I. Plenary Session: Baroque Lives
Roger Freitas (Eastman School of Music), Chair

*Supereminet omnes: New Light on the Life and Career of Vittoria Tarquini*
Beth Glixon (University of Kentucky)

Vittoria Tarquini is known especially among Handel enthusiasts as the composer’s would-be paramour during his time in Florence in 1708; indeed, her relationship with Handel has taken on even greater significance over the last few decades as questions regarding the composer’s sexuality have been raised. The singer also occupies a niche in a particular corner of Florentine history as the supposed mistress of Grand Prince Ferdinando de’ Medici. Using newly discovered archival and visual material as well as a wide range of secondary sources, my paper traces Tarquini’s life and operatic career in Italy and Germany before looking at her years of retirement in Venice, where she died in 1746.

Tarquini’s performance at Venice’s famed Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo in 1688 put her under the influence of the powerful Grimani family, and through Vincenzo Grimani she made the acquaintance of Prince Ferdinando, who would become her patron and employer ten years later. Rather than continuing her career in Venice, she moved to Hanover later in 1688, and soon married the French concertmaster Jean-Baptiste Farinel. She subsequently spent a number of years singing in Naples, where she was a favorite of the Viceroy, the Duke of Medinaceli. While there she sang in various works of Alessandro Scarlatti, and premiered the title role in *Il trionfo di Camilla*, which became one of the most popular operas of the eighteenth century. She would continue to sing in Scarlatti’s operas in Florence.

Tarquini’s life invites us to consider issues beyond career and repertoire: it raises questions of marital responsibility, infidelity, and maternity. Much of what has been “said” about Vittoria Tarquini over the past 200 years turns out to be filled with inaccuracies, many of which persist today in the literature. My paper presents a new picture of this fascinating singer whose life would be enriched in various ways after her encounter with Prince Ferdinando in Venice at the beginning of her career.
In 1655, Johann Rosenmüller fled from Leipzig after being accused of having homosexual relations with some of his students at the Thomasschule. Soon he turned up in Venice, and he remained in Italy until shortly before his death in 1684, when he returned to Germany as Kapellmeister in Wolfenbüttel. During his long exile he composed a wealth of Latin church music and published two instrumental collections, but his life in Italy has remained largely a blank. We know only that in January 1658 he was hired as a trombonist at St. Mark’s and that from 1677 to 1682 he served as house composer at the Ospedale della Pietà; it has also been claimed that he was maestro di coro at the Pietà from 1658 until 1677. A newly discovered Rosenmüller signature suggests, however, that he took part in an opera performance near Rome in 1673. Previously unreported records show that he was not employed at the Pietà between 1671 and 1677. He may have left Venice when he did because in 1673-74 there was no opera season at the Teatro San Luca, where he had perhaps been playing in the orchestra. By September 1674, he was back in Venice, in good time for the resumption of opera at San Luca in December. This paper challenges the assumption that Rosenmüller was primarily associated with the Pietà during his years in Venice and lends support to the idea that while in Italy he was actively involved in the performance of opera, a possible explanation for the operatic influences that have been detected in his church music.

Girolamo Gigli and the Professionalization of Opera in Siena
Colleen Reardon (University of California, Irvine)

The landscape for operatic production in Siena during the late seventeenth century divides into two periods: the first dominated by the Chigi family and the second, by the playwright and librettist Girolamo Gigli. Gigli came of age during the 1670s, when opera was taking hold in his native city; in his mid-twenties, he began to write operatic librettos for performance by students at the Collegio Tolomei. As Chigi influence in public opera waned, he stepped into the void. New documentation allows us to follow the vicissitudes of his career during the mid-to-late 1690s and the early 1700s. In an autograph letter from 1697, Gigli shows his frustration at the dearth of good musical settings of his librettos. His misfortune in that field might have led him to adopt the role of impresario in Siena, in which he attempted to transform opera from a sociable enterprise into a professional, moneymaking operation. He encountered a number of obstacles along the way, most notably an academic culture that either did not understand the difference between competence and virtuosity in musical performance or did not want to pay for that difference, and a public that associated opera with a festive culture connected to visits of the Chigi. Notwithstanding these difficulties, his tenure as impresario of public operas in Siena produced a number of innovations in the way business was done. For example, he successfully petitioned to raise the orchestra pit in the public theater so that singers could better hear the instrumentalists and he appears to have designed the first known printed
contract for singers. Gigli was not just a businessman, however; he was also an excellent judge of vocal talent and we can credit him with launching the career of Francesco Bernardi, who went on to fame and fortune as the great Senesino.

**Friday Morning**

**II. AHS Session: Handel's Heroes**
Nathan Link (Centre College), Chair

*Handelian Heroics*
Jonathan Rhodes Lee (University of Chicago)

Handel’s oratorios provide rich sites for broadening an already robust discourse about the role of heroism in eighteenth-century English art. The most common claim among scholars of the poetry, prose, and drama of Handel’s contemporaries is that this role was severely limited; they often describe this literature with phrases like “antiheroic propaganda campaign,” refer to the “disappearance of heroic man” within it, or even assert that it was written during “an age without a hero.” As literary historians are quick to point out, Handel’s English contemporaries were generally too busy producing anti-heroes (Gay’s Captain Macheath, Defoe’s Jonathan Wild the Great) and idealized gentlemen of distinctly everyman proportions (Lillo’s George Barnwell, Richardson’s Mr. B) to concern themselves much with grandiose heroics. And some scholars (including most recently Elaine McGirr) have asserted that the burly hero was abandoned because of his association with Dryden and the Restoration court, hence not only outmoded but potentially seditious in the years following the Glorious Revolution.

