

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01237-0 - Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart

Ralph P. Locke

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart

During the years 1500–1800, European performing arts revealed in a kaleidoscope of Otherness: Middle Eastern harem women, fortune-telling Spanish “Gypsies,” Incan priests, Barbary pirates, *moresca* dancers, and more. In this prequel to his 2009 book *Musical Exoticism*, Ralph P. Locke explores how exotic locales and their inhabitants were characterized in musical genres ranging from instrumental pieces and popular songs to oratorios, ballets, and operas. Locke’s study offers new insights into much-loved masterworks by composers such as Cavalli, Lully, Purcell, Rameau, Handel, Vivaldi, Gluck, and Mozart. In these works, evocations of ethnic and cultural Otherness often mingle attraction with envy or fear, and some pieces were understood at the time as commenting on conditions in Europe itself. Locke’s accessible study, which includes numerous music examples and rare illustrations, will be of interest to anyone who is intrigued by the relationship between music and cultural history and by the challenges of cross-cultural (mis)understanding.

RALPH P. LOCKE is Professor of Musicology at the University of Rochester’s Eastman School of Music. His previous books include *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (1986), *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge, 2009), and the co-edited *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons since 1860* (1997). He has published numerous articles and book chapters and contributed to major reference works, including *Grove Dictionary of Music* and *American National Biography*. His study of conceptions of the exotic Other in Verdi’s opera *Aida* (*Cambridge Opera Journal*) won the H. Colin Slim Award from the American Musicological Society.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01237-0 - Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart

Ralph P. Locke

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01237-0 - Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart

Ralph P. Locke

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart

RALPH P. LOCKE



Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-01237-0 - Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart
Ralph P. Locke
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107012370

© Ralph P. Locke 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Locke, Ralph P., author.

Music and the exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart / Ralph P. Locke.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-01237-0

1. Music – History and criticism – 16th century. 2. Music – History and criticism – 17th century. 3. Music – History and criticism – 18th century. 4. Exoticism in music.

5. Exoticism in opera. I. Title.

ML160.L69172 2015

780.9'03–dc23

2014043416

ISBN 978-1-107-01237-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01237-0 - Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart

Ralph P. Locke

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To Lona, with thanks and love

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01237-0 - Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart

Ralph P. Locke

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

List of figures [page xi]
Music examples [xiv]
Acknowledgements [xvi]
Notes to the reader [xix]

PART I INTRODUCTION: A RICH AND COMPLEX HERITAGE [1]

1 Images and principles [3]
 Images of Otherness [3]
 Trends and instances [5]
 Organizing principles [9]
 Performance then and now [11]

2 Exotic in style?: paradigms and interpretations [17]
 Two paradigms: narrow and broad [17]
 Mozart's famous letter revisited [26]
 Appropriate contexts and interpretations [27]
 The limits of the exotic, and the problem of authorial intention [28]
 Exoticism, nationalism, cultural transfer [31]
 Representation(s) and empire [33]
 How exotic meanings are conveyed [34]
 Instrumental dances bearing an ethnic/national label [34]
 Instrumental pieces without verbal indication of ethnicity [36]
 Vocal music in operas and oratorios: meaning-centered
 approaches ... [37]
 ... and meaning-neutral principles [40]

PART II THE WEST AND ITS OTHERS [45]

3 The early cultural background [47]
 From the Greek tragedies ... [47]
 ... to the church fathers [49]
 Interactions with the Ottoman world [56]
 Impressions of the Middle East and Middle Easterners [64]

4 Encounters [75]
 A world of heathens – and its impact on Europe [75]

- Ancient Greece and Rome as models [84]
- “Moors” and stage makeup [86]
- Natives of the Americas [88]
- The beginnings of cultural relativism [91]
- Portraying non-European peoples [92]
- Many cultures, many musics [95]

