THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SINGER'S BODY: AN INSTRUMENT OF ACTION

By

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ABSTRACT

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In the seventeenth century, singers relied both on their voices and movements of their bodies for affective expression. This study investigates the close relationship between the body and voice in the seventeenth century from a variety of viewpoints, both theoretical and practical, offering an interdisciplinary approach to this connection. The work of natural philosophers such as Galileo, Kepler, Descartes, Hooke, Huygens and Newton demonstrates sight's role as the fundamental sense through which the world was processed and understood during the seventeenth century. In this context, it is imperative to elevate the role of sight in sung performances to a position comparable to that of sound, an idea corroborated by contemporary descriptions of singing by Marino, Monteverdi and Tillet. I reexamine singing manuals and oratory, acting and iconography treatises published during this time—such as Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle*, Butler's *Principles of Musik in Singing and Setting*, Tosi's *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni*, Le Faucheur's *Traitté de l'action de l'orateur*, Hobbes's *Briefe of the Art of Rhetoricke*, Bulwer's *Chirologia* and Ripa's *Iconologia*—uncovering a wealth of information on how gestures of the face and hands and postures of the body may be used in song. Medical studies completed in the present and in the seventeenth century, such as Bartholin's *Anatomy* and Browne's *Compleat Treatise of the Muscles*, reveal that there are both physiological and psychological connections between the body and voice. The body plays an integral role in vocalization, which suggests that posture, movement and gesture

may assist the singer in creating vocal sounds appropriate to the texts and music at hand. This research is applied to three pieces of music written for performance in different contexts: Strozzi's cantata *Moralità amorosa* (1654), the famous Act II recitative from Lully's *Armide* (1686) and "Morpheus, Thou Gentle God," a mad song by Daniel Purcell. (1699). A close reading of both music and text suggests that the composers wrote physical movement into these works, providing musical clues regarding the way that singers could manipulate their bodies in sung performances. These readings offer a new methodology for performers and historians seeking to investigate seventeenth-century performance circumstances.

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INTRODUCTION

In a commencement speech given to a recent graduating class at the University of Michigan, where at the moment of this writing, Shirley Verrett is serving as a Professor of Voice, the acclaimed operatic soprano offered the following reflections and advice:

> …Not all of you who come through these portals will become major opera singers or renowned scholars. However, every one of you should leave this university as an educated person…. I have now come to believe specializing too early is counter-productive and can stunt your growth. I have heard many a voice professor talk about "the voice" as if it were detached from the physical body, the emotions, and especially the mind. Of course, nothing could be further from the truth. Your mind is your greatest asset…. My mother, Elvira Verrett, always told my brothers, sister and me to "learn everything you can because you'll never know when you will need it." You may face your own moral crisis where your personal development or views may place you in conflict with those of your family, your friends, or "tradition." I can't advise you how to handle such a dilemma should it arise; however, I can encourage you to be honest in your reflections. But don't let the fear of rejection slow down your intellectual curiosity or your personal development.[1]

Two of Verrett's observations outline more eloquently than I ever could the paradoxes behind this project. First, her remark about singers tending to remove the voice from the physical body, emotions and, perhaps most disturbing of all, the mind is precisely the trend that this dissertation attempts to counter. In order to function in song, the human voice requires interactions among the human body, mind and spirit that are so complex and mysterious that science may never unravel its workings completely. Focusing one of these elements alone is insufficient for both singers aiming to master its practice and thinkers hoping to understand its effects on the listener. Secondly, Verrett makes a connection between focusing solely on the voice and specialization, encouraging the young singers to

[1] Shirley Verrett, "Commencement Speech Excerpt," <http://www.shirleyverrett.com/about.htm > (accessed 28 May 2009).

whom she speaks to take a broad focus early in their careers in order to maximize personal development.

Academia is becoming increasingly specialized; music is not exempt from this trend. With notable exceptions like Elisabeth le Guin, who is an acclaimed performer and musicologist, musicians' skills tend to be classified as belonging to one narrow category. People are defined as musicologists or performers, theorists or composers; within these categories, they focus on periods, countries, composers and even single instruments. Liverpool Hope University offers an extreme example; this institution in the UK recently began offering a new program in Beatles Studies, which grants students an M. A. entitled "The Beatles, Popular Music and Society." This degree program focuses solely on the emergence of The Beatles in the 1960s, considering the musical, cultural and social forces surrounding one rock band at a single historical moment.

