom offers clues as to the kind of music Moll may have sung and danced to as part of *Roaring Girl*, along with other tunes that scholars such as Ross Duffin have pointed to as examples of music appropriate for the play.

This paper examines possible instances in *Roaring Girl* for dramatic jigs and then explores the nature of such a dance and its music in depictions of fools, or other disorderly characters. The paper then turns to a comparison with tunes associated with Tom and proposes that these two characters are thematically linked, which holds implications of such music reflecting gender nonconformity and social deviance, much like the parallel histories of Moll Cutpurse and Mad Tom o' Bedlam in literature.

While the jig itself does not necessarily signify deviance, the context of these characters and jigs, or Mad Tom's Morris dance tune, indicates a subversion of social norms that both entertained audiences and alerted them to the dangers of indulgence and deviancy. The physicality of the dances proves especially instructive given the controlled postures of courtly dance and the symbolic linkage between controlled bodies, the idealized state, and divine order. Thus, understanding what music Moll danced to and how the music sounded helps to take a character often seen as a comic foil and instead see her and Tom as reflecting larger anxieties about uncontrolled bodies, particularly female bodies, and the dissolution of society and the state.

Dancing, Didactics, and Doctrine: New Evidence of Early Modern Cross-Cultural Transfer via English Convent Schools

Caro Lesemann-Elliott (Royal Holloway, University of London)

This paper explores music and dance education (focusing on the latter) for early modern English girls at English convent schools, both those in exile on the continent and those acting covertly in England. It combines evidence from the presenter's recently completed doctoral dissertation with new evidence uncovered during the presenter's visiting fellowship at the Bodleian Library (Oxford), undertaken from September to December 2023.

The paper will consider how late seventeenth-century English convents facilitated the transfer across geographic borders not only of certain repertoire, but also social ideologies, particularly French notions of music and dance as a way of displaying grace, breeding, and rank. It will reveal how English convent schools engaged with French ideologies of civility as embodied through music and dance, and in turn, how they engaged with ideologies of civility as interlinked with notions of Catholic white femininity. This will open questions as to how dance education at English convent schools enabled early modern English Catholic girls to perform what Olivia Bloechl has termed "aristocratic femininity" either through "the absence of blackness," or by donning the mask of an exoticized other. Finally, this paper will ask what influence this education had on the emergent salon cultures in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England, particularly attempts to recreate *précieuse* cultures. In asking these questions, the paper will highlight new evidence from the Mapledurham House archive and from within the Blount music collection that offers insight as to how education in music and dance at English convent schools shaped pupils' activities as adults.

Editing and Interpreting French Music

Session Chair: Graham Sadler (Royal Birmingham Conservatoire)

From the Stage to the Page: How Dance Research Informs the Preparation of Critical Editions Rebecca Harris-Warrick (Cornell University)

The making of critical editions has sometimes been identified as the most positivistic or even mechanistic activity in which a musicologist can engage. At the other end of the spectrum, the activity of dancing—so fundamental to much of the music composed in the 17th century—is ephemeral and has left frustratingly few traces about how it was practiced. These two areas of inquiry would seem to have nothing to say to each other, yet over the years of my research into both I have noticed them converge more and more, with each one impacting the other in my own evolving perspectives. In this talk I will address only one side of the conversation: what research into dance practices has taught me about what belongs on the pages of a critical edition.

My published critical editions include music for French stages by Jean-Baptiste Lully and Gaetano Donizetti. I have, however, dealt with editorial questions involving other composers writing for the stage in France, particularly during the Ancien Régime. The primary sources for the works I have edited are numerous and complicated; their challenges will not be addressed directly here, but as wrestling with them has sensitized me to the help that dance history has to offer, their complexities must be acknowledged as underlying the conclusions presented.

Intersections between the two disciplines will be illustrated in examples chosen primarily from works by Lully. Topics will include:

- How to interpret the information about performers found in many librettos and how to make use of it in an edition;
- The implications of generic dance titles such as "menuet" and the dilemmas these present for critical editions;
- Differences between published and manuscript sources when it comes to treatment of the dance music;
- How the conventions surrounding character types potentially impact choices of instrumentation when the sources are ambiguous;
- How an understanding of dance practices can help clarify the original order of pieces;
- Notational ambiguities that may or may not be related to the choreography.