My essay demonstrates that the oratorios offer additions and slight correctives to the literary history described above. First, it shows that when certain political circumstances allowed—namely, when there was an identifiable Catholic threat to the Protestant regime—rugged, active heroes still had their place during the Georgian period. Second, it demonstrates that some of Handel’s contemporaries held the moral accomplishments of their modest protagonists as examples of a distinct sort of heroism. The oratorios provide useful illustrations of these two contrasting modes, encompassing both a familiar “action heroism” and what writers in the eighteenth century specifically called “Christian heroism,” reflecting various political and religious contexts. These contexts, of course, influenced Handel’s musical decisions, leading to distinctive sounds of heroism that match the dramatic models his librettists offered. In exploring these two heroic modes in the oratorios, I draw on examples from *Judas Maccabaeus* (1746) and *Theodora* (1750), while pointing toward directions for future research. Finally, the essay explains how these musical settings of active and Christian heroism also allowed Handel himself by the end of his career to achieve the status of national, musical, and moral hero.

*How to Enrage Alexander, or Towards an Understanding of Recitativo Semplice and Theatrical Gesture*
Any capable singer in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries knew something about the visual components of performance. Numerous pedagogical and theoretical texts stress the importance of acting and illustrate an exhaustive vocabulary of gesture. Yet such texts provide only a limited sense of the exact actions employed by singers, and today, many decisions about historical acting remain open to speculation. Some scholars, most recently, Richard King (2008) and Jed Wentz (2009), have proposed ways to envision onstage movement. King and Wentz concur that gesture serves to communicate affective meaning, but they do not agree about the particulars of baroque theater and aesthetics. Indeed, their respective analyses of Act 1, Scene 9 from Handel’s Alessandro differ significantly: where King sees a character expressing aversion, Wentz sees extreme rage, and where King reads sincere reverence, Wentz reads deception. Their analyses present close, if conflicting readings of individual words and phrases in the libretto. However, neither King nor Wentz accounts for the musical setting: the recitativo semplice.

This paper examines the musical components of Handel’s recitative to enrich prevailing scholarly theories about gesture. Handel’s scores include far more stage directions than do those of his contemporaries. Most of these instructions—which typify some of the gestures described in contemporary treatises on acting—appear in the simple recitative and occur in coordination with communicative musical devices, such as agitated disjunct melodies when a character runs (corre). This relationship between musical detail and directed onstage movement sheds some light on the actions of the title character of Alessandro, a young impetuous leader, who acts with more childish fury than kingly dignity. This nuanced character profile of Alessandro emerges from a study of the simple recitative, in which the music is closely linked with and sometimes indicative of the physical movements of the performer.

III. SSCM Session: Damned If You Do and Damned If You Don’t
Kimberlyn Montford (Trinity University), Chair

Representing Chaos: The Infernal Dance in 17th-Century Italian Opera
Aliyah M. Shanti (Princeton University)

Hell, in the early modern period, was universally conceived of as crowded, an understanding that stems from a long literary and theological tradition of the teeming masses of damned spirits traceable at least as early as Homer. In 17th-century Italian opera, the crowding of Hell is expressed through scenes of collective action, especially those involving dance and choruses. Balli and other forms of collective spectacle were far more common in infernal scenes than elsewhere in Italian opera, and the presence of a large number of people on stage became the most important marker of Hell in early opera, even more so than the requisite scenery. The infernal ballo and crowd scene were so important to representing hell that librettists would go to great lengths to include them, including additional set changes at the ends of acts, as in Aurelio Aureli’s 1671 adaptation of Giovanni Andrea Moniglia’s Ercole in Tebe.
In this paper, I will demonstrate how the collective nature of Hell ties these infernal scenes to the long tradition of crowded Hells in European literature and theology, including the contemporaneous, post-Tridentine conceptions of damnation. Drawing upon librettos, scores, and archival sources, I consider the hell scenes from a number of operas on the Italian peninsula between 1630-1670, including such works as both Moniglia and Aureli’s Ercole in Tebe, Carlo Pallavicino and Matteo Noris’ Galieno, and Francesco Cavalli and Orazio Persiani’s Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo. I show how these crowded, spectacular portrayals of hell, so often placed at the end of the penultimate acts, actually contributed to the dramatic structures of the operas in which they are found. My paper also examines the markers, both visual and musical, that distinguished the infernal ballo from the many other types of ballo in 17th-century opera. In so doing, I show how creators of opera drew their inspiration less from the disorganized Hells of post-Tridentine theology, and more from humanist poets writing in the tradition of Dante, so that operatic Hells are not so much chaotic as they are stylized representations of disorder.

Vespers Antiphons, Motets and the Performance of the post-Tridentine Liturgy
Jeffrey Kurtzman (Washington University in St. Louis)

Ever since debates over the role of the motets sacri concenti in the Monteverdi Vespers of 1610 erupted in the 1960s, the role of motets as possible antiphon-substitutes or additions in the performance of the Vespers liturgy has been controversial. Part of the problem stems from our misunderstanding of the difference between the official liturgy of the Church as sanctioned in the Breviarium Romanum of 1568 and the performance of the liturgy in church services. But part of the problem also stems from antiphon and motet publications of the late 16th and first half of the 17th centuries, where composers and publishers themselves sometimes intermingled the genres and their roles. The questions, “When is a motet an antiphon?” and “Does the expansion of an antiphon text make it a motet?” may be more a problem of our own desire to establish clear categories than it was a issue for composers, publishers and maestri di cappella in the performance of the liturgy. This paper will survey Italian polyphonic antiphon publications of the 16th and 17th centuries as well as some motet books to illustrate what their contents tell us about the conception of the period’s composers and publishers about the role and potential flexibility of polyphonic antiphons and motets, and what this flexibility teaches us about the performance of a liturgy in contrast to the published liturgy itself.

IV. AHS Session: Transmission and Transformation
Nicholas Lockey (Sam Houston University), Chair

The Babel[.]s, Between Hanover and London
Rebekah Ahrendt (Yale University)

“My dear and well-beloved son, William Babell,” wrote Charles Babel in his will. The two must have been close: Charles trained William in the arts of performance and music copying from a young age; the two played together in the orchestras of Drury Lane and the Haymarket; and together they formed part of London’s finest band of foreign performers, the band that enabled the institution of opera in London.
To date, the Babels have been an interesting side note in histories of 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} century music, especially scholarship on Lully and Handel. Charles is recognized as a primary transmitter for Continental music in Britain. William, on the other hand, is best known as an arranger of Handel’s music and an early composer of keyboard concertos. And yet little is known about the Babel family before their arrival in London around 1700.

