



NEWSLETTER

ISSUE NO. 35

SPRING 2020

Dull Needles and Sweeping Chimneys: Vaudeville, Sexuality, and Private Theaters in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Paris

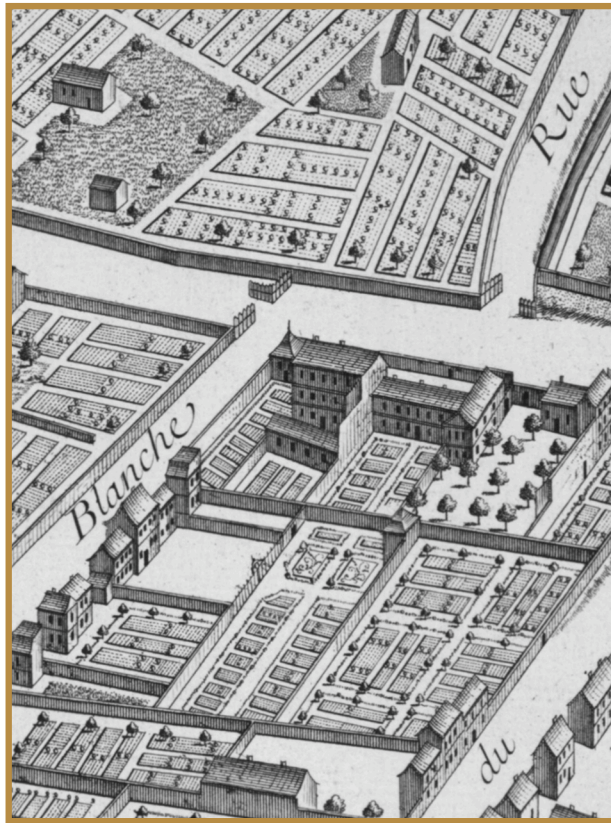
Jenna Harmon

At the top of the hill that separates Montmartre from the rest of Paris, to the immediate west of Sacré Coeur, sits the Paroisse Saint-Pierre-de-Montmartre. Within this parish, on the rue Blanche, two homes once shared a garden: the first belonged to the playwright and actor Charles-François Racot de Grandval, and the other to the actress Marie-Françoise Dumesnil. The two were colleagues at the Comédie-Française, and it was likely there that they met and fell in love, before living together on the rue Blanche for 47 years until Grandval's death in 1784. In addition to sharing a home, they also kept a small theater, where Grandval "performed erotic works of his own authorship, such as *The Eunuch, or faithful infidelity... The New Messalina, The Two Biscuits, ...* performed before an audience of amateurs."¹ Two of these plays, *L'Eunuque ou la fidèle infidélité* and *Les Deux Biscuits*, appear in the *Théâtre de campagne, ou les débauches de l'esprit*, a printed collection of plays apparently intended for performance on the private Montmartre stage maintained by Dumesnil and Grandval.

Allegedly printed in London, *Le Théâtre de campagne* went through at least two editions, the first in 1755 and a second in 1758.² The first edition contains five plays, two authored by Grandval, two by his father, the musician Nicolas

Racot de Grandval, and one by Pierre Boudin. The 1758 edition kept all five of these plays, adding a sixth by Grandval *fils*, *Les Deux Biscuits*. Vaudevilles, or songs created by combining well-known melodies and newly-written text, appear throughout both editions: in the 1755 edition, *L'Eunuque* is followed by the notated melodies for each vaudeville cited in the play, where they are designated only by their *timbre*. The notated melodies were only included for the 1755 *L'Eunuque*, however, and were not included in the subsequent 1758 edition.

The prevalence of vaudevilles in this collection might be surprising, given that the appearance of the *Théâtre de Campagne* coincides with the period of the vaudeville's fall from popularity on the public fair-ground stages, displaced by the arrival of the Italian Bouffons and the ensuing *Querelle* in the early half of the 1750s. As a result of this shift, newly-composed, Italiante *ariettes* supplanted vaudevilles as the dominant vocal genre on public stages, which had been the central venue for vaudeville performance up to that point. The appearance of vaudevilles in private *théâtre de société* play collections, like the *Théâtre de Campagne*, shows that despite this shift, there was still an interest in vaudeville. Still more intriguing is the fact that the transfer of the song genre from the "low" setting of the fairgrounds to more elite ones (e.g. private stages in the homes of the wealthy) did not necessitate a parallel change in tone for the vaudevilles



themselves.

Scholarship of *théâtres de société* has typically privileged them as a site for the intersection of salon culture and libertinage, with relatively little attention devoted to the plays themselves and, more importantly, the vaudevilles that animated the performances. Because *théâtres de société* were private entertainments, records of performances were reliant on the whims of those who hosted them. As a consequence, the archival evidence is "très mal réunie et coordonnée."³ Print collections like the *Théâtre de campagne* are some of the only remaining evidence of the practice.

Melody was an equally important player in a vaudeville's construction of meaning, making a musical response or performance

3. David Trott, *Théâtre du XVIIIe siècle: jeux, écritures, regards* (Montpellier: Éditions Espaces 34, 2000), 167.

1. Gaston Capon, *Les petites maisons galantes de Paris au XVIIIe siècle: folies, maisons de plaisance et vide-bouteille, d'après des documents inédits et des rapports de police* (Paris: H. Daragon, 1902), 81–82.

2. While it is not impossible that the book was printed in London, the obscene bent of much of the material points to this location most likely being a false imprint, a common practice in France at this time for printed works that were likely to be banned or suppressed. See Daniel T. Smith, Jr., "Libertine Dramaturgy: Reading Obscene Closet Drama in Eighteenth-Century France," (Ph.D. diss., 2010), 36, and Patrick Wald La-sowski, "Les Enfants de la messe de minuit," in Marie-Françoise Quignard and Raymond-Josué Seckel, eds, *L'Enfer de la bibliothèque: Eros au secret* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2007), 39.

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From the Editor

The SECM Newsletter is published twice yearly, in October and April. Submissions in the following categories are encouraged:

- News of recent accomplishments from members of the society (publications, presentations, awards, performances, promotions, etc.);
- Reviews of performances of eighteenth-century music;
- Reviews of books, editions, or recordings of eighteenth-century music;
- Conference reports;
- Dissertations in progress on eighteenth-century music;
- Upcoming conferences and meetings;
- Calls for papers and manuscripts;
- Research reports and research resources;
- Grant opportunities.

Contributions should be submitted as an attachment to an e-mail message (preferably in Microsoft Word format) to the SECM Newsletter editor (kimary.fick@gmail.com). Submissions must be received by July 1 for the October issue and by January 1 for the April issue. Claims for missing issues of the Newsletter must be requested within six months of publication. Annotated discographies (in the format given in the inaugural issue, October 2002) will also be accepted and will be posted on the SECM web site. Discographies should be sent to mknoll@steglein.com.



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Nathaniel Mitchell, Morton Wan, Anna Parkitna



President's Message

Guido Olivieri

I hope this message finds all of you and your relatives and friends well and healthy. What a difference a few months have made in our lives! I feel like it was another era when I was appointed president of the Society, but this is the first opportunity for me to thank all who have encouraged me to present my candidature and for the support I have received. I will do my best to continue the great legacy left by our past President, Sarah Eyerly, and expand the scope and presence of our Society.

In this brief period since my appointment, SECM has faced some challenging moments and difficult decisions. We were all looking forward to a wonderful conference in Stockholm this past March. The excellent program committee (Janet Page, chair, Bertil van Boer, Erik Wallrup, and Ashley Greathouse) had put together a great selection of contributions. Unfortunately, the rapidly worsening circumstances forced us to take the painful, but necessary decision of postponing the meeting. I am particularly grateful to the organizer, Bertil van Boer. After painstakingly planning a series of amazing events for months, he had to reverse course, managing cancellations in just a few days and very patiently coordinating actions with our hosts at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music. Throughout the process, I was in constant contact with the SECM Board; to all of them goes my gratitude for their fantastic help and advice. The Board is currently discussing ways to reschedule this conference and will soon communicate its decisions.