The Beginning of the End: End of Section Meter Sign Changes in Marc-Antoine Charpentier's Autograph Manuscripts and their Significance in Performance

Adrian Powney (Royal Birmingham Conservatoire)

Across his corpus of over 550 works, the French Baroque composer, Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704) uses a range of meter signs more diverse than most of his French counterparts. This is notable given the slow, confusing and complex transition from the mensural to the orthochronic system of notating meter and tempo characteristic of the long seventeenth century. A comprehensive examination of Charpentier's use of meter signs confirms that the composer used them to indicate a spectrum of speeds consistent with those documented for each sign by contemporary theorists. Subtle variation in tempo within each meter sign is implied by musical content and context—for instance, the range of note values used, textual *Affekt* and—in some cases —the presence of time words.

However, a detailed examination of one specific and unexplored context in which Charpentier moves to a new meter suggests a different-from-usual interpretation. This is where he changes to one of several different meter signs for passages from one up to sixteen bars in the concluding portion of a phrase, associated with each sign and consider instead a different motivation.

For single and penultimate bar changes of meter, the change is likely to be one related to prosodic alignment. However, changes of meter in the antepenultimate bar, and for passages of up to 16 bars at the end of a phrase, section or whole work, may have been Charpentier's way of using notation as precisely as possible to ensure prosodic alignment, dramatic emphasis and/or a slowing of the tempo. Also noteworthy is that the provenance of this practice may have been Italian. If so, this adds to the growing number of ways Charpentier's music can be seen to have drawn on the composer's youthful studies in Italy and his own first-hand knowledge of Italian music of the early seventeenth century. Collectively, these findings have significance for musicologists tracing Charpentier's style and, most importantly, editors and performers of Charpentier's music when realizing this idiosyncratic aspect of his notation.

SUNDAY, APRIL 7

Music, Civic Identity, and Diplomacy

Session Chair: Rose A. Pruiksma (University of New Hampshire)

Music for the Consecration of a Bishop at Saint-Cyr

Deborah Kauffman (University of Northern Colorado)

A wealth of surviving documents and scores from the Maison royale de Saint-Louis at Saint-Cyr serves as valuable resources documenting the music and culture surrounding the daughters of the nobility who were raised at the famous convent school. The school was founded in 1686 by Madame de Maintenon, Louis XIV's secret second wife, and was maintained as a royal institution until its closure during the French Revolution. A surprising inclusion in the manuscripts and prints that transmit the liturgical music sung by the girls and nuns takes the form of several compositions by Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers to be sung for the ceremony of the Consecration of a Bishop. Despite the small size of the outer church at Saint-Cyr, the community hosted the consecrations of no less than three bishops and three archbishops, all but two held during the lifetime of the school's founder. Even though, by the time of the reign of Louis XIV, it was common for bishops to be consecrated outside of their new dioceses, Paris was the usual location, not the small church of a girls' convent school; clearly, this can be attributed to Madame de Maintenon's position at court and her wideranging personal connections. Included in the musical sources are rubrics that define the role played by the girls, who sang the motets by Nivers during the low mass that accompanied the consecration. Positioned in the inner church, the girls could be heard, but not seen, by the participants in the ceremony and their guests, who sat in the outer church, where the principal altar was situated. The rubrics in the Saint-Cyr sources of the liturgy closely track the ceremony as laid out in the Pontificale romanum published in Paris in 1664. By examining the music and the rubrics preserved in sources from Saint-Cyr, and comparing them to the *Pontificale romanum*, it is possible to reconstruct many of the actions and sounds of these important ceremonies.

Civic Identity and Institutional Conflict in Seventeenth-Century Tours: Music for the Translation Ceremonies of 1641

Peter Bennett (Case Western Reserve University)