Recently discovered documents clarify Charles’s sources and William’s upbringing. William’s mother was Parisian, and William was born in Hanover (not London). Between Hanover and London was The Hague, where the family settled early 1693. Surprisingly, this Catholic family chose to convert to French Calvinism in 1696, a move that led directly to their successes in London. Charles became English by virtue of having served in William III’s Guards and Grenadiers, which required being a Protestant. Intentionally or not, Babel’s conversion caused others to identify him as a Huguenot refugee, which likely aided his acceptance in the London theaters.

Beyond biographical detail, however, the documents I have discovered speak of a deep connection to the musical communities of Hanover and beyond. They indicate that much of Charles’ repertoire was acquired in the Dutch Republic, from connections to private households or the Amsterdam publishing houses. Babel’s manuscripts reveal that he passed his skill and repertoire on to his son. Valued for their experience, for their talents as performers and copyists, Babel and son were at the forefront of a generation of foreign-born musicians who transformed musical life in London and paved the way for Handel.

How the March from Handel’s Riccardo Primo became an Early Methodist Hymn
Stephen Nissenbaum (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

Handel’s opera *Riccardo Primo* closed in late 1727 after only eleven London performances, never to be revived there in the composer’s lifetime. Yet 15 years later, the opera’s third act March appeared, improbably, in the earliest Methodist tune-book, *The Foundery Collection* (1742), compiled by John and Charles Wesley. The March tune was printed there, without attribution, simply as “Jericho Tune.” It was subsequently redeployed many times during John Wesley’s lifetime and beyond, set to the words of a hymn, written in 1741 by his brother Charles, that opened with the lines “Soldiers of Christ, arise / And put your Armour on.” In that form, Handel’s March became and remained widely familiar to a most unlikely public. My paper explores this process, and considers a plausible meaning for that curious title, “Jericho Tune.”

In preparing the tune for publication in 1742, the Wesley brothers probably used a published recorder score. The *Riccardo Primo* March had been reprinted over the years, sometimes in arrangements for solo recorder—an instrument that both of the Wesley brothers played. (I have discovered that John Wesley practiced numbers from both *Ottone* and *Giulio Cesare*; he even attended a performance of *Esther* given at Oxford during Handel’s celebrated visit there in July 1733.)
I believe that the Wesleys’ 1742 title “Jericho Tune” can be traced to Charles Wesley. First off, Charles was singularly preoccupied with the Biblical story of Jericho in the years 1740-42. He not only preached on the subject but also wrote (and published as a broadsheet) a lengthy hymn titled “The Taking of Jericho,” which, significantly, treated that Biblical story as a parable of a Methodist’s personal struggle against inbred sinfulness—as an assault on “the Jericho within.” And Charles Wesley’s hymn “Soldiers of Christ arise”—the text that came to be associated with the Handel March—was itself a militant portrayal of the conquest of private sinfulness.

But why the association of the Jericho story with the March from Riccardo Primo? My conjecture, based on circumstantial evidence, is that in December 1727 Charles Wesley (then a somewhat louche Oxford freshman) attended a performance of Riccardo. The staging was impressive and expensive. Its high point came in the final act, when the English army successfully assaulted a walled city in Cyprus. Depicted with sophisticated stage machinery, this Jericho-like scene—the wall came tumbling down—could have left a powerful impression on the young Charles Wesley, who (as I speculate) may have recalled it when he began to ponder the Biblical story of Jericho a dozen years later. Hence, perhaps, the improbable merging of a Methodist hymn and a Handel march—“Jericho Tune.”
V. AHS Session: Ancients and Moderns
Robert Kendrick (University of Chicago), Chair

Reading Gesualdo as Horace:  
Leone Santi’s Comparazione della moderna con l’antica musica  
Jeffrey Levenberg (Skidmore College)

As the early seventeenth-century professor of theology and opera composer Leone Santi opened Gesualdo’s madrigals alongside Horace’s odes, he embarked on an inevitable humanist inquiry; after all, the ancient poet and the modern musician both hailed from Venosa. But Santi’s motivation to compare the works of these two great Venosians for the first time was more profound: He had to demonstrate once and for all that modern music must preserve the syllabic, metrical, and clearly enunciated style of ancient music, as decreed by the Council of Trent. Santi’s agenda was unique among scholars working under Barberini’s patronage, a collective that, as Frederick Hammond has shown, cultivated the earliest academic interests in Gesualdo. By way of contrast, Giambattista Doni and Athanasius Kircher sought to explicate Gesualdo’s chromaticism by means of enharmonic mutations of ancient Greek modes, but paid little attention to matters of rhythm. Santi (one of Doni’s dedicatees) must have also been seeking out precedents to his new melodramatic technique, “metris confusaneis ad harmoniam,” a knotty phrase that Margaret Murata, in the only musicological consideration of Santi to date, aptly translates as “in mixed metres for music.” Unfortunately, Santi’s manuscript treatise was long missing. According to Patrizio Barbieri, it was seemingly last mentioned by Pietro della Valle in 1649. In fact, this vital testament of musical humanism is now preserved in the Francisco Barbieri archive at the Biblioteca Nacional de España and awaits study.

My paper provides the first examination of Leone Santi’s Comparazione della moderna con l’antica musica, an unknown source on early seventeenth-century madrigals, opera, and music theory. Focusing in particular on Santi’s selection and reading of Gesualdo’s setting of Torquato Tasso’s Mentre, mia stella miri, I will introduce the humanist and post-Tridentine ideologies underlying his treatise. As Santi endorses Gesualdo’s Roman imitator Antonio Cifra above all, I will explicate his comparison of Cifra’s Chiaro stelle tutte belle with Horace’s Dianam tener q dicite virgines. Ultimately, I will reveal that Gesualdo’s sacred music—which the Barberini scholars apparently did not have access to—in fact violates Santi’s theories; Santi’s post-Tridentine appeal to the Prince of Venosa was grievously mistaken.