The organization of the SECM and MSA joint conference, part of the intensifying collaboration between the two societies, is well underway and a CFP will soon be announced. The conference, hosted by the Mozarteum Foundation, will take place in May 2021 in Salzburg.

The SECM panel at the ASECS annual meeting has been postponed to 2021 in Toronto, after the 2020 ASECS conference was canceled.

In the past weeks we have also started to discuss ways to open the Society's governance to young scholars and graduate students. I have asked Alison DeSimone and Rebecca Geoffroy-Schwinden to form a graduate-student committee that will work as a bridge between the board and the graduate student members, as well as a liaison with other societies.

Finally, I want to express my deep appreciation to all members who have donated to the Society and to the Murray Award fund in the past weeks. Although I am sure there are other crucial priorities, the Society has also sustained some setbacks in these dire circumstances and will enormously benefit from the continuous members' support. We need to continue to look ahead and keep creating opportunities for scholarly exchange and supporting the work of young scholars in our profession. I look forward to when, despite this new "normality," we will get again together and continue the creative and dynamic activities that have characterized our Society.

Please contact me at olivieri@austin.utexas.edu with ideas, feedback, and suggestions. I encourage all members to "like" our Facebook page and send news and items of interest.

Stay well!



Spring 2020 Member News

Drew Edward Davies (Northwestern University) and Javier Marín López (Universidad de Jaén, Spain) have published the first three volumes of *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707–1769): Obras selectas – Selected Works* with Dairea Ediciones in Madrid. Timed to coincide with the 250th anniversary of the Italian – New Spanish composer's death, the first volume is a book containing an updated biographical timeline, list of works, bibliography, and discography. The second volume is a score of Jerusalem's ode *Al combate for King Charles III* (1761), and the third is a Lamentation setting for Holy Week, both for voices and chamber orchestra. The series, with printed scores and online performance parts, will be ongoing.

Rebecca Geoffroy-Schwinden (University of North Texas) received the M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet Grant for Research in France (2019) from the American Musicological Society to support archival research for her book *From Servant to Savant: Privilege, Musical Property, and the French Revolution*, which is under contract with Oxford University Press.

On January 1, **Mark Nabholz** assumed new duties as Chief Editor of Publications for the National Collegiate Choral Organization (NCCO). In this capacity he will oversee the organization's peer review journal *The Choral Scholar*, and new additions to the The NCCO Choral Series, which is published in cooperation with ECS Publishing. Concurrently he is Associate Professor of Music at Mississippi College. *The Choral Scholar* is soliciting previously unpublished articles on topics in choral music. Guidelines are available at <https://www.ncco-usa.org/pubs/tcs/submissions/>.

Bruce Brown recently published "Gennaro Magri in Vienna, as Seen Through the Music of his First Season (1759–60)," in *Il virtuoso grottesco: Gennaro Magri napoletano*, ed. Arianna Fabbriatore, preface by José Sasportes (Rome: Aracne editrice, 2020), 51–74; and "What the Envoy Saw: Diplomacy, Theater, and Ahmet Resmî Efendi's Embassy to Vienna, 1758," in *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. V: *Gluck and the Turkish Subject in Ballet and Dance*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger (Vienna: Hollitzer-Verlag, 2019), 99–125.

Anna Parkitna recently completed her dissertation "Opera in Warsaw, 1765–1830: Operatic Migration, Adaptation, and Reception in the Enlightenment" (Stony Brook University).

Beverly Scheibert recently published "Distinguishing between dotted notes and *notes inégales*," in *The Musical Times* 161/1950 (Spring 2020): 61–76. Based on faulty translations and inferences, most reference works and articles have obscured the significant difference between them. Scheibert has also recently published "Marmontel/[Piccinni] on Neapolitan Opera," in *Journal of Music Criticism* 3 (2019): 1–17 and "Tartini and the Two Forms of *Appoggiature*," in *Eighteenth Century Music* 16/1 (2019): 83–86.

The first critical edition of Maria Rosa Coccia's (1759–1833) *Annunziata: Ten Extemporaneous Fugues*, discovered and edited by **Marie Caruso**, will be published by Furore-Verlag (forthcoming June 2020). The fugues were discovered in Rome's Biblioteca Casanatense, attached to a copy of Coccia's biography, *Elogio storico, di Maria Rosa Coccia*. Coccia was the first woman to take the qualifying exam given at Rome's Accademia di Santa Cecilia, which consisted of composing an extemporaneous fugue on a given antiphon in front of four judges. Coccia passed the exam in 1774, at age 15, and she became the first woman to achieve the title of *maestra di cappella*. In addition, Coccia, the sole female exami-

nee, was the only candidate whose exam composition was published. Francesco Capalti, *maestro di cappella* of the Cathedral of Narni, published his objections in 1781, claiming that she only passed because she was a woman. This created a great deal of controversy, and many prominent people wrote letters in her defense, such as the Italian poet and librettist, Pietro Metastasio, and the famous castrato, Farinelli. The discovered fugues add more material to this drama. An article on the subject was written by this editor: "Ten Fugues Shed Light on an Old Debate," in *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, (L.S. Olschki: Firenze, 1994): Anno XXI, 2014, no. 1.

Alison DeSimone has published an article, "Musical Virtue, Professional Fortune, and Private Trauma in Eighteenth-Century Britain: A Feminist Biography of Elisabetta de Gambarini" in the *Journal of Musicological Research*. DOI: 10.1080/01411896.2020.1735937

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Announcements

Call for Papers: *Mozart and Salzburg* Joint MSA/SECM Conference in Salzburg, May 26–30, 2021

This international conference will explore all aspects of Mozart and Salzburg, including Wolfgang's early education and travel, especially to the nearby court at Munich; the music of Leopold Mozart, Michael Haydn, Giacomo Rust, as well as the other singers and instrumentalists at the Salzburg court; traveling opera troupes, especially Emanuel Schikaneder's residence in Salzburg in 1780; and finally the works that Mozart wrote for Salzburg. All relevant topics will be considered, though priority will be given to the theme of the conference.

Abstracts of up to 300 words should be submitted to Paul Corneilson pcorneilson@packhum.org no later than 1 October 2020. Presentations are expected to fill 30-minute slots and should be given in English. One need not be an MSA or SECM member in order to submit a proposal, but all speakers chosen must be members of one of the societies by the time the conference takes place. The Program Committee will announce the selections and program at the AMS meeting in early November.

Call for Papers from *French Historical Studies*: Music and French History/La musique et l'histoire française

The editors of *French Historical Studies* seek articles for a special issue on music in the Francophone world to appear in 2022. The history of the music of France has traditionally been studied as a separate category without the same robust interest as other cultural artifacts such as film and literature. More recent scholarship illuminates the place of music in French society and suggests that more work should be done to sketch out the particular place of music in all its forms in French history. This special issue of *French Historical Studies* proposes to take stock of and advance this historiographical renewal. What can the production and consumption of music tell us about the shifting nature of French identity and the relationships among various constituencies in French history? Queries about submission and other matters should be addressed to the guest editors: William Weber (william.weber@csulb.edu) and Jonathyne Briggs (jwbriggs@iun.edu). To submit an article, visit the journal website. The deadline for submissions is 1 September 2020.