- PART III SONGS AND DANCE-TYPES [101]
- 5 Popular songs [103]
 - New words to well-known tunes [103]
 - Piracy and foreign captivity [105]
 - English songs [107]
 - Cherokee chiefs in London: a song and its tune [109]
- 6 Dances and instrumental styles from (or “from”) Elsewhere [113]
 - Dances not only for dancing [113]
 - Specific foreign/exotic dances and dance-types [114]
 - The *moresca* [117]
 - Changing uses of the dances [125]
 - The *sarabande* [126]
 - The *chaconne* [128]
 - Exotic dance-types – and instrumental styles – from not so far away [131]
 - Scotland, rural France, Spain, Hungary, Poland, and the English “country dance” [131]

- PART IV EXOTIC PORTRAYALS ON STAGE, IN CONCERT,
IN CHURCH [137]
- 7 Courtly ballets [139]
 - Entertainment for aristocrats, often danced by aristocrats [139]
 - Exotic peoples in ballets [142]
 - Gypsies – by whatever name [142]
 - Middle Eastern Muslims [143]
 - Savages and dark “Indians” [146]
 - Foreign rulers [146]
 - Natives of North America and the Caribbean [149]
 - East Asians [149]
 - Multiple meanings [150]
 - Music, choreography, and instruments [155]
 - Musical “strangeness” [155]
 - Unusual instruments – and finding appropriate tunes [159]
 - Enhancing a characterization in performance [163]

- 8 Distinctive developments in Venice and other Italian cities and courts [165]
 Theatrical *intermedi* [165]
Moresche and other secular vocal pieces [168]
 Dance, street life, and improvised theater in Venice [171]
 Commedia dell'arte [172]
Balli in Venetian opera [174]
 Music for the Venetian operatic *balli* [175]
- 9 Oratorio and other religious genres [181]
 Exoticism in liturgical music [181]
 Epiphany [182]
 The Song of Songs [182]
 Mass settings and the Turks [184]
 The *villancico* and its Others, including “blacks” [186]
 Religious works on stage and in concert [187]
 Biblical spoken dramas with music [188]
 Operas in the service of religion [190]
 Oratorios: chorus-heavy concert dramas [192]
 “Biblical” instruments and appropriate moods [194]
 The Holy Family as exotic [195]
 Vivaldi’s *Holofernes* as the current-day sultan [197]
 Bach’s listeners and the Jerusalemite mob [198]
 Israelites, their enemies, and political allegory in Handel oratorios [201]
 The ideal king and his vile enemies [201]
 England as virtuous conqueror and colonizer [204]
 Interpreting the Bible’s Philistines [205]
- 10 Early opera and partly sung stage works [208]
 Italy and operatic experiment [208]
 Venice: crossroads and crucible [210]
 Exotic plots and “life” Elsewhere [218]
 The sorceress *Medea* [220]
 Partly sung stage works in France: *comédie-ballet* [222]
 Lighting the spark: *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* [223]
 Plays with music in England [227]
 Allegorizing recent events: Purcell’s *Indian Queen* [229]
 The early eighteenth century: partly sung stage works continue [232]
 Les Indes galantes: a world tour in song and dance [235]
- 11 French and Italian serious opera, especially Lully and Handel [239]
 Opera purified [239]
 What makes a serious opera exotic? [241]
Tragédie lyrique [242]
 Advantages of a distant locale [243]
 Lully’s Syrian sorceress: *Armide* [244]