For 1500 years, the city of Tours was both united and divided by the memory of Saint Martin. Based around the Abbey of Marmoutier (founded by Saint Martin himself on the opposite banks of the Loire), the Collègiale of Saint-Martin (founded over the saint's tomb in the city itself), and the Cathedral of Saint-Gatien (Saint Maurice until 1356), the city and its geography mirrored the differing relationships between these institutions and the saint, with the Collègiale and the Abbey often sharing interests to the exclusion of the Cathedral. In this light, it is interesting to consider the ceremonies held for the translation of a relic of Saint Martin from Cluny to Marmoutier in 1641, and a group of six anonymous musical works composed around this time that make reference to Saint Martin and to many other subsequent bishops of Tours. In common with the handful of other contemporary surviving works that have distinct local references, most of which can be associated with the royal entrée, these works too seem to be as much civic propaganda as they are religious or devotional pieces, possibly performed in a semi-liturgical context inside a religious building, but equally likely to have been part of the outdoor processions and festivities that contemporary sources describe. A close reading of the texts of these musical works (sometimes attributed to Guillaume Bouzignac), set in the broader history of the strained relationship between Tours' religious institutions, shows how some of these works may have pointedly reflected and stoked the tensions between the Cathedral and the other churches, while others simply participated in more generally commemorating the saint's role in Tours. Both types of works, however, and indeed the ceremonies themselves, can be seen as reflecting a wider trend across France-that of reasserting local identity in response to Tridentine standardization through the reinvigoration of the Saint's memory, in this case mandated by Paris but actively resisted in Tours, and in response to diminishing stature of Martin in relation to Saint Denis.

"Extraordinary Subtill Queanes": Jewish Women and Musical Diplomacy in the Early Modern Constantinople Harem

Elizabeth Weinfield (Juilliard School)

In 1599, the English organ builder Thomas Dallam prepared an instrument for voyage to the Ottoman Empire. The instrument, a 12.5-foot-high clockwork organ with the ability to tell time and play automatically, was to be a gift for Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) from Queen Elizabeth I, a diplomatic gesture on behalf of the English crown. Funded by the merchants of the Levant Company, the instrument was carried overseas on the ship *Hector*, under the personal stewardship of Dallam himself, along with diplomats, ambassadors, and a host of other travelers, and ultimately installed in Constantinople in the Sultan's *Seraglio*, or harem—the female-centered space of the Ottoman court. The negotiations for this musical gesture of diplomacy, and the discourse it engendered, were entrusted to two women who navigated the space between the Sultan and the world outside the court: the Sultana, Ṣāfiye Sultan (d. 1619), and her *kira*, or chief female attendant, a Jewish woman by the name of Esperanza Malchi (d. 1600).

A letter from Malchi containing gifts to Queen Elizabeth I survives, as do three letters to the Queen from Şāfiye, all testifying to the fact that the women of the harem—and not the Sultan— negotiated this musical-diplomatic relationship between England and the Ottoman world at a time when England was fiercely pursuing trade with the East. Malchi's story, however, is absent from the musicological literature. Contemporary scholarship by Ruth Lamdan, Eric Dursteler, and others have examined early modern Constantinople with respect to musical diplomacy and knowledge circulation, yet no one source has directly examined the role of music as a means of navigation within the particularly female-centered space of the harem. This paper will reconsider the harem alongside Dallam's organ gift as a consequential feature of musical diplomacy, and as a business space in which knowledge sharing begets female agency. By centering an otherwise marginalized individual whose actions were enabled by the trust and knowledge shared between women, I thus complicate the notion that the harem was an environment in which sexual transactions were the only economy of power.

Acknowledgments

Special thanks to the Princeton University, Department of Music, Dan Trueman, Chair, and its brilliant staff, especially:

Jacqueline Appleby, Director Collin Costa, Production Manager Renata Kapilevich, Engagement Manager Jeanne-Marie Procaccini, Production Manager Assistant Justin Stanley, Assistant Production Manager Codi Yhap, Production Support Technician

Kerry Heimann Joyce Chen Michael Pratt Jacqueline Hone-Kwaitek Nancy Wilson Wendy Young Céleste Pagniello

Special thanks to our Princeton partners for their support:

Melissa Lane, Class of 1943 Professor of Politics and Director of the University Center for Human Values

Esther Schor, John J. F. Sherred '52 Professor of English and Chair of the Council of the Humanities

Kathleen Crown, Executive Director, Council of the Humanities

Nathan Arrington, Professor of of Art and Archeology; Acting Chair and Director of the Program in Archeology

Carolina Mangone, Associate Professor of Art and Archeology and Director of the Program in Italian Studies

Gören Bix, Professor and Chair of the Department of French and Italian

Molly Greene, Professor of History and Hellenic Studies

Jennifer Santiago, More Canvas

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