Eighteenth-century Arts Education Research Network

We are pleased to announce the new Royal Society of Edinburgh-funded Eighteenth-century Arts Education Research Network (EAERN), based in the music subject area of the University of Glasgow. This interdisciplinary network brings together an international community of researchers in music, art, literature, dance, and history to share approaches to investigate eighteenth-century arts educational materials. The aims of the network are:

- To investigate how eighteenth-century arts education has impacted on the development of Western society and the development of artisan institutions such as music conservatories, schools of art, academies of dance and the university institution
- To establish dialogue between interdisciplinary researchers about their methodological practice when analyzing, deconstructing and using eighteenth-century education materials in practice
- Out of these dialogues, to establish new standardized methodologies that utilize cross-disciplinary explorations

The network will establish a seminar series, and three full-day public colloquia. Please join on Facebook EAERN and on Twitter @EAERNing to stay up to date. If you would like further details, contact us: arts-eaern@glasgow.ac.uk



2019 American Musicological Society Meeting Report

Olga Sánchez-Kisielewska

The American Musicological Society returned to Boston last fall (making it the fourth most frequent host city after DC, New York, and Chicago) to hold its 85th meeting. The prior sudden loss of Robert Judd, Executive Director of AMS for 23 years, largely set the affective tone for the conference; its intellectual tenor was influenced to a great extent—perhaps more than ever—for a concern over socio-political issues, past and present. To provide an informal overview of the program, with the help of the digital humanities, I uploaded the titles of papers and sessions to the tag cloud generator wordclouds.com and created the visual representation included below. Politics and revolution emerge as recurring topics (with font size determined by frequency of occurrence), alongside gender, race, performance, and opera—an ever-beloved genre of AMS.

From the more than three hundred papers read at the conference, twenty-seven dealt with eighteenth-century music. Two of the six pre-conferences provided important additional forums for eighteenth-century topics: the Eighth International New Beethoven Research Conference and the “mini-conference” New Perspectives on Haydn and C. P. E. Bach. Within the AMS program, eighteenth-century studies displayed a wide range of subjects. Some topics mirrored the trends listed above, with women, Blackness, revolution, and war as frequent foci of interest; other recurring themes included Mozart’s opera, aesthetics, and cosmopolitanism. In addition to standard-format papers, *settecentisti* were also present in the poster session—where Guido Olivieri and Federico Gon compared different versions of *Il matrimonio segreto*—and in the seminar devoted to “Performance as a Research Methodology”—where Rebecca Cypess discussed the expressive role of timbre in the musical performances that took place in Madame Brillon’s renowned salon.

Recent conference programs, not unlike music curricula, are displaying a tendency to move away from period-driven organization and the distribution of eighteenth-century topics at AMS 2019 is a case in point. For example, four presentations overlapped during the Friday late-afternoon sessions, with scholars examining the Enlightenment in different panels, from angles as diverse as gastronomy, slavery, or travel. Varied topics provided a wide array of thematic umbrellas for eighteenth-century music research. In the session “Minds, Machines, and Mimesis,” Bradley Spiers took Vaucason’s automated flute player (1738), with its detailed reproduction of human organs, as a starting point to illustrate debates about body and mind, and brought the machine into dialogue with ideas concerning subjectivity and the origins of language and music. A session dedicated to transcriptions and arrangements ranged from Berio to late-eighteenth century Germany, with Desmond Sheehan relying on “media archeological methods to investigate the ethics and aesthetics” of keyboard reductions. Although structuring sessions by methods or broad overarching concepts generates panels delightfully diverse in their musical contents, they also make it impossible to attend all papers dedicated to a given time frame. Unfortunately, my report on some presentations is therefore based on abstracts and remarks from friends (special thanks go to Ashley Greathouse) rather than first-hand experience.

Numerous papers presented de-centralizing narratives that shed light on little known repertoires, spaces, and actors. Maria Virginia Acuña discussed musical representations of witchcraft in *Envy is the Poison of Love* (Madrid, 1711), highlighting the zarzuela’s departure from the *lieto fine* convention. Acuña cast a wide net to situate Scylla’s transformation into a monster within the Spanish obsession with superstition in a lively presentation ideally suited for Halloween. Maria Josefa Velasco focused on revolutionary songs from the French Basque Country. Velasco examined how this repertoire—brought to life from regional archives through her own singing voice—weaved religion and politics to



channel protest and resistance at the margins of the French Republic. Jenna Harmon demonstrated the bonds between female musical performance and sexual labor in the Parisian *théâtres de société*, reassessing the importance of these musical spaces in the history of the vaudeville. Soprano Sophie Arnould stood at the center of Harmon's presentation, exemplifying the collapse of musical and sexual labor.

American music of this period remains a source of materials demanding further study. Patrick Warfield undertook a "new kind of ensemble history" focusing on the United States Marine Band and the political motivations behind its foundation and development at the turn of the century. Loren Ludwig examined the contents of a newly discovered manuscript of instrumental music from Virginia (James River Music Book, 1738) and discussed its importance in the historiography of American music. Laura Lohman focused on songs performed in Massachusetts (from street theater to celebratory dinners) to examine the role of music in advancing the ideals of democratic republicanism. Two distinct, remarkably cohesive sessions focused on slavery, each of them featuring two papers on vocal music from the eighteenth-century. One session was devoted to abolitionism and included Berta Joncus study of English "Negro songs." Joncus offered a taxonomy of the genre, discussing how different types of songs "reported, imagined, and warped" slave stories. Julia Hamilton focused on the private dimension of the British anti-slavery movement to reappraise the role of women in abolitionist culture. Presenting a newly discovered repertoire, Hamilton drew an intricate picture of women as consumers and creators of abolitionist song. In the second session, Diana Hallman and Adeline Mueller drew on postcolonial scholarship to examine connections between music, Enlightenment and slavery. Hallman exposed racialized tropes in musical portraits of America from French theater, examining how they negotiate the tension between *liberté* and *esclavage*; Mueller explored German "colonial fantasies" in fictionalized slave laments, presenting this subgenre as an important source to understand German engagements with bondage. Together, their finely curated examples displayed a gallery of Caribbean vignettes drawn by European writers and composers.

Eastwards from Europe, Qingfan Jiang offered a study in the circulation of musical knowledge between Portugal and China that highlighted the global implications of Enlightenment. Her paper presented Jesuit missionary Thomas Pereira as a key figure in the infusion of Chinese tradition with Western music and its theory. Don Fader focused on intra-European cultural exchange and the role of the Prince of Vaudémont (governor of Milan at the turn of the eighteenth century) in the dissolution of long-standing distinctions between French and Italian music. Mass ordinaries by Henry Madin occupied Jean-Paul Montagnier's paper, which interrogated Madin's motivation to compose in a genre unusual at Louis XV chapel. Alison deSimone explored variety as a cherished aesthetic category in early eighteenth-century England, present in diverse forms of "musical miscellany." A case from singer and composer John Abell, whose concert programs combined songs in an impressive array of languages, illustrated of the role of miscellany as a manifestation of cosmopolitanism in English musical culture.

A good number of the papers dedicated to well-known repertoires coalesced around Mozart and opera. Pierpaolo Polzonetti brought to light the numerous cannibalistic metaphors found in *Don Giovanni's* libretto. The links between lust and gluttony acquired socio-political dimensions in compelling observations, from

the fact that only lower-class women are subject to comparison with food, to the image of Leporello "swallowing the social signifiers of aristocracy" embodied in a pheasant. Catherine Coppola responded to antifeminist interpretations of *Così fan tutte* by reading Mozart from the lens of proto-feminist movements. According to her "gender equivalence" thesis, the opera implies that men would have equally failed the fidelity test. Edmund Goehring addressed how philosophers from the Jena circle shaped Mozart's Romantic reception, and Martin Nedbal presented archival research on the reception of *Don Giovanni* and *Die Zauberflöte* in Prague. Nedbal, who also presented on the reception of *Fidelio* at the New Beethoven Research Conference, challenged previous views about the distinctly Bohemian traits of Czech adaptations. Beethoven also received a dedicated session, in which the only eighteenth-century paper was my own discussion of the aesthetics of the hymn as style and topic. Whereas nineteenth passages characterized as "hymn-like" typically evoke church music, I argued that its earlier variant finds its stylistic sources in operatic scenes of pagan worship. Also on opera, Kathryn Libin continued to present findings of the remarkable research project of the Lobkowitz Library: in this occasion, her focus was on the frequent and extravagant (yet overlooked) operatic productions in the Prince's palace.