	<i>Opera seria</i>	[248]
	A Chinese lesson in loyalty to one's emperor	[248]
	Exoticism in Handel's not-quite- <i>seria</i> operas	[250]
	A nest of Egyptian vipers: Handel's <i>Giulio Cesare</i>	[253]
	Otherness and the moral center	[256]
	Sympathy for an imprisoned sultan	[258]
	The Montezuma conundrum	[258]
	Persian wizard and Christian mission	[260]
	Reception by Handel's contemporaries	[261]
12	Eighteenth-century comic operas and short danced works	[267]
	Everyday characters and quirky ones	[268]
	Comedic commentary on exotic peoples	[271]
	Casual reference: the African slave trade in <i>The Beggar's Opera</i>	[272]
	Onstage embodiment of the exotic Other: Jewish characters in Singspiel	[273]
	Which exotic locales were fun to watch?	[273]
	Comic operas and the complexities of North America	[280]
	Chinese aristocrats are like us	[284]
13	Obsession with the Middle East: from the Parisian Fairs to Mozart	[287]
	The Middle East in the three phases of <i>opéra-comique</i>	[290]
	The Fair theaters, and Arlequin in a harem woman's veil	[290]
	<i>Opéra-comique</i> gains musical substance	[294]
	Gluck's Cairo, and selective use of <i>alla turca</i>	[296]
	Social criticism under the surface	[299]
	<i>Alla turca</i> style: when it is used, when not, and why	[299]
	Serio-comic Middle Easts (Grétry, Salieri)	[301]
	Persian woman, French man, and Egyptian slavery	[302]
	A Persian-Hindu – or European? – tyrant	[304]
	Turkish and “black” males in Mozart's <i>Entführung</i> and <i>Zauberflöte</i>	[308]
	Power in Mozart's harem opera	[308]
	A “black” slave-driver in <i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[311]
	Why the quasi-Turkish disguises in <i>Così fan tutte</i> ?	[318]
	Images of Otherness continue	[322]
	<i>Afterword: A helpfully troubling term</i>	[324]
	<i>Notes</i>	[327]
	<i>Bibliography</i>	[394]
	I <i>Books and articles cited</i>	[394]
	II <i>Online sites and databases</i>	[436]
	III <i>Recordings and videos</i>	[437]
	<i>Index</i>	[445]

Figures

- 1.1 Mozart's *Così fan tutte* today: not wealthy "Orientals" but Americans in jeans and tattoos. [page 15]
- 3.1 Armida and her troops, in an illustrated edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1784–86). [54]
- 3.2 A character in a tournament or horse ballet, dressed as a Turkish warrior (drawing by Jacques de Bellange). [55]
- 3.3 Map showing the Ottoman Empire during the reign (1520–66) of Süleyman I. [58]
- 3.4 The second siege of Vienna (1683) by Ottoman forces (painting by Frans Geffels). [59]
- 3.5 Illustration of "Asia" by Gottfried Eichler, Jr. (Augsburg, c. 1758–60). [61]
- 3.6 Map showing the major empires of the European Continent and western Asia during the sixteenth century. [63]
- 3.7 Portrait of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent by Théodore de Bry (1596). [66]
- 3.8 Portrait of "Ross[olan]a," wife of Suleiman the Magnificent, by Théodore de Bry (1596). [67]
- 3.9 Another portrait of Suleiman I – by the famed artist Jacques Callot – from the title page of Bonarelli's play *Il Solimano* (1619). [69]
- 3.10 Illustration of "Africa" by Eichler. [71]
- 4.1 "Ship of Amerigo Vespucci, Fourth Intermedio" (Florence, 1608). [79]
- 4.2 Natives of the New World worship the sun (woodcut by Girolamo Benzoni, 1565). [80]
- 4.3 Natives of the New World smelt silver and gold (Benzoni, 1565). [81]
- 4.4 Natives of Hispaniola commit suicide "in order not to serve the Christians" (Benzoni, 1565). [82]
- 4.5 Festive dancing in North America (Théodore de Bry, 1590). [83]
- 4.6 A native Brazilian, dancing and shaking a rattle in Paris (1613). [84]