Ripa’s Iconologia as a Source for Baroque Musical Rhetoric  
Barbara Russano Hanning (CUNY and Julliard)

At the turn of the 17th-century, a century obsessed with naming and classifying everything in the universe including abstract concepts like the passions of the soul, Cesare Ripa published his Iconologia—a systematic collection of nearly 700 concepts that describes and prescribes, through personification, ways to represent those concepts pictorially. First published in Rome in 1593, and reprinted in all the principal European languages throughout the 17th and into the 18th century, it became a manual for painters
and sculptors and is still the best guide for any iconographic study of Baroque art and, by extension, as I will argue, of the affections and gestures represented in Baroque music. By connecting Ripa’s images to the musical vocabulary of the passions, such as the three genera or affective categories outlined by Monteverdi in the early 17th-century—concitato, temperato, and molle—we can gain insight into their deployment by Baroque composers of vocal chamber music and opera well into the eighteenth century.

For example, Monteverdi associated his newly invented concitato genre with the expression of warlike sentiments (as in his madrigali guerrieri) and with the affection of ira or rage. The personification of Rage in Ripa’s Iconologia is an armed man of a wild and terrifying appearance, a belligerent warrior, striding forward with a bared sword in one hand and a shield in the other. Twisted around his plumed helmet is a serpent, which also signifies rage “for the minute the creature feels himself endangered or offended he falls into a state of terrible anger and does not rest until he has spewed forth all his venom into the offender.” The metaphor of the serpent, and in fact Ripa’s exact words, were used in a very literal fashion by the librettist of Handel’s Giulio Cesare for the rage aria sung by Pompey’s vengeful son Sesto in Act II. Constructed as a simile aria, “L’angue offeso mai riposa” compares Sesto’s inner state to the provoked serpent and its convoluted shape (twisted around the figure’s helmet) probably even prompted the writhing bass line Handel composed to accompany Sesto’s words.

Thus, whereas the Iconologia has been seen primarily as a source for Baroque artists, this and similar examples illustrate the currency and sway that Ripa’s images exercised on the musico-theatrical rhetoric of the Baroque era as well.

**Friday Afternoon**

VI. Plenary Session: Perspectives on French Style
Antonia Banducci (University of Denver), Chair

*Quel désordre soudain!: The Eloquence of Disorder in the Lullian Tragédie en musique*
Jonathan Gibson (James Madison University)

The title of my paper references a moment in the prologue of Lully and Quinault’s Cadmus et Hermione (1673) during which a gathering of rustic dancers and singers flee the subterranean rumblings that accompany the entrance of l’Envie. This carefully engineered juxtaposition of personae and of expressive modes at the outset of the pair’s first tragédie en musique prefigures remarkably similar collisions between pastoral and tragic characters—and forcible silencings of the former by the latter—throughout Quinault and Lully’s collaborative career, culminating most famously in act 2 of Roland (1685). Appearing occasionally in prologues, but more often at the conclusion of select divertissements, these expressive “nodes” typically involve a violent or disordered challenge to “artificial” expression and to those characters who seek to foster it within the work’s narrative.

I begin this paper by surveying relevant moments within selected tragédies en musique of Lully and Quinault. While the expressive collisions I describe make for
engaging theatre, to regard this convention merely as a dramatic device is to ignore its broader implications. The most obvious and well-documented of these involves a desire to remind listeners of the pastorale’s subservient place in the new theatrical hierarchy, amounting to a kind of generic metacommentary already heralded in the prologue of Lully and Quinault’s first collaborative enterprise, the pastorale Les Fêtes de l’amour et de Bacchus (1672). But more consequential, I argue, is that this convention invokes the same broad aesthetic distinction that infused most French art forms of the late-seventeenth century between competing notions of “natural” and “artificial” expression. While a few music-centered texts from the period elucidate this dichotomy, the era’s most exhaustive explanations are found within writings on eloquence, including René Rapin’s Réflexions sur l’éloquence (1671), Bernard Lamy’s L’Art de parler (1675), René Bary’s Méthode pour bien prononcer un discours (1679), and François Fénelon’s Dialogues sur l’éloquence (c.1679). I conclude, then, that we might regard the musical-dramatic moments cited here as potent manifestations of an aesthetic dichotomy revealed most explicitly in late seventeenth-century discourses on eloquence.

Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s “Choirs”: Clues to their Size and Disposition
Shirley Thompson (Birmingham Conservatoire)

Although Charpentier left few significant writings on performance practice, the main corpus of his autograph manuscripts—the 28-volume Mélanges autographes—contains a wealth of evidence to inform present-day performers. Given that a huge proportion of his output comprises music for voices, clues to vocal scoring and performance are particularly valuable. While previous studies have examined aspects of this phenomenon, there has been no full-scale survey of the range of relevant information across the Mélanges. This paper presents some of the findings of such a study, focusing on the composer’s sacred music.

First, we should acknowledge the sheer diversity of the choral formations in Charpentier’s sacred vocal works. Much of this diversity is explained by the “portfolio” nature of the composer’s career: he did not hold a permanent post at Louis XIV’s court, working instead for a range of patrons and performing groups, all with different performing forces.

In a few cases, contextual evidence allows us to establish the exact numbers and disposition of the singers. More often, however, this is not possible, even when the commissioning institution can be identified: while the approximate number of “resident” musicians in a given ensemble may be calculated from archival sources, the practice of reinforcing these with supernumeraries introduces some uncertainty.

Consequently, the best information on the size of the group that Charpentier envisaged for a given work is usually provided by his own annotations in the manuscripts—annotations whose meaning may not be immediately obvious to the non-specialist. Examination of such markings reveals a wide variety in the size of the ensembles involved in the first performances—from essentially one-to-a-part ensembles to those comprising two dozen singers or more, and from equally balanced polyphonal dispositions to a distinctive petit chœur / grand chœur layout. Moreover, such petits chœurs range from single voices to multiple singers per part.
While such information is abundant in Charpentier’s case, it is lacking for other French composers during this period. Yet in identifying the variety of choral scoring in ecclesiastical contexts outside the court, the present study has clear relevance beyond the works of this single composer.