Aesthetics agglutinated a session devoted in its entirety to the eighteenth century, with presentations by Bettina Varwig, Ellen Lockhart, and Dean Sutcliffe. Varwig addressed *Affektenlehre* from the point of view of the "affective turn" in the humanities, a timely intervention that called for placing the bodies of performers and listeners at the center of musical emotion. Lockhart's inventive contribution used wolves and the acoustic "wolf" (a howling sound produced by perfect intervals in certain tuning systems) to examine interactions between musical culture and changing attitudes towards the natural world. Dean Sutcliffe re-examined the oft-discussed topic of musical irony through a novel lens, considering the importance of diplomacy and politeness in eighteenth-century culture. Instances of the pastoral topic in Haydn, Gyrowetz, and Boccherini provided provocative examples that challenged the meaning of sincerely-sounding music and the perceived value of musical honesty. Although much composer-oriented research moved into pre-conference space, other familiar names found their place in the program. Matthew Hall proposed a novel interpretation of the oft-discussed gigue from Bach's Partita no. 6 in E minor. The enigmatic notation of this fugue (featuring an archaic mensuration sign) might have been inspired by Telemann, who notated a gigue in breves and semibreves to recall Swift's Gulliver playing a gigantic spinet. Charles Burney is well known as a chronicler of the eighteenth century, but Morton Wan brought new insights into his activity as a composer. The anthem he wrote as a doctoral exercise departed significantly from the Oxford tradition, exchanging "archaic pomp for galant chic" in a bold statement that set the tone and precedent for Burney's aesthetic and critical agenda. Michael Vincent demonstrated the influence of Provençal music and its instruments in Boccherini's 1799 piano quintets. Combining historical ethnography with score analysis, Vincent presented Boccherini's style as a hybrid of ethnical and stylized elements that "displays the entangled ethnicities of the Mediterranean while simultaneously appealing to urban cosmopolitanism."

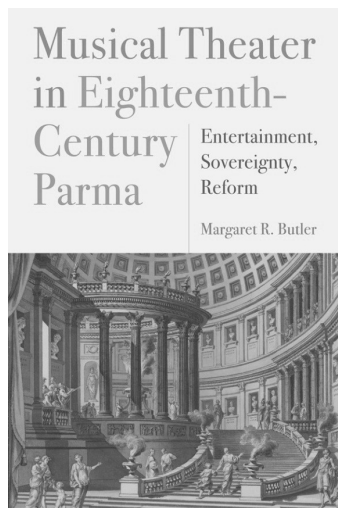
A study session on "Digital Eighteenth-Century Music and Sound Studies" followed the annual general meeting of SECM, including presentations by Rebecca Geoffroy-Schwinden on digi-

tal pedagogy, Sarah Eyerly on soundscape reconstruction, and Estelle Joubert on network visualization. In sum, another successful, stimulating AMS meeting in which studies on eighteenth-century music played a significant role. The collection of papers presented eighteenth-century music as a diverse and evolving field, with its own idiosyncrasies but aligned with the concerns and interests of the larger musicological community, entering a new decade of research characterized by inter-disciplinarity, plurality, and social responsibility.

D

Book Reviews

Margaret R. Butler, *Musical Theater in Eighteenth-Century Parma: Entertainment, Sovereignty, Reform* (University of Rochester Press, 2019), 179 pages, music, facsimiles; 24 cm.
ISBN: 9781580469012, 1580469019.
Pierpaolo Polzonetti



Musical Theater in Eighteenth-Century Parma is a scholarly contribution to the history of eighteenth-century music through the lens of a microscope pointed at a small town of about forty thousand people, during a span of less than ten years. Margaret Butler's book presents broad-reaching reflections from narrow-focused case studies that help us to reach a better understanding of opera reforms in eighteenth-century Europe. The subtitle of the book—*Entertainment, Sovereignty, Reform*—seems to allude to two contributions to the study of eighteenth-century opera: Mary Hunter's *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) and Martha Feldman's *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2007). The main emphasis of Butler's book, however, is not on entertainment (social rituals of opera-going and production mechanisms), nor on sovereignty (political power exerted on or expressed by artistic products), but rather on the reform of opera through a process of cross-fertilization among different national traditions. Her study of sovereignty and entertainment are functional to address questions like where, when, and why opera reforms manifested, or whether aesthetically progressive operas can be labelled as reformed operas when we have no evidence that their authors intended to pursue any kind of reform.

As a music-history study of opera reforms, this book aligns with the work and legacy of one of the greatest music historians of all times, Daniel Hertz, who sadly departed on 24 November 2019. Hertz's contributions to the understanding of eighteenth-century reforms are acknowledged and discussed in Butler's book, along with the contributions of Hertz's distinguished pupils who continued and expanded their mentor's work, including Bruce Alan Brown, John A. Rice, and Marita P. McClymonds (Butler's mentor). This legacy is apparent also in Butler's methodology, informed by the idea that geographical and historical contexts shape artistic production. Context is reconstructed through a rigorous study of a diversified pool of primary sources (both in print and manuscript form), archival documents, and any material that sheds even a dim beam of light on production, performance practices, and the movement of artists that shape the formation and transformation of aesthetic ideas.

Margaret Butler clarifies in her introduction that the reform of opera, as a category in music history, is anachronistic because "a reform movement" never existed in the eighteenth century. The idea of reforms in modern historiography is a way to help us conceptualize various and barely coordinated reactions against the Italianate model of opera production. The artistic integrity of that model, allegedly, was compromised by the star system and by the bad manners of the audience. The latter were, allegedly, a natural reaction against the tedious conventions of opera, locking music theater into a predictable syntax of recitatives and arias allowing for replacements, substitutions, and additions of pieces at the whim of the star singers. The reforms, as old textbooks recite, were heroic attempts to dismantle that corrupt system by keeping the singers at bay, endowing composers with more authorial responsibility, and in so doing, paving the way toward a more unified work of art. The teleology of this narrative is inescapable as it presents eighteenth-century reforms as episodes of insurrection against corrupt commercial opera leading to Richard Wagner's revolution. Wisely, Butler does not mention this elephant in the room. She prefers to focus on the eighteenth century, keeping an eye on Gluck in Vienna, but also other, 'minor' centers, which, as she reminds us, were equally active on reforms, such as Mannheim, Berlin, or Turin. (Butler wrote an important book on *Operatic Reforms at Turin's Teatro Regio* [...] [Lucca: LIM, 2001].)

Looking at Parma as a peripheral but propulsive center is a productive endeavor in many ways. Parma became a center for reformed opera in a short span of time, which is one of the reasons it has never been taken into serious consideration. Although Butler shies away from providing a clear chronological frame for the Parmesan reforms, readers can infer that it started to materialize around 1755—year of the publication of Algarotti's influential *Essay on Opera* and the arrival in Parma of a large troupe of artists from France. The reform season of Parma ended in 1762. In this year, while Gluck presented his reform opera *Orfeo* in Vienna, sadly the prime minister of the independent Duchy of Parma was writing to Algarotti, "the plan to our operas on new format has been abandoned" (3). The rest is history, or rather music history: Gluck became the hero of opera reforms; Traetta didn't.