- 4.7 Engraved title page to Arnoldus Montanus's *The New and Unknown World* (Amsterdam, 1671). [85]
- 4.8 A Native American queen, in Behn's play *The Widow Ranter* (1689). [87]
- 4.9 Illustration of "America," by Eichler. [89]
- 5.1 Spanish popular song about piracy: "La renegada de Valladolid" (1608). [106]
- 5.2 English popular song about Cherokee chiefs (c. 1762). [110]
- 5.3 Tune used in the Cherokee-chiefs song (Figure 5.2). [111]
- 6.1 *Moresca* dancer with mustache and large turban (Erasmus Grasser, c. 1480). [118]
- 6.2 *Moresca* dancer with leg bells and small turban. [119]
- 6.3 *Moresca* dancer of sub-Saharan African origin. [120]
- 6.4 Men in Turkish(?) costumes/masks, at post-tournament festivity (from Maximilian I's *Freydal*). [121]
- 6.5 Men with darkened faces – their intended ethnicity unknown – and wooden clogs (from *Freydal*). [122]
- 6.6 Mummers in padded suits (from *Freydal*). [123]
- 7.1 The Saracen sorceress Armide, in the 1617 French court ballet *La délivrance de Renaud*. [145]
- 7.2 "Entry of King Atabalipa" in the 1626 *Grand Ball of the Dowager of Disorder*. [148]
- 7.3 The Siamese ambassadors in Paris, 1686. [151]
- 7.4 "Entry of the Cachique and his Attendants," from the *Dowager* ballet (1626). [160]
- 7.5 "Music of America," from the *Dowager* ballet. [162]
- 8.1 A grand *intermedio* (Jacques Callot, 1616). [167]
- 8.2 Two "Moors" dancing (from Lambranzi's dance treatise, 1716). [177]
- 8.3 Four Turks dancing (from Lambranzi's treatise). [179]
- 9.1 Countertenor Randall Wong as China in a 1991 production of Kapsberger's *Apotheosis*. [191]
- 10.1 Bonarelli's play *Il Solimano* (i.e., Sultan Suleiman I), Act 4. [211]
- 10.2 Bonarelli's *Il Solimano*, Act 5. [212]
- 10.3 Cesti's opera *Il pomo d'oro*, prologue, in which the Hapsburg territories sing. [215]
- 10.4 Detail from Figure 10.3, showing a dark-skinned "America." [216]
- 10.5 Illustration from the opera *Ibrahim sultano*, showing a slave being thrown into the sea. [219]

- 10.6 Costume design for the fake Mufti, played by Lully, in *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670). [225]
- 10.7 “A Chinese Man Dancing” in Campra’s *Carnival of Venice* (1699). [233]
- 11.1 Lully’s *Armide*: the Syrian sorceress destroys her palace in despair. [246]
- 11.2 Handel’s *Tamerlano* (1996 production, closely reflecting the libretto). [259]
- 12.1 Painting by Pillement of, apparently, an exotic ballet performed in Vienna in 1763. [275]
- 12.2 Detail from Figure 12.1: a Chinese man and dark-skinned female dancers. [277]
- 13.1 Painted scene from a “Turkish” comic opera (late eighteenth century). [289]
- 13.2 Detail from a different painting of the scene in Figure 13.1. [291]
- 13.3 Urson, captain of the guards, in Salieri’s *Axur* (Warsaw, 1793). [307]
- 13.4 Sarastro and turbaned guards in Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte* (illustration from 1795). [314]
- 13.5 Monostatos, in *Die Zauberflöte* (illustration from 1793). [316]