*Agostino Steffani and the French Style: New Perspectives*
Graham Sadler (University of Hull)

At the age of 24, Steffani was sent by the Elector of Bavaria on a study-visit to Paris, where he stayed for up to ten months between the summer of 1678 and the spring of 1679. Although little is known of his activities there, Steffani would have had ample opportunity to hear music by Lully (Psyché and Bellérophon were staged during those months) and by Charpentier and many others. After his return to Munich, Steffani evidently continued to take an interest in musical developments in France. The extent to which he absorbed elements of French style and technique is abundantly apparent in his operas, particularly those written for the Francophile courts at Munich and Hanover, which include French overtures and numerous Lullian ballet movements and arias in dance meter. French influence is also apparent in aspects of Steffani’s orchestration.

The present paper identifies specific French pieces that may have influenced the Italian composer, examining these alongside equivalent movements from his Munich and Hanover operas. It reveals the many respects in which Steffani creatively adapted his models and assimilated Gallic features into his own distinctive idiom, often in ways that prefigure Handel. Special emphasis is given to those aspects of French influence that have hitherto escaped attention, including Steffani’s use of muted strings, his manner of indicating ornaments, and his attitude towards the addition of spontaneous embellishments. For the benefit of his mainly Francophone players at Hanover, the composer’s autograph scores include numerous annotations in French, whose implications are here reassessed. From his use of the terms violons, hautes-contre, tailles and basses de violon, it becomes clear that the Hanover orchestra was set up in the four-part layout that was standard for French orchestras other than those with royal associations – a conclusion supported by the instrumental tessituras and choice of clefs. Circumstantial evidence also suggests that Steffani’s use of a distinctive combination of wind instruments including bass recorder derives from certain Charpentier motets, which the Italian composer may have encountered in the Dauphin’s private chapel.

**Saturday Morning**

**VII. AHS Session: Handel and the Oratorio**
Ellen Harris (M.I.T. & President of AMS), Chair

*Esther II from 1735 – 1740*
Annette Landgraf (Hallische Händel Ausgabe)

*Esther II* wordbooks (the new version of 1732) have survived for performances in London in 1732, 1733, 1751 and 1757 as well as Oxford in 1733, and Dublin in 1742. In addition the work has been given in London (Covent Garden) in 1735 (5, 7, 12, 13, 19, 21
March), 1736 (7, 14 April) and 1737 (6, 7 April); and in Lincoln’s Inn Fields on the 26 March 1740. We know that Handel produced a bilingual version because some of his new Italian singers could not sing in English. No wordbooks are known for the performances between 1735 and 1740. The performing score has constantly been adapted, and there are traces from the different performances (singer’s names and musical changes), but some of the original folios have been replaced and many of them are now missing.

On 5th March 1735 The London Daily Post printed the following advert: “At the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden, this present Wednesday […] will be perform’d an Oratorio, call’d Aesther. With several New additional Songs; Likewise two new Concert’s on the Organ.”

The reference to the “New additional Songs” suggests that the Italian arias, which are ascribed to the performances in 1737 by Winton Dean, could already have been prepared for an earlier year.

David Vickers has already established a hypothetical version for these performances. On the basis of the musical sources the paper will present an independent proposal for a plausible order of the movements for the forthcoming edition of Esther II and this will be discussed in the light of existing theories.

Handel, Walsh and the publication of Messiah
Donald Burrows (The Open University)

The chapter on ‘Printed Editions’ in Watkins Shaw’s A textual and Historical Companion to Handel’s “Messiah” (1965) gives a masterly summary of the publication of music from Messiah during Handel’s lifetime, although for the purpose of his edition Shaw concluded that this area of sources did not provide much useful material for his edition. Nevertheless, the history of the early publication (and non-publication) of Messiah remains intriguing. When did Walsh receive copy, and what did his copy look like? When was Songs in Messiah engraved, and in what ways (if any) did it differ from other comparable Walsh editions of Handel’s music? When did Walsh plan to publish it, and why was there a delay? What sort of public and performers were expected to purchase and use the music? A few new relevant pieces of evidence have come to attention since 1965, relating to Handel’s working relationship with Walsh junior, but answers to most of these questions must still remain speculative. This paper will review what is knowable about the early publication of Messiah, and what may reasonably be inferred from the musical evidence. It will also present the results of a fresh examination of the relevant printed editions, with particular attention to Walsh’s music engravers and his paper stocks.

The London Revisions of Handel’s First Roman Oratorio:
Il trionfo del Tempo e della Verità (1737) and The Triumph of Time and Truth (1757)
Matthew Gardner (Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main)

Handel revisited his first Italian oratorio Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno (HWV 46a), written in early 1707, on two occasions during his later career. Firstly in 1737 when it was extensively reworked into Il trionfo del Tempo e della Verità (HWV 46b) to suit his London audience and secondly in 1757 when the 1737 version formed the
basis for the English oratorio *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (HWV 71), adapted according to Handel’s instructions by John Christopher Smith and almost certainly in close collaboration with the librettist Thomas Morell. Both the 1737 and 1757 adaptations required a range of alterations to fit their new contexts, and both works were also revived with further changes in 1739 and 1758 respectively.

While structural alterations made to *Il trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* in 1737/9 and its redevelopment into *The Triumph of Time and Truth* in 1757/8 have been catalogued by Roland Dieter Schmidt (who examined the sources thoroughly), and elements have been summarised by Anthony Hicks and Artie Heinrich, there is presently no scholarly literature that offers critical observations about the variety of factors that informed or influenced Handel’s choices. This paper therefore presents a survey based on a reassessment of the relevant sources (autographs, performing scores, wordbooks and some secondary sources), documenting the peculiar evolution of the work from its 1707 Roman origins into *Il trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* and *The Triumph of Time and Truth*. Using select examples, the reasons why Handel chose to revisit *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno* under different circumstances will be considered, offering suggestions for a logical classification of his numerous types of artistic revisions, such as those that were dictated by the availability of singers or instrumentalists, enforced by the libretto’s transformation from Italian to English, or were indicative of changing conventions in musical entertainments designed for London’s theatres. As a result, valuable new light will be shed on a hitherto under-appreciated oratorio that has seldom been included fully in the canon of Handel’s London theatre works.