Chapter one, "The Genesis of Parma's Project," provides a summary of the history of the city and how it became a point of intersection between Austria, France, Italy, and Spain through strategic marriages among sovereign families (Bourbons of Spain, Bourbons of France, Habsburgs of Vienna, and the local Farnese). The

Parmesan entertainment system during this time had at first more the flavor of brie and manchego than parmigiano, as it coincides with the invasion of French artists, administrators, and troupes, transforming the Italian city into a French colony. Ten percent of the population was French in 1760, but they occupied most of the leading administrative positions (11), even though the French administration retained the old Spanish accountants (accounting books in Spanish are reproduced on pp. 48–51). Butler shows, on the basis of primary evidence, the complex interplay of curiosity and animosity resulting from the French invasion, stressing how “the mixture of styles [of] Parma’s musical theater [...] reflects a multicultural audience.” The repertory was at first made of adaptation of French musical theater in different genres (opéra-ballet like Campra’s *L’Europe galante*, pastoral-héroïque and ballet-héroïque as in the case of Rameau’s *Les Indes galantes*, tragédie en musique like Rameau’s *Castor et Pollux*, parodies and opera bouffon like Pergolesi’s *La servante maîtresse*). Useful lists of works and genres appear in tables in this as in other chapters. With the arrival of the musician and impresario Mangot, the French repertory increased. It is refreshing to learn from this book how Parma exposed Italian audiences to genres of theater that were not commonly accessible outside France. By comparing French libretti with the libretti produced in Parma, Butler shows how the repertory went through substantial adaptations and transformations, reaching a fusion described by Mangot in terms that echo Algarotti’s rhetoric of reformed opera (33).

Chapter Two (“Behind the Scenes: Production and management at the Teatro Ducale”) is a study of the financial and organizational aspects of the opera theater in Parma, conducted mainly through accounting books. Here we encounter problems affecting many economical histories of the eighteenth century: the absence of comparative data, such as common living expenses, or costs for comparable expenditures in different locales, without which it is impossible to gain a clear sense of financial transactions in local currencies.

Chapter Three (“The French Entertainment”) offers a closer look at the process of adaptation of French works produced in Parma in the mid-1750s: an astonishing number of about 200 works, some of which appeared in Italian translation. For the adaptation of Parma’s *Gl’Incà del Perù* (based on Rameau’s *Les Indes galantes*), Butler shows how the librettist Frugoni expanded some sections. Copies of the libretto are reproduced in facsimile. (It would have been useful to have them copied in modern fonts with an English translation). Butler notes that this piece celebrating the Spanish conquest “delighted the Spanish members of the Bourbon court” (62). Butler describes this production as “multicultural” even though it was a celebration of Spanish superiority over Native Americans because, in an unprecedented way, it brought together “different but interrelated publics – the French, the Spanish, and the Italian” during a time when the tension among those groups was high.

The last two chapters of the book are about works that Tommaso Traetta produced in Parma between his arrival in 1759 and his departure in 1764. Traetta’s works achieved a unique fusion of Italian and French opera, which may appear as either unoriginal reproductions of previous works, or as original syntheses. When reviewing the various critical positions and commentaries by modern scholars who studied Traetta’s *Ippolito and Aricia*, Butler, perhaps out of kindness, avoids identifying them in the text, relegating

their names to the footnotes (this happens both in chapters 4 and 5). Butler seems more at ease dealing with archival sources than confronting the work of her colleagues. Her tables recording performances of Traetta’s operas provide precious data, not only on the number of shows and days of the week, but also resident and non-resident members attending each night, total intake at the box office for each performance, and so on. Unfortunately, no information is available or provided for the different prices by seating or standing areas.

This book offers a handful of musical examples and occasionally engages in music analysis. The examples provided and discussed illuminate important compositional practices of adaptation. Butler’s analysis of inserted arias and descriptions of the editorial changes made to previously published libretti and scores adapted for Parma allow her to reach intriguing conclusions on the practices of adaptation as a creative and innovative process, suggesting that innovation could be reached also through adaptation, fusion, and synthesis. The book ends with a great question: “if there is no evidence that a composer intended an opera to reform anything, can it still be called reform?” (129). This is indeed a central question, not only in the narrow context of history of opera reforms in Parma, but in music history in general, showing how in our discipline a microscope can easily turn into a telescope.

D

R. J. Arnold, *Musical Debate and Political Culture in France 1700–1830*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017. 232 pp., \$99.00.

ISBN: 9781783272013

Beverly Wilcox



This slim monograph proposes a revisionist alternative to the trope of French musical querelles as disguised political discourse: a chronological study of querelles as a form of entertainment that evolved, then vanished, over the course of a long century. The author, trained as a cultural historian but with musical bona fides from a previous book on Grétry, reproves musicologists in the first chapter for concentrating their attention on the initial salvos of the Raguenet-Lecerf querelle over French versus Italian music (1702–1705) and treating the sequelae as “unhelpful squabbling” (32). Arnold distills rhetorical tools from the querelle texts that replaced earlier modes of polite disagreement: point-by-point refu-

tation, deliberate misreading, citations suggesting membership in respectable network, the raising of class issues, and sarcasm (33–40). This querelle between two “obscure provincial gentlemen” died with Lecerf in 1707, but the texts remained in circulation for decades in translations and condensed versions.

The Lulliste–Ramiste querelle (chapter 2) began at the premiere of *Hippolyte et Aricie* in 1733, but defies characterization in terms of binary musical factions or political allegiances. Arnold shows that Lullistes attacked Rameau for a variety of reasons, and that they became more thoughtful, conciliatory, and even defensive as Rameau’s star ascended at court and the Opéra. New rhetorical strategies developed: short, mocking poems, caricatures, and stage plays that mostly ridiculed querelle culture instead of targeting Rameau.

Chapter 3 covers the Querelle des Bouffons: more than sixty pamphlets and articles published between 1752 and 1754 on French vs. Italian music. Existing rhetorical tools were honed: short poems grew longer and more literary, pamphlets became intensely inter-referential, and talented literary men such as Rousseau, and Diderot brought musical debate into the mainstream of French cultural life. Arnold lays out with fairness the current theories of this querelle as explicit nationalism (102–105) and concealed political discourse (106–110), then rejects both and posits instead an entertaining experiment in negotiating taste. Should aesthetic judgments be based on the desires of the mass public, which generally sided with the French-opera traditionalists, or those of the elites who preferred new Italian music? The question was never resolved, but the mechanisms for debating matters of taste were.

In the chapter on the Gluckiste–Picciniste querelle, Arnold assembles more evidence that querelles were not disguised political discourse. When Gluck staged *Iphigénie en Aulide* in 1774, the proximate cause of the querelle was a state theater at its nadir; the new reign of Louis XVI brought a *reduction* in political tension, and his music-loving Austrian queen had brought . . . Gluck. When Piccinni arrived in 1778, music remained the focus of the querelle: writers contrasted the Germanic “primitivism” of Gluck’s music with Piccinni’s polished Italian style. Arnold also points to the growing institution of journalism and its need for “news” as a driver of the discourse. New rhetorical tools included *noms de plume* that fueled speculation about authorship, and personal invective, which became feasible as censorship of periodicals weakened. This querelle was “discursive froth” from a musical point of view, but it led to a “more constructive understanding of the potential value of dispute . . . as a mechanism for the testing of ideas” (150).

Arnold admits, at the start of chapter 5, that there were no opera querelles during the Revolutionary period. After a lengthy passage about musical style in this time of crisis and an obscure pamphleteer named Leclerc—appropriate to Arnold’s prior book on Grétry but irrelevant when the topic is querelles—Arnold introduces his theory of why the querelle-as-art-form ended: after the excesses of the Terror, *esprit de parti* declined in favor of decorum in public discourse (173–174).