Music examples

- 6.1 Venice as exotic and cosmopolitan: a *forlana* for Slavonians, Armenians, and Gypsies, in Campra's *L'Europe galante* (1697). [page 116]
- 6.2 *Moresca* tune from Arbeau's *Orchésographie* (1589). [126]
- 6.3 A *sarabande* for lute, by "Vincent" (composed before 1670). [128]
- 6.4 A set of *chaconne* variations for guitar, by Giovanni Battista Granata (1651). [130]
- 7.1 Savages of the Caucasus dance for joy, in *Les noces de Pélée et de Thétis* (1654). [157]
- 7.2 "Les Américains" [*sic*], from a *ballet de cour* performed during the reign of Louis XIII. [158]
- 8.1 Dance of eunuchs in a harem, from Cesti's *La Dori* (1661 or 1663). [176]
- 9.1 J. S. Bach, *Christmas Oratorio* (1734–35): pastoral introduction to part 2, evoking Holy Land shepherds. [196]
- 9.2 Handel, *Samson* (1743), aria for the snide Philistine warrior Harapha: "Honour and arms scorn such a foe." [206]
- 10.1 Lully, *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670): "March for the Ceremony of the [Frenchmen Pretending to Be] Turks." [228]
- 10.2 Rameau, *Les Indes galantes* (1735–36): "Dance of the Incas for the Devotion of the Sun." [237]
- 11.1 Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (1724), aria of the vile Tolomeo: "L'empio, sleale, indegno." [255]
- 12.1 *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), air no. 16: mention of the slave trade in a duet for Polly and Macheath. [272]
- 12.2 Gluck's ballet *La halte des Calmouckes* (1761): "Slavic" rhythms for Mongolian nomads. [279]
- 13.1 Quick-moving conversation-in-song, in *Arlequin sultane favorite* (Harlequin Disguised as a Sultan's Favorite Harem Wife), 1715. [294]
- 13.2 Gluck, *La rencontre imprévue* (1786), aria of a fake dervish: "Les hommes pieusement / pour Catons nous tiennent." [297]
- 13.3 Gluck, *La rencontre imprévue*, overture (mm. 1–20). [301]

- 13.4 Mozart, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782): first of two choruses in praise of Pasha Selim. [309]
- 13.5 Mozart, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*: Osmin's final burst of rage. [312]
- 13.6 Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte* (1791): march of the ancient-Egyptian priests. [315]
- 13.7 Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*: aria of the black slave-driver Monostatos. [319]

Acknowledgements

Writing a book that ranges widely entails risks. At many points, I am dealing with repertoires, historical situations, and source materials that specialized scholars know better than I do. At other points, I confront broad issues – such as imperialism and intercultural encounter – that have been studied and interpreted from many different angles. My gratitude therefore goes out to numerous individuals for encouraging me and sharing their expertise. Some mentioned a piece of music that I should look at. Some pointed me to an important book by a literary or cultural historian. Some kindly commented on one or more chapters. Some made timely suggestions in conversation or by email, or helpfully critiqued previous writings of mine. Some also shared work of theirs that was not yet published. (I have, when possible, cited the eventual published version.) Several helped with Polish or other languages.

In one or more of these respects, I wish particularly to mention Nasser Al-Tae, Rebekah Ahrendt, Michael A. Anderson, Geoffrey Baker, Jonathan Baldo, Antonia Banducci, Corbett Bazler, Michael Beckerman, Jonathan Bellman, Philip Berk, Olivia Bloechl, Philip Bohlman, Bruce Alan Brown, Rogério Budasz, Paul A. Bushkovitch, Margaret R. Butler, Bernard Camier, Tim Carter, Fulya Celikel, David Charlton, Victor Anand Coelho, Catherine J. Cole, Georgia Cowart, Anthony M. Cummings, the late Anne Dhu McLucas, Donna di Grazia, Eric Drott, Norbert Dubowy, Louis Epstein, Roger Freitas, Greer Garden-Garlick, Teresa Gialdroni, Bruce Gustafson, Ellen T. Harris, Rebecca Harris-Warrick, William Hauser, Matthew Head, Wendy Heller, Timothy Hochstrasser, T. Emil Homerin, Erika Honisch, Richard Hudson, Mary Hunter, Bernardo Illari, David R. M. Irving, Sylvia Kahan, Kate Van Winkle Keller, Robert C. Ketterer, Deena Copeland Klepper, John Koegel, Lowell Lindgren, Kathryn Lowerre, Patrick Macey, Anne E. MacNeil, Raffaele Mellace, Margaret Murata, Paul O’Dette, Dorinda Outram, James Parakilas, Jann Pasler, Michael Pisani, Pierpaolo Polzonetti, John S. Powell, Curtis Price, Sindhumathi Revuluri, John A. Rice, Kristi Riggs, Ellen Rosand, Lois Rosow, Tilden Russell, Timothy Scheie, Manfred Hermann Schmid, Christopher Seaman, W. Anthony Sheppard, Alexander Silbiger, Alexander Stefaniak, Jama Stilwell, John Swadley, Dariusz