*The Synthesis of Traditions, Genres and Styles in Handel’s Jephtha*
Kenneth Nott (Hartt School of Music)

Handel’s *Jephtha* brings together a number of strands found in earlier works. Most notably, it is Handel’s last victory oratorio, that is, it tells the story of Israel’s triumph over an oppressive enemy under the leadership of a charismatic leader. By the time of *Jephtha*, Handel’s victory oratorios had come to display a range of conventional aria and chorus types: choral laments and supplications, calls to arms, heroic battle arias, choruses of praise and thanksgiving. Furthermore, the plots of these victory stories tend to follow a conventional Old Testament pattern that grants Israel victory after a return from apostasy to the true covenant with God. Yet, unlike some other victory oratorios by Handel, especially *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Jephtha* continues the trend of his last few oratorios by featuring a cast of fully fleshed out, operatically conceived characters who, despite inhabiting a biblical story, display a realistic, imperfect humanity. The impact of the title character’s vow on his family and community fulfills a fundamental Aristotelian precept (that pity and terror are most intense when tragedy affects family members) while at the same time emphasizing a basic theme of the Old Testament, namely, the vulnerability of human institutions such as the family. Finally, several critics have remarked on a uniquely spiritual quality that the oratorio shares with its immediate predecessor, *Theodora*. These three strands: victory narrative, realistic characterization and spiritual depth are synthesized in a way that occurs in no other oratorio by Handel. Through a detailed comparison of *Jephtha* with the earlier victory oratorio, *Judas Maccabaeus*, I hope to demonstrate how this final biblical adaptation by Handel and
librettist Thomas Morell integrates the moralistic Old Testament victory pattern with a human story of great poignancy and complexity.

**VIII. SSCM Session: Performance Practice I: Bon gout**
Michele Cabrini (Hunter College), Chair

*St Lambert’s Harpsichord Treatise and Tasteful Conversation: What the Conversational Writings of Polite Society Say Concerning Good Taste in Performance*
Margot Martin (Mt. San Antonio College)

In his famous 1702 treatise on the harpsichord, St Lambert makes several references at key points in the discussion as to the importance of following good taste in performance, but does little to clarify of what this good taste consists and how it applies in any practical sense to performance. Other music treatises of the day are equally silent on the matter as well. However, a multiplicity of treatises on conversation do exist from seventeenth-century France that address the matter in great detail, and are replete with information on the subject, offering many examples of good (and bad) taste in a practical setting. These conversational treatises were designed to serve as handbooks on artful and tasteful expression in polite society and often make comparisons with musical practices, and so can be used as guidelines for good taste in musical performance, especially with regard to expression and ornamentation. Drawing on the writings of two key conversational writers in seventeenth-century France, the Chevalier de Méré and Mademoiselle de Scudéry, this paper explains the properties and elements of good taste as conceived by the members of polite society, who were also the main patrons of the harpsichord. It demonstrates the parallels between the two aural arts of music and conversation, showing direct connections between St Lambert’s thoughts on various musical practices such as *notes inégales*, the *brisé* style, unmeasured preludes, movement and expression, and ornamentation and improvisation, and Méré’s and Scudéry’s guidelines for good taste in conversation through the social principles of delicacy, *agrément* (grace and charm), *convenance* (suitability), *bienséance* (regard for context, audience, and personal ability), and *rapport* (unity and interior cohesion). It illustrates how St Lambert’s thoughts on these matters directly reflect the reigning philosophies of good taste developed in the salons of polite society, and offers practical guidelines and examples for the modern performer on how these principles of taste can be readily applied to musical performance today.

*The Art of Singing Well: Bertrand de Bacilly and Issues of Amateur Performance Practice in Seventeenth-Century France*
Michael Bane (Case Western Reserve)

Scholars and performers have long turned to Bertrand de Bacilly’s treatise *Remarques curieuses sur l’art de bien chanter* (1668) for details of seventeenth-century French singing. While Bacilly committed most of the treatise to what he thought singers should do, he also wrote at length of what his own students stubbornly did anyway. These musical practices, disapproved of by Bacilly yet prevalent among the noble amateurs he instructed, informed his own engagement with music to a high degree, and his treatise is
a compendium of the hidden and often scorned conventions dear to the amateur musician. In this paper, I reconstruct from this and related pedagogical texts the performance practices endemic to amateur singers and discuss their repercussions for the performance of song in seventeenth-century France.

The priorities of amateurs differed from those of their professional instructors. For the gens de qualité who performed at court or salon gatherings, social considerations often trumped musical ones as the rules of civility strictly delimited their public displays. In particular, the performer’s face was to exude a graceful calm devoid of ugly contortions. The pedagogue Pierre Borjon de Scellery went so far as to recommend that amateurs prone to grimacing wear bridles to tame their errant muscles. The physical restraint demanded of amateurs had measurable effects on their performance of music. Bacilly complained that some of his students were so wary of grimacing or otherwise spoiling their appearance that they refused to correctly pronounce certain consonants, vowels, and syllables. Such issues necessarily influenced the production of musical sound, and I demonstrate the ways amateurs negotiated the competing demands of musicianship and social etiquette in performance.

I conclude the paper with two brief performances of an air by Sébastien Le Camus. The first carefully adheres to Bacilly’s instructions and illustrates how a professional singer would have performed the piece. The second, on the other hand, attempts to recreate the sound of an amateur performance. As nonprofessionals constituted the vast majority of musicians in the early modern period, this conjectural performance may reveal a heretofore unknown sound typical of most seventeenth-century performances of French song.