Chapter 6 continues that thought with a clever title—“The End of the Party”—and is ostensibly about a post-Revolutionary period of constant bickering, with five querelles about various aspects of the Paris Conservatoire’s oversight of programming at the Paris Opéra and one about Rossini. But the querelle form of the eigh-

teenth century had changed beyond recognition: traditionalists no longer championed older music, but rather, mourned its loss; after the Terror, excessive enthusiasm was out of fashion; and there was a new understanding that musical taste would continually change, rather than achieving perfection and stasis—much the same premise as in Karol Berger’s *Bach’s Cycle, Mozart’s Arrow*.

The “conclusions” chapter is admirably concise: eighteenth-century querelles were not disguised political discourse, nor a rehearsal for the French Revolution, but rather, a product of the rapid expansion of the public sphere and market-based journalism. The new freedom of discourse, which the Bourbon regime was unwilling or unable to stop, made for enjoyable entertainment: “The constraints imposed under the old regime were never so severe as to suffocate vigorous debate, never so lax as to take the thrill out of it” (213).

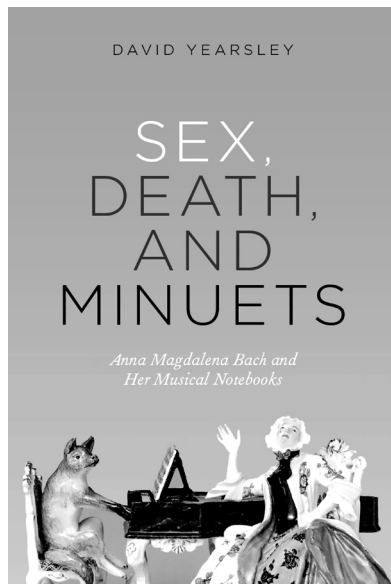
Arnold demonstrates an extraordinary command of interdisciplinary bibliography—both primary sources and secondary literature—that is helpful to those of us seeking to situate music in the context of political or cultural history. The Boyell Press is to be commended for allowing the use of footnotes rather than endnotes, but not for making the cover illustration, analyzed on page 70, nearly invisible, nor for producing a book with a binding that began to creak, groan, and separate before I finished reading it.

Arnold could have extended his use of Jürgen Habermas’s *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* past the early chapters. We *dix-huitièmiste* musicologists tend to use Habermas only for his description of the origins of the public sphere and its role as a training ground for public debate, and for his short, sketchily researched passages on music and the theater. We rarely use the continuation of his argument: that journalists, musical experts, and politicians soon dominated the public sphere by pretending to speak on behalf of an imaginary public (Habermas, part VI, which could have been cited in Arnold’s chapter on the Querelle des Bouffons, with its frequent invocations of *le Public*); and when joined by commercial interests, completed its transformation by developing “public relations” tools to mold public opinion (Habermas, part VI, useful for parts of the Gluckiste–Picciniste chapter), so that it would seem to support their self-aggrandizement.

A smaller, more methodological flaw is the misleading use of dates in the chapter headings, creating an impression that the querelles were contiguous. Chapter 1 is labelled “1702–32,” even though the only activity after death of Lecerf in 1707 was a trickle of translations and re-publications. The ending date of chapter 2 is set at 1751, based on a very old article by Paul-Marie Masson (55), instead of 1743, the last Lully/Rameau querelle contributions; the plays and novels written after that time treated the querelle as ancient history. Similarly, the Gluck/Piccinni chapter is labelled “1774–88,” but only one of the 153 writings identified by Mark Darlow in *Dissonance in the Republic of Letters* dates from after 1781. Giving in to our musicological tendency to make messy things neat may have been forced upon the scholarly Arnold by peer reviewers or the publisher’s editors.

Nowhere (except for one footnote, p. 34) does Arnold relate eighteenth-century partisanship to anything happening today. Yet his approach to the topic—thoughtful analysis of the structure and tactics of querelles—makes it possible, or even probable, that readers will wonder about its applicability to the partisan political discourse of today. The most frightening thought is, perhaps, that it took the Terror to make people realize the dangers inherent in their enjoyment of querelles.

David Yearsley, *Sex, Death, and Minuets: Anna Magdalena Bach and Her Musical Notebooks*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019. xxxv + 324 pp. \$45, cloth. ISBN: 9780226617701.
Mark A. Peters



In the Preface to *Compositional Choices and Meaning in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Lexington, 2018), Reginald L. Sanders and I observed that Bach studies has been slower than other areas to broaden its foci in light of developments in the field of musicology in recent decades. We went on to note, however, the wealth of new publications in recent years that demonstrate a shift in Bach studies to “reflect much more diverse approaches to Bach and his works in their many contexts” (xx). David Yearsley has been a leading scholar in this regard, and his new book, *Sex, Death, and Minuets*, is emblematic of his approach.

As we’ve come to expect from Yearsley, *Sex, Death, and Minuets* is well-researched, engagingly written, and innovative, thoughtfully weaving together narrative, biography, cultural contexts, source study, and music analysis. It broadens our understanding of the music and life of the Bach family and opens up a much more nuanced understanding of Anna Magdalena Bach, Johann Sebastian Bach, and their children and other relations than the outdated (but still ever-present) “great man” perspective could ever have allowed for.

Yearsley intentionally did not set out to write a biography of Anna Magdalena Bach. He rather takes as the focus of his study the two musical Notebooks that bear her name, the first from 1722 and the second from 1725. Yearsley states this thesis for the book: “In the present study, I examine Anna Magdalena as a historical figure and try to come to a closer understanding of some of the cultural meanings of her Notebooks and their music, both in their own time and in ours” (xxiii). He further summarizes the book’s contents and his conclusions in it:

The diversity of genres, varied levels of difficulty, sampling of works by different composers, inclusion of efforts by the Bach children, and mixture of both vocal and keyboard music all reflect Anna Magdalena’s multifaceted musical past

and present—her own upbringing in a family of musicians, her employment as a court singer, and her activities in 1725 as a mother and musician within the home and, as I will argue in this book, beyond it. (xxii)

In Chapter 1, Magdalena Mania, Yearsley traces the reception of Anna Magdalena and her Notebooks from her death through Martin Jarvis’s 2011 *Written by Mrs. Bach: The Amazing Discovery That Shocked the Musical World* (ABC Books) and the 2016 digital edition of Esther Meynell’s *The Little Chronicle of Magdalena Bach: the Woman Behind the Man* (Endeavour Press; originally published in 1925). Yearsley demonstrates that the domestic image of Anna Magdalena as wife and mother living silently behind the scenes and of the music of her Notebooks as “the soundtrack of a good home” (41) have remained undiminished. Thankfully, his own work in this volume changes that.

In Chapters 2 and 3, in fact, Yearsley explores two deeply human activities that were very much part of Anna Magdalena and Johann Sebastian’s shared life but have been almost entirely left out of the scholarly discourse on it: sex and death. Chapter 2, Music for Weddings and Beddings, is framed by the discussion of a “raucous nuptial poem” Anna Magdalena inscribed in the final pages of the 1725 notebook, immediately after the final piece of music, “O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort” (BWV 513). The poem moves from the celebration of the wedding ceremony in stanza 1 to the impending sexual relations in stanza 2. Despite nineteenth-century (and more recent) editors’ aversion to publishing the second stanza and scholars’ to addressing sex in any way in relation to Anna Magdalena and Johann Sebastian, Yearsley notes that the unproblematic juxtaposition of piety and sensuality in Lutheran Germany was, in fact, commonplace (see 55). Yearsley uses the poem to explore in detail perspectives on sexuality in music in relation both to the Bach family and the broader culture in which they lived. In this context, Yearsley provides significant insights into a number of J. S. Bach’s cantatas, including *Vernügte Pleißenstadt* (BWV 216), *Auf! süß entzückende Gewalt* (BWV Anh. 196), *O angenehme Melodei* (BWV 210a), and *Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten* (BWV 202). A number of these are enlightened in particular by Yearsley’s discussion of Anna Magdalena as soprano soloist.