Terefenko, Jürgen Thym, Kate van Orden, Sarah Clemmens Waltz, Adrienne Ward, Paige Whitley-Bauguess, Sarah F. Williams, Amanda Eubanks Winkler, Jittapim Yamprai, Daniel Zager, Giovanni Zanovello, and Bennett Zon.

Scott Perkins prepared the musical examples with his customary visual and musical sensitivity.

Very little in this book has appeared in print before.¹ About a third of the material was originally written for inclusion at the beginning of Part II (the historical and case-study portion) of my 2009 book *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*. But I removed it when that manuscript began to grow impractically long. As a result, the 2009 book offers no systematic discussion of developments from the years 1700–1800 and does not so much as mention the centuries before 1700. For the present book I have expanded and subdivided the unpublished chapters from that manuscript and have written additional chapters from scratch. (I also have written several related articles that did not find a place in the present book, largely for reasons of space, which are being published separately; the first of these are listed in the bibliography.) I have tried to make *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart* fully understandable to anyone reading it on its own. Still, I occasionally refer to passages in *Musical Exoticism* – which is now available in a lightly corrected paperback edition – for the benefit of those who may be interested in pursuing certain basic issues further, or in seeing how trends portrayed here continued and changed after 1800.

I am grateful to seminar students at the Eastman School of Music who shared their reactions to musical works and to chapter drafts. These include Jacek Blaszkiewicz, Victor Chavez, Regina Compton, Thomas Doser, Kerry DuWors, John Green, Naomi Gregory, John Hanlon, C. Aaron James, Erica Jones, Lauron Kehrer, Rohan Krishnamurthy, Carmen Lemoine, Gail Lowther, Eric Lubarsky, Lena Nietfeld, Michael Oldaker, Gilad Rabinovitch, Alan Reese, Austin Richey, Sarah Fuchs Sampson, Maggee Van Speybroeck, Alexander Stefaniak, Megan Steigerwald, Alexis VanZalen, and Anne Marie Weaver. I continue to be enriched by the work of former students who have now gone on to significant scholarly careers, including Sylvia Alajaji, Philip Carli, Thomas Denny, Michael Dodds, Caroline Ehman, Jeremy Grimshaw, Rob Haskins, Eric Jensen, Mary Natvig, Martin Nedbal, Michael Pisani, Deborah Rohr, Marie Sumner Lott, Amy Wlodarski, and (from the University of Rochester's Department of History) Kira Thurman.

Support both financial and moral was gratefully received from the University of Rochester's Susan B. Anthony Institute for Gender and Women's Studies. Much of the initial writing occurred during two academic leaves several years apart, which were co-funded by the University of Rochester, the Eastman School of Music, and (in one case) the National Endowment for the Humanities.

My work on this volume was supported in uncountable ways by three successive Eastman department chairs of musicology: Gretchen Wheelock, Patrick Macey, and Roger Freitas; by the late Douglas Lowry (former Eastman Dean) and the current Eastman Dean, Jamal Rossi; and by Daniel Zager and his remarkable staff at Eastman's Sibley Music Library, including Mathew Colbert and David Peter Coppen (Special Collections). Jürgen Thym, also at Eastman, was a constant source of encouragement and wisdom.

Many of the illustrations are little-known. I am immensely grateful to the museums and libraries – including ones in Atlanta, Barcelona, and Warsaw – for providing high-resolution scans, and to the Eastman School of Music for subventions to cover some of the resulting fees. A few of the illustrations are, I believe, in the public domain; I would be happy to receive more accurate information in this regard and to make appropriate corrections in a second printing of the book.