**IX. SSCM Session: Performance Practices II: Music for the Eyes and the Ears**

Michael Dodds (University of North Carolina School of the Arts), Chair

*Absolute Tempos, Liminal Rhythms, and Ancient Notational Superfluities in Late-Seicento Sonatas*

*Gregory Barnett (Rice University)*

The musical notation of the late seventeenth-century preserves accumulated layers of meaning that include overdesigned redundancies of tempo indications, vague approximations of rhythmic detail, and ambiguities, even contradictions, in the uses of mensurations and time signatures. My paper focuses on the interpretation of tempo and rhythm in printed sonatas of the late seventeenth century. I begin with a summary of the evidence that shows, on the one hand, the assumption among sonata composers of pulse equivalence between diverse meters (e.g., Francesco Prattichista, Op. 1, 1666)—described by Franz-Jochen Machatius as the *spielmännische Reduktion*—and, on the other hand, the clear use of proportional tempo relationships between individual parts and movements, especially in canons and selected dances (e.g., G. M. Bononcini, Op. 4, 1671). Both approaches, as I will show, are transmitted in the notational habits of the famous and influential sonata composer, Arcangelo Corelli, including a hybrid tendency of associating tempo ranges with specific meters.

Turning next to questions of rhythm, Corelli’s own approximative notational approach is borne out by comparing the rhythmic freedom in his Op. 5 embellishments
with those of his contemporaries. There is, however, a more widespread freedom of rhythmic interpretation to be found in the notation of dances, and, in this context, Corelli emerges as relatively strict in his practice. Taking the giga as the most extreme case of notational variety (it is seen in no fewer than nine different meters among different composers), I show that its alternately duple, triple, compound, or mixed meters reflect a tangled history of giga subgenres and reveal a performance practice of shifting or even liminal rhythms between triplet and dotted motifs. In sum, a harder look at the notation of Corelli's time recasts at least some of his music as novel to us, and possibly strange.

**Fretting Pattern Iconography and Temperament: Something or Nothing?**  
David Dolata (Florida International University)

For instruments with moveable frets such as the lute and viol, the only visual evidence we have that shows rather than tells us how the frets were arranged is iconography such as paintings, drawings, and book illustrations. Though at a very inchoate stage of its development, research into iconographical representations offers promise in helping to discern which temperaments were used on fretted instruments during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.

With the aid of numerous to-scale diagrams and color illustrations of primarily seventeenth-century paintings, this presentation will identify fretboard patterns that can generate a practical temperament and describe those that actually do appear in iconography, pointing out where the two categories intersect. It will further examine factors that influence the production and perception of iconographical fretboard patterns, explain the very practical reasons some depictions could produce no workable temperament, and suggest criteria that can help us separate artworks that inspire further research from those that do not.

Untangling and classifying the thicket of fretboard patterns illustrated in period paintings will likely require skills in 3D imaging, the perspective of an artist, the experience of a player, the contextual awareness of a musicologist, the organizational ability of a field general, and the patience of Job. My ultimate goal in this presentation is to introduce the listeners to the tools that will enable them to begin judging for themselves whether a particular fretboard pattern depicted in a painting or drawing might mean nothing, anything, or something.

**Saturday Afternoon**

**X. Plenary session: Birds, Women, and Seventeenth-Century Devotion**  
Christine Getz (University of Iowa), Chair

*Songs of the Pious Lark: Music, Nature, and Devotional Practice in Early Seventeenth-Century France*  
Brian Scott Oberlander (Northwestern University)

Based on archival work conducted at the Newberry Library of Chicago and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, this presentation deals with several collections of Catholic devotional song published in early seventeenth-century France. While they
contain the *odes, cantiques*, and *chansons spirituelles* typical of devotional publications from this period, they employ a dense ornithological vocabulary to introduce and describe their music. In a series of richly allusive poems, epistles, and other prefatory materials, these curious volumes articulate a program of daily spiritual exercise in which larks and nightingales serve as models of chaste music-making for the devotee.

I begin by following a network of intertextual cues that refer the devotee to passages from contemporary sermons and devotional manuals, all likening the Godly soul to a mellifluous bird in flight. Many collections feature engravings to this effect on their frontispieces, which present larks and nightingales arrayed around a heavenly throne with beaks agape. Establishing dynamic affinities between the act of singing and the transcendence of earthbound flesh, the editors thus create an elaborate discursive framework for the devotee’s performance.

I claim that the avian collections represent an emergent devotional epistemology, marked by the influence of François de Sales, in which identification with figures of the natural world served to guide the devotee into an ideal relationship with the devotional text. I also suggest that the editors were responding to ecclesiastical doubts about the ambiguous provenance of their music, the pious larks and seraphic nightingales offered as *exempla* that would justify the singing of contrafacts. Charged with a great deal of rhetorical, discursive, and phenomenological work, as it were, the birds gracing these verdant prefatory landscapes invite us to reexamine the place of music and self in early seventeenth-century devotional practice. Indeed, they are inscribed at the intersection of printed text, singing body, and Christian soul.

*Old Testament Women in the Roman Oratorio*

Margaret Murata (University of California, Irvine)

Although women could not attend devotions in most of the oratories in 17th-century Rome, central female figures peopled the Biblical stories heard in music, whether at Phillip of Neri’s oratory, the archconfraternity of the SS. Crocifisso, or in private homes and noble chapels. This paper considers musical appearances of the Old Testament figures of Esther, Susanna, and the daughter of Jephtha (Judith has been extensively treated) within the penitential context of Lent, the season in which oratorios were most performed. Ahasuerus’s queen Esther appears in a Barberini production of 1632, in Pietro Della Valle’s setting of 1640 that used Greek tunings, and in later libretti by Domenico Benigni, Giovanni Lotti, and Lelio Orsini, the latter with a surviving score by Stradella. Susanna and Jephtha’s daughter by comparison were powerless women. Only the libretto to Bencini’s 1698 *Susanna ... vindicata* seems to have survived. Jephtha’s daughter appears in numerous Roman musical treatments in both Italian and Latin, from the late 1620s in a libretto by Ottavio Tronsarelli to two given in 1703 at the oratories of the Crocifisso and S. Girolamo, not to mention Caldara’s settings of 1715 and 1716. This necessarily compressed examination shows that the oratorios presenting these Hebrew women were not crafted with single, emblematic meanings. The different dramatic and musical situations imposed on them represented different Lenten “lessons.” This is made more evident by a general comparison of them with musical portraits of Christian female martyrs from pagan Imperial Rome—Agnes, Irene, Catherine and Theodora.
In the summer of 1662, Francesco Cavalli came home to Venice swearing never to write another opera. He had just spent two years in Paris fulfilling a commission from Mazarin to compose a monumental spectacle for the marriage of Louis XIV (Ercole amante). Fortunately, however, Cavalli changed his mind and completed another six operas before his death fourteen years later.