In Chapter 3, Yearsley shifts to another ever-present reality in the Bach family, death: Death Every Day: The 1725 Notebook and the Art of Dying. Yearsley notes that eight of the twelve texts in the 1725 Notebook address death, and he explores four in particular in which death is a central theme. He contextualizes these texts by considering examples of devotional literature related to death and dying in the Bach library and also poignantly in relation to the death of Anna Magdalena and Johann Sebastian’s children. The chapter concludes with an examination of Johann Sebastian’s 1729 funeral cantata for Prince Leopold of Cöthen, *Klagt, Kinder, klagt es aller Welt* (BWV 244a), for which Yearsley argues Anna Magdalena likely sang the three soprano solos. Yearsley demonstrates that the three soprano arias trace a “trajectory from mourning through acceptance to joy” (116) and concludes: “In this sense [Anna Magdalena’s] final documented appearance as a *Sängerin* was more than simply a professional obligation: it provided her a chance to proclaim musically her hopeful attitude toward death” (117).

The remaining chapters of *Sex, Death, and Minuets* I will treat in less detail, though all are worthy of attention and likewise provide

new understandings of Anna Magdalena Bach, her family, her Notebooks, and the music of Johann Sebastian Bach. In Chapter 4, Fragment and Fantasy: Anna Magdalena Bach at the Organ, Yearsley explores women's organ playing and the possibility of Anna Magdalena's playing, in relation to a 13-bar fragment by Johann Sebastian in the 1722 Notebook, a *Fantasia pro Organo* (BWV 573). Chapter 5, Bitter Bean and Loose Ließgen: On Coffee, Cantatas, and Unwed Daughters, then contributes to the growing literature on marriage (and coffee) in the Bachs' Leipzig, with particular attention to the *Coffee Cantata* (BWV 211). Most notably here, Yearsley speculates how we might hear the cantata differently when imagining the eldest Bach daughter, Catharina Dorothea, as soprano soloist with her father at the keyboard. The chapter provides significant insight into women's performances both in and beyond the home.

Finally, Chapter 6, A Widow's Song, details the ubiquitous presence, and simultaneous neglect, of widow's in the Bachs' time, with a poignant exploration of Anna Magdalena's life after her husband's death. It includes significant sections on music for widows and on the chorales in the Notebooks and their potential to provide consolation for Anna Magdalena in her late years. Yearsley sums up a key conclusion of the book in his Coda: The Minuet Sings, in which he examines the Toys' 1965 release of "A Lover's Concerto" (based on the Minuet in G, BWV Anh. 114): "A more acute historical awareness can help us retrieve some of the uses and meanings of the Notebooks while also freeing us from some of the enduring myths surrounding Anna Magdalena" (244). It is just such an awareness that Yearsley offers in this important new book in the Bach literature. We can thank him for providing such an insightful, and deeply humanizing, glimpse into this famous family.

D

continued from page 1

an almost inevitable response to a printed vaudeville. The performative relationship between reader and *timbre* (or textual citation of a melody) was developed through decades of vaudeville performance at the fairgrounds and in the streets of Paris. Further, these plays were being written during a period of fluctuation in reading practices, a fact that Smith acknowledges.⁴ When we consider *théâtre de société* as part of a larger theatrical and literary ecosystem, the performance of vaudevilles in these venues seems more likely and laden with additional significance. As public stages moved away from presenting older types of fairground entertainments in general and vaudevilles in particular after 1750, *théâtre de société* emerged as a site for the preservation of "obscenities" which had previously been housed at the Opéra-Comique. As private society theaters incorporated the less refined stageworks into their repertoire, vaudevilles acted as an important medium for the transfer of an obscene or coarse ethos associated with fairground performances. The singing of vaudevilles in the well-appointed theaters of the wealthy created a blurring of elite/popular cultural binaries, which could itself have been a source of pleasure.

No two society theaters were identical in their tone and subject matter, as each theater reflected the interests of the individual(s) who ran them. Vaudevilles, however, were consistently and contin-

uously used as a way of invoking sexual topics, whether as jokes, erotic explorations, or both. One representative play, *L'Eunuque, ou la fidèle infidélité*, demonstrates the range of obscenity that *théâtre de société* plays could engage with, and the role that vaudeville played in constructing sexual humor. By analyzing several of *L'Eunuque's* vaudevilles, we can see how both the text and choice of *timbre* (and by extension its sonic qualities) participated in articulations of coarse sexuality. Within the space of the *théâtre de société*, vaudevilles become a musical means for circulating eroticism among performers and participants, tracing the pathways of an economy of desire operating through double-entendres and melody.

The plot of *L'Eunuque* centers on the young Isabelle, who has been waiting three years for her beloved fiancé Léandre to return from war. Isabelle's uncle, the aged Cassandre, offers to marry her instead, as he has loved her for the last eighteen months. Isabelle's maid, Colombine, immediately begins mocking Cassandre for his age, his jaundice, and various other ailments she believes will prevent him from performing his husbandly duties in the bedroom, cycling quickly through four different *timbres*. Cassandre protests Colombine's cruel jests, but Isabelle joins in, adding two more melodies to the list of insults against the presumptuous old man.

The six unique *timbres* deployed in this brief exchange covering two pages demonstrates the impressive acts of musical memory that were asked of readers and performers of *théâtre de société*. In Colombine's vaudeville alone, the performer must move from minor, to major, to minor again, and if the keys notated in the 1755 edition are observed in performance, jumping from D minor, to C major, to A minor without the aid of modulations.⁵ Aiding the performer is a consistency in triple time signatures (3/4, 3/4, and 3/8), though a certain deftness in maneuvering from melody to melody is still essential. Wrapped up within this musical exchange, too, is an initial articulation of the sexual values of the play and its characters: that because of his age and attendant illnesses, Cassandre is an unsuitable spouse and sexual partner for the young Isabelle. In a twist on the familiar trope of women begging off sex by faking a headache, Colombine insists through vaudeville that Isabelle would go sexually unsatisfied were she to marry Cassandre, and that such dissatisfaction is undesirable and a cause for derision. Some of these dynamics are determined by the stock characteristics of the *commedia dell'arte* figures who clearly inspired the characters of *L'Eunuque*. Colombine equates to Colombina, the trickster maid; Isabelle is one of the lovers or "inamorati"; and Cassandre represents an amalgam of the two old man characters, Dottore and Pantalone, whose role is to stand in the way of the lovers.⁶

5. In surveying the different volumes of the *Théâtre de la Foire ou l'Opéra-Comique* collections, Clifford Barnes points out that certain melodies appear in multiple volumes but are printed in different keys. He concludes from these variations in transcription that key relationships were important "where two or more tunes were used consecutively for one person's lines...It is probable that each *vaudeville* was to be sung in the key in which it was printed in each volume." Barnes, "The *Théâtre de la Foire* (Paris, 1697–1762), its Music and Composers." (Ph.D. diss., 1965), 141. While vaudevilles could be and were accompanied by a small instrumental ensemble at the public theaters, it is uncertain whether they would have been accompanied in *théâtre de société* performances.

6. Emily Wilbourne, *Seventeenth-Century Opera and the Sound of the Commedia dell'Arte* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 31–36.

4. Smith, "Libertine Dramaturgy," 29–33.

However, throughout the play, Isabelle's sexual satisfaction is treated as a valid concern and is usually discussed through vaudevilles.