I dedicate this book to Lona, whose eye and ear were a sure guide and who made sure I finished.

Notes to the reader

The time frame examined in this book, c. 1500–1800, is roughly equivalent to what many historians nowadays – and, increasingly, music historians as well – call the “Early Modern period.”¹ I occasionally use the phrase here, and trust that readers will not confuse it with music history’s “early modern era” (i.e., the preliminary phases of musical modernism, as manifested in, say, Richard Strauss, Debussy, and Diaghilev-era Stravinsky).

Regarding my use of the resonant, problematic word “exotic” and cognates such as “exoticism,” see Chapter 2 and the Afterword.

I sometimes refer to a people or ethnic group by a label that was used at the time rather than by one that is standard today. Several potentially confusing cases (e.g., Tartar rather than Tatar; Gypsy/Égyptien/Bohémien rather than Rom) are explained when they become relevant. On “Middle East,” see below. In respect to certain words whose meanings have shifted greatly over time (e.g., “empire” and “race”), I follow normative scholarly practice in fields such as history and political theory.²

I italicize the names of all non-English dance-types. Some such names – e.g., *sarabande* – have become standard in English and thus are not normally italicized in books and articles, whereas others – e.g., *morisque* – are much less familiar and thus normally are italicized. My eye found it confusing to italicize some dance-types but not others, especially in close juxtaposition. Furthermore, the dance-types discussed here sometimes bore ethnic/exotic associations during the centuries under study; italicizing helps a name stand out from the surrounding prose and be felt as somehow special. (Just how non-normative a given dance-type was felt to be at the time will be discussed.) I also italicize certain genre-terms, such as *tragédie lyrique* and *opera buffa*. But I do not italicize genre-terms that have become so fully absorbed into English that there is no other way for us to name the thing (e.g., cantata and oratorio).

In this book, “courtly ballet” – or often simply “ballet” – refers to rehearsed and staged events that derived from highly regulated traditions of courtly dancing. On many occasions, the dancers were members of the nobility. This was the case in regard to some exotic roles (e.g., when the French king François I danced as a distinguished Turk).³ More often,

though, exotic roles – especially comical or low-class ones – were taken by professional dancers and clowns. In any case, it is important to remember that the types of dancing that nowadays are associated with the word “ballet” – such as dancing *en pointe* in tulle skirts – did not come into use until the nineteenth century and thus are not relevant here. Textbooks often use the phrase “court ballet” (without the “-ly”) to refer to any courtly ballet. I follow certain specialist scholars in using it only in regard to a ballet performed “at court” (e.g., in a royal palace) but not for the genre as a whole, since some ballets were performed at a courtier’s residence, a university, the city hall, and so on.⁴ As for the *intermedi* that got inserted into Italian operatic performances (usually at the end of an act), I follow scholarly practice and call them *balli*: “ballet” would be particularly misleading since some of them consisted entirely of mime, comic antics, or tumbling (though usually with some kind of music, even if this consisted of little more than annunciatory drumrolls or trumpet calls).

A five-act serious French opera I call, in accordance with longstanding scholarly usage, a *tragédie lyrique*. The historically attested phrase *tragédie en musique*, specifically appropriate to the efforts of Lully (with libretti by Quinault), might be misleading if applied to certain serious eighteenth-century French operas by Rameau, Gluck, or Salieri.⁵ Certain other genre titles, similarly, are adopted from current scholarly practice (e.g., *opéra-ballet*), in order to emphasize the common features in a large group of works.