Why would the world’s leading opera composer suddenly want to quit, at what was arguably the high point of his career? Most scholars have followed Henry Prunières (1913) in concluding that Cavalli was disappointed by the reception the French had given his music and decided to quit in a grand sort of “sour grapes” gesture. Thomas Walker suggested another explanation—that Cavalli’s decision “may just as well reflect his large financial reward from the French court (including a diamond ring ‘bizzarramente e gentilmente lavorato’), which would have freed him from any necessity to earn his living by the composition of operas.” (New Grove 1980)

In this paper I will reexamine both Prunières’s “sour grapes hypothesis” and Walker’s “diamond ring hypothesis,” using newly-mined data from Cavalli’s financial and legal papers in the Archivio di Stato in Venice. I will then offer an alternative explanation, based on documents surrounding the composition and performance of Scipione Affricano, the first opera Cavalli composed after his return from France. In my view, Cavalli’s decision to quit opera was a reaction to working not in France, but in Venice. On the contrary, I believe that he had a largely favorable view of his two-year sojourn in Paris, and that its musical effects can be seen in Scipione Affricano. An analysis of Scipione’s opening scenes reveals many similarities with Ercole amante, an opera whose scale, style, and organization is in many ways exceptional within Cavalli’s oeuvre.

Erismena Trasportata
Jonathan Glixon (University of Kentucky)

In his magisterial 1968 article Erismena travestita, Harry Powers looked at various versions of the opera Erismena, with poetry by Aurelio Aureli and music by Francesco Cavalli. Although Powers discussed briefly some of the non-Venetian versions, documented primarily by libretti, his main concern was with the great differences between the 1655 Venetian libretto and score, the libretto for the 1670 Venetian revival, and a score from the 1670s. In my paper, instead, I look in detail at the ways the opera changed as it traveled around northern Italy outside of Venice after its premier, in twelve cities between 1656 and 1673. While many aspects of the opera seem to have remained unchanged from city to city, a number of small but significant differences make it possible to detect two distinct traditions in transmission, most notably
through different patterns of scenery and varied ballets. It becomes clear, among other things, that the undated Scenario, usually linked with the 1655 Venetian premier, is more likely to be connected with the Bologna performance of the following year, otherwise documented only by a publication of poems in honor of the prima donna, Caterina Porri. Finally, the patterns of transmission of one scene illuminate the relationships among the original libretto, a supplement issued in the middle of the first run of performances, and the early score.

**XII. Plenary session: Heinrich Schütz**
Gregory Johnston (University of Toronto), Chair

*Carnival and Sacred Drama. Schütz’s Christmas Historia and the Transformation of Christmas in the Second Half of the 17th-Century*
Markus Rathey (Yale University)

Studies of the history of the oratorio tend to emphasize the continuity between works like Heinrich Schütz’s *Christmas Historia* and later settings of the Christmas narrative by composers like Bach and Handel. This quest for continuity overshadows the fact that Christmas underwent a significant transformation in the second half of the 17th-century. Even after the protestant reformations, European Christmas traditions maintained numerous features of their medieval practices: like carnivalesque celebrations, processions, masks, and riotous behavior. This changed during the 17th-century. In fact, in England and New England the rejection of these folk traditions went so far that the celebration of Christmas was prohibited by law.

German territories did not take such drastic measures; yet, changes took place there as well. Popular carnivalesque Christmas plays were prohibited and replaced with a more internalized devotion that emphasized the individual’s relationship with the newborn child. This transformation was part of a larger paradigm shift in 17th-century religiosity, which replaced external and physical displays of piety with internalized devotional practices. These shifts also included new theologies of corporeality and gender, which likewise had an impact on the ways in which Christmas was celebrated. The theological shifts correlate with the rejection of the carnivalesque in the early modern period, as it was analyzed by Mikhail Bakhtin.

Most of these changes took place in the 1670s and 1680s. Schütz’s *Christmas Historia*—which was composed before 1664—represents a transitional phase and retains some earlier views of Christmas. The most obvious example is the Kindelwiegen (rocking of the child), the physicality of which was highly suspicious to theologians in the later 17th-century.

This paper will outline the common Christmas practices in the early 17th-century, in addition to the theological discussion about their abolition, and it will locate Schütz’ *Christmas Historia* within the context of these discourses.

*Schütz, the Song of Songs, and the Feminization of Piety: A Reappraisal*
Janette Tilley (CUNY/Lehman College)
Recent writings about Schütz’s settings of passages from the Song of Songs, namely SWV 265 “O quam tu pulchra” and SWV 263 “Anima mea liquifacta est” have put forward the proposition that Schütz’s highly expressive musical settings evince a shift in the nature of pious expression. These “ravishing” settings both privilege feminine expression of desire, and establish the feminine as desired object, whose sexuality itself is treated with a “blend of awe and fear”. This fascination with the unique nature of female desire has led some to associate Schütz’s settings with a “feminization of piety” and others with a brand of mysticism, stemming from The Ecstasy of St. Teresa, which weakened under increasing “secularization” in Europe.

While the “feminization” theory has been successfully problematized with respect to nineteenth-century religious practice, the validity of its use in describing a process at work in early modern Protestantism likewise requires reappraisal. Drawing on theological interpretations of the canticles along with other contemporary writings, this paper seeks to situate Schütz’s engagement with Song of Song texts within the framework of mid-seventeenth-century German Lutheran pious practice and mystical traditions. An understanding of gender as it relates to Protestant metaphysics will challenge prevailing suppositions of female objectification and explore what it meant to perform gender in a sacred, specifically Lutheran, context.