Isabelle and Colombine's conversation is cut short by the arrival of her father, the Docteur, with a "Turkish eunuch" in tow (actually Isabelle's fiancé Léandre in disguise). The Docteur has just returned from a trip to Turkey, where he begged Mohammad to make his daughter fertile. The Docteur inquires as to how Isabelle and Colombine passed the time while he was away; in a series of vaudevilles filled with double entendres, the two women describe being visited by chimney sweeps and how they "dulled many a needle" with all of their "sewing."

In Isabelle's exchange with her father, sexual double entendres abound: the front door that has been "widened" in order to accommodate more people, playing off the false belief that a woman's vagina permanently expands in proportion to the number of sexual partners she has had; the three men who tired of helping Isabelle "clean the chimney"; and Isabelle's final boast of having "dulled many needles." When the vaudeville to the tune of "Ramenez-ci, ramenez-là" (Ex. 1) begins, the entire joke is in fact furnished by the father, with his seemingly innocent question about the state of the chimney. The lilting 6/8 meter and emphasis on scalar movement between the first and fifth scale degrees adds a childish veneer to Isabelle's delivery, heightening the ironic distance between the words she says/sings and their received meaning. For audiences, the disconnect between the vulgarity of the phrase "ramoner la cheminée" and the infantile melody through which the phrase is delivered exaggerates the way in which Isabelle and the Doctor are talking past one another.

*L'Eunuque, ou la fidèle infidélité, Act I, scene iii*⁷

DOCTOR

Did you make sure to carry out the necessary repairs on our home?
[...]

ISABELLE

[Yes] father, on the front. It was too tight in the front, but now that it's been widened, everyone can fit in with ease.

DOCTOR

Did you tend to the fire[place]?

ISABELLE

Oh father, I fear it [as an angel fears hellfire], but the three men I hired to help me with that all quit from fatigue.

Air. Ramenez-ci, ramenez-là

Night and day
You would have seen me singing

7. *Théâtre de Campagne, ou les débauches de l'esprit. Recueil contenant des Pièces plaisantes, ou espèces de Parades jouées sur des Théâtres Bourgeois, 2nd edition*, (London: Chez Duchesne, 1758), 23–25. All translations by author.

Tenaciously to these men
Sweep up here, sweep up there,
La la la/there there there
[Sweep] the chimney from top to bottom.

DOCTOR

I bet you hardly worked at all, that you spent all of your time hanging out the front window that looks onto the street.

ISABELLE

Air. Que je regrette mon Amant
No, I'd never put myself there,
The neighbors will tell you, father,
That in following my desires, I was
Almost always in the back:
There, I sewed diligently;
Colombine did the same.

Isabelle & Colombine together.

I spun [yarn],
I knit,
And sewed
Diligently,
Colombine/Isabelle did the
Same.

ISABELLE

What's more, I wager that there's hardly any girls who can brag about having dulled as many needles as we have.

DOCTOR

So much the better, it's proof of work.

In the second of these exchanges, still more mundane household activities are coopted for their double meanings. Rather than leaning out the window and potentially flirting with men in the street below, Isabelle claims she and Colombine were engaged in the traditionally feminine tasks of spinning, knitting, and sewing. While none of these verbs in themselves seem to have documented second meanings, as does "ramoner la cheminée," the in-and-out motion of a needle through thread is certainly evocative, and supplies Isabelle's final pun on having dulled needles with all of her "work."⁸ The melody exemplifies the style of vaudeville *fredons*, with its irregular phrase structure of nine measures, and emphasis on the second beat. The melody's original words tell the story of a young

8. The jump to sewing may also have been facilitated by a *faux timbre* for "Ramenez-ci, ramenez-là,"—"Nous avons de fines aiguilles" ("We have sharp needles"). This *faux timbre* is listed under the Theaville entry for "Ramenez-ci, ramenez-là," with its source identified as Charles-Simon Favart's *Acajou* (1748). However, I have not been able to find this *faux timbre* in any other catalogue (Clé du Caveau, Barbier and Vernillat, Laforte). Comparing the melody supplied in *Acajou* with that in *Théâtre de la Foire*, the only similarity they share is their 6/8 meter; the melody differs significantly enough that without additional evidence, it is hard to establish a firm connection between these two *timbres*.

Le soir et la ma - ti - né - e Vous m'eus - siez vuë a - char - né - e A chan - ter à ces gens -
 6 là Ra - mo - nez - ci Ra - mon - ez - là La la la La che - mi - née du haute en bas

Ex. 1, "Ramenez-ci, ramenez-là" (Edition based on Theaville)

9 Non, ja - mais je ne m'y met - tois Les voi - sins vous dir - ont, mon pè - re
 Que pour suiv - re mon goût, j'é - tois, Pres - que tou - jours sur le derr - ièr - e: Là je cou -
 [Pres - que tou - jours] je fil - ois Tri - co - tois, Et cou -
 17 soi as - si - dû - ment; Co - lom - bine en fai - soit au - tant
 sois As - si - dû - ment, Is - a - belle en fai - soit au - tant

Ex. 2, "Que je regrette mon amant" (Edition based on Theaville)

woman who has lost her lover and recalls the day she spent with him and the ardor of his love. The erotic undertones of the referent melody contribute to undermining the innocence of the two women's activities (Ex. 2).

At the end of this scene, Isabelle is left alone with the mysterious eunuch, and together they lament his "altered" body. Isabelle declares her love for him, not yet recognizing his true identity, and he returns her affections. Isabelle reveals that she wishes to be married, having been rejected by three previous lovers and left with three children. Suddenly, a servant runs in and presents Isabelle with a tapestry from Léandre depicting her three sons and the announcement that he is finally returning home. Isabelle marvels at how he could have known about the three children. Léandre then removes his disguise and reveals his true identity. He explains that he, in fact, never left Paris, and that Isabelle's three lovers had all actually been Léandre in disguise, making him the true father of her children. At this, the Docteur returns and produces a marriage contract for the lovers to sign, but alas, no one knows how to read! The play concludes with a final *divertissement* and contredanse.

The vaudevilles analyzed here represent only a fraction of the actual number of songs that appear throughout *L'Eunuque*. Over the course of this play, readers and performers are asked to remember and realize over 70 different melodies, and to fit the newly-written text to them appropriately. The inclusion of so much music in the form of vaudevilles indicates that there was still an appetite for older-style *pièces en vaudevilles*, not only as an entertainment to watch as a spectator, but as an activity to participate in as part of a

théâtre de société. As actors at the Comédie-Française, plays like *L'Eunuque* were not what Mlle Dumesnil and Grandval *fils* typically performed in public. In the relative private of a *théâtre de société*, however, they could take pleasure in performing and singing in works whose genre and tone would not have been permitted at the Théâtre-Français.

Throughout, the sexualized tone of *L'Eunuque* is emphasized by its expression through vaudeville. The melodies of the vaudevilles would function as a portal, helping readers and singers recall the words and contexts of the melody's previous incarnations and bringing those meanings to bear on their present appearance. Their use throughout the play, particularly when discussing Isabelle's pursuits of pleasure, harkens back to the early days of the Opéra-Comique. Such time travel is also emphasized by the use of *commedia dell'arte* characters, whether implicitly (as with Cassandre), or explicitly (as with Colombine and the Docteur). Vaudevilles in *L'Eunuque* participate in the humor and the sexual tone but usually through wordplay and double entendre. In studying this example, it becomes clear that eighteenth-century readers and performers were obliged to perform a significant amount of musical and mnemonic labor when engaging with these texts, since they boast large melodic repertoires that are cycled through quickly. Much of the humor relied on performers and audiences being able to recognize connections between a *timbre* and a new text almost instantly. From the presence of vaudevilles in these works, we can infer that many of these texts, even the more salacious, were likely performed in some capacity, whether aloud or virtually.