I often refer to a rather broad area stretching from North Africa to Turkey, Arabia, and Persia as “the Middle East.”⁶ In doing so I follow the practice of numerous scholars in musicology and also in European cultural history.⁷ This modern-day expression can carry strong and complex associations, some of which are not relevant to the years under study. But there is no obvious brief alternative. Indeed, people in the years 1500–1800 referred to the same broad area by a range of terms that were no less vague and carried equally problematic associations: e.g., the Holy Lands, the Levant, the Orient, or the lands of the Moors and Saracens.⁸

Distinctions, as needed, will be made between such recognizably distinct groups as Arabs, Mamluks (multi-ethnic to some extent), Turks (and their multi-ethnic Janissary troops), Persians, and North African pirates and Berbers.⁹ Except when I am summarizing a historical source, I have largely avoided using phrases – still common among some historians – such as “the Muslim invaders.”¹⁰ For one thing, I was concerned not to imply, however inadvertently, that religion was necessarily the single most important feature or motivation of, say, the Arabs who conquered the

Iberian Peninsula or of the Ottomans during their expansionist campaigns in Eastern Europe. For another, Jews and Christians often lived in comfort and safety in both Golden Age Spain and the Ottoman Empire, and their presence is obscured by casual descriptions of the lands as “Muslim.” Finally, by the year 1500 Islam had already spread well beyond the Mediterranean and Western Asia – e.g., to Indonesia and the southern Philippines – making generalized references to “the Muslims” yet more problematic. Still, I occasionally speak of, for example, the “Middle Eastern Muslim world” because to avoid mention of religion entirely would be as misleading as to systematically avoid mention of Europe as being predominantly Christian and, to at least as great an extent, Christian-ruled.

All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. I sometimes use the best-known version of a name rather than the version that is used in the work I am discussing (e.g., the biblical Hagar rather than the Italian equivalent, Agar; Alexander the Great rather than Alessandro Magno).

In general, I use the phrase “Italian opera” to mean any opera that was written to an Italian libretto, whether for a city or court in the Italian-speaking region (i.e., the peninsula and Sicily) or beyond (e.g., Madrid, Dresden, and London). The phrase “French comic operas,” similarly, can refer to French-language works composed elsewhere (e.g., in Vienna). A similar risk of confusion scarcely arises with regard to operas using texts in English, German, and Spanish, as these did not travel nearly so well, if at all.

In cases where I quote an early manuscript or early printed document, I sometimes lightly modernize punctuation and spelling (e.g., French accents) in accord with standard scholarly practice.

Basic facts about many musical works – and details of opera plots – have been checked against reliable sources, mainly the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (second edition, 2001) and the *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, both of which I consulted primarily in the online versions at OxfordMusicOnline.com (which I refer to as *Grove Music Online*). To reduce the endnotes somewhat, I do not normally mention these sources.

I quote phrases of a libretto from a reliable printed source (such as the original published libretto, a reliable manuscript of the score, or a recent critical edition) rather than from the booklet of a particular recording. I often was able to consult the physical document, a scanned online version (e.g., at gallica.fr), or a published facsimile. For libretti set by Handel and Mozart, in particular, I have consulted facsimiles of the first printings (edited, respectively, by Ellen Harris and Ernest Warburton – see the Bibliography). The libretti for Gluck’s operas are reprinted in a volume of the critical edition of his works.¹¹ Libretti by Metastasio are available

at the *Progetto Metastasio* site (see “Online sites and databases” in the Bibliography). As with *GroveMusicOnline*, I normally omit endnote references to all these sources, simply saying something like: “the list of characters in the libretto for *Giulio Cesare*.”

In general, I have consulted one or more editions of a musical work being discussed but, for reasons of space, have not cited them except when referring to a particular statement by a volume’s editor.¹² Musical examples are likewise based on reliable editions. In order to make an example easier to sing to oneself or play at the keyboard, I have sometimes given only the melody line or melody-plus-bass. In any case, an actual performance at the time would have been more elaborate, and variable, than a literal reading of the composer’s score might suggest – most basically, by “realizing” the *basso continuo* line. (See the last section of Chapter 1.)

For reasons of page layout, certain Figures and Music Examples will be found one or more pages later than their first mention. (See especially the nine period images of the New World, Figs. 4.1 – 4.9.)