This may seem only tangentially related to the subject of my dissertation, which, when pressed, I describe as "a study on how singers used their bodies as expressive tools in sung performances in the seventeenth century." Indeed, one might say that my topic choice resists Verrett's condemnation of specialization and those who focus a singular element of vocal production. However, this is not my goal. Through approaching a study of the human voice as it was used during a finite period of time with a new methodology—one that takes into consideration contemporary understandings of the mechanics of the body and the passions of the soul—I hope to show that isolating the voice from the factors that produce it (cultural, physiological and psychological) prevents full understanding. In this volume, I investigate the close relationship between the body and voice in the seventeenth century from a variety of viewpoints, both theoretical and practical, providing an interdisciplinary approach to the connection between these entities

Chapter 1 analyzes the most widely known theories about seventeenth-century singing. It begins with summaries of several well-regarded studies on the subject written by singers and historians alike, providing both practical and theoretical perspectives. These studies tend to address similar issues, such as intonation, vocal ranges and ornaments, though often drawing different conclusions. The notion of using vibrato "correctly," for example, is hotly contested. Some singers, such as Julianne Baird, consider vibrato to be inseparable from the act of singing itself; others, like Alexander Blachly (director of the ensemble Pomerium), expect singers to eliminate it completely when performing early music. To the former, vibrato is intrinsic; to the latter, an ornament. Such debates aside, the literature on Baroque singing illuminates trends in both performance practice and theories of the voice in the seventeenth centuries. These trends include ideas about vocal practice and guidelines for vocal ranges and registers, dynamics, breathing, intonation, vibrato, *sprezzatura* and ornamentation. They also address theoretical issues, such as the effects of the voice on the listener and the role of text and rhetoric in music on the page and in live performance. These trends form a "theory" that governs how we view seventeenth-century singing as both a historical artifact and a practice revived by performers in the present. Such a theory colors our experience of early music, from how we believe the music was performed in its original context to how we judge that should be performed in the present.

Notably missing from this "theory" is the role of the body in Baroque singing. Many of those concerned with Baroque singing tend to acknowledge the body's importance, but do not investigate its contribution to the mechanics of vocal production or expressivity in the moment of performance in any detail. They seldom turn acknowledgement of the body's role into an in-depth exploration of the possibilities it offers for understanding the

form and meaning of performances in the past or for enhancing performances in the present.

Chapter 2 makes the missing body of the seventeenth-century singer visible by investigating the role of sight in contemporary culture and its impact on sung performances. Sight was the primary sense through which the world was processed and understood in the seventeenth century. This sense was at the forefront of the dawning scientific revolution, profiting from the development of technology that improved microscopes and telescopes with the goal of making the universe visible to the curious observer. Language concerning the harmony of the spheres gradually declined as scientists found other models for describing the organization of the universe based on their observations. Even the language used to describe the process of investigating the natural world assumed a visual nature, with the verb "reflect" indicating the process of gathering information for the first time. Descartes summarizes the new focus on sight, calling it "the noblest and most comprehensive of the senses."[2]

Contemporaneous to this new emphasis on sight is a significant body of written evidence showing that the visible elements of sung performance in the seventeenth century were equally important as, sometimes more important than, audible ones. Singers throughout Europe—such as Virginia Andreini, Marie Le Rochois and Anne Bracegirdle—were praised for their beauty and ability to manipulate their bodies, portraying the passions with movements of their faces and arms. Sight and sound were both integral components of their performances, each augmenting the other to create a cohesive whole. In a way, the relationship between sight and sound resembles Horace's famous charge *ut pictura poesis*—as painting, so poetry—a simile demanding that painting and poetry resemble one another in

[2] René Descartes, *Optics*, in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes: Volume One*, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff and Dugald Murdoch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 81.

form and content. The singer, who employed both visual and verbal arts in her performances, became the living embodiment of this idea.

Chapter 3 examines period sources in order to determine how singers may have manipulated their bodies in sung performances. Because singing treatises instruct singers on using gestural techniques similar to those used by actors and orators, acting and oratory treatises provide additional source material. The principle of decorum is most important, and should govern the singer's every movement of the eyes, head, hands, arms and body. Decorum is twofold. The first element is moving the body in ways appropriate for the stature of the character being portrayed, including that character's relationship to the addressee. The second element is accompanying words and ideas with movements appropriate to their meanings and contexts, imbuing gestures with the emotional spirit necessary in each situation. Particularly affective moments sometimes "break" the rules of decorum, with the singer escaping its boundaries in order to portray excessive emotions. Within the context of everyday interactions, which remain controlled, such moments are highly charged.

Chapter 4 investigates physiological connections between the body and the voice, both in the seventeenth century and in the present. Explanations of how the voice works at a given moment in time are imperfect; nonetheless, there are well defined theories in both periods. Though seventeenth-century and modern understandings differ substantially, both periods emphasize the importance of the body as a whole in breathing and producing resonant vocalization. Seventeenth-century medical treatises and modern scientific articles written by otolaryngology specialists support this idea with testing, observation and data analysis.

Chapter 5 explores the variety of visible movement singers may have used in performances of three distinct musical pieces written for different contexts in diverse geographical locations at disparate points in time. By analyzing the music and texts, and by extracting from literary and visual source material about the contexts in which they were performed, I theorize about the different ways singers may have manipulated their bodies to interpret each piece. *Moralità amorosa*, a solo cantata by Barbara Strozzi performed in the context of an academy meeting, could be staged with intimate gestures highlighting the rhetorical structure of the witty sonnet text. The famous recitative in Act II, scene 5 of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Armide* begs performance with theatrical gestures highlighting both the structure of the music—which was composed to recreate declamation practices of classical tragedy—and the fluctuating emotions of the opera's title character. Daniel Purcell's "Morpheus, thou gentle god" warrants performance with rapidly shifting histrionic gestures that break the rules of decorum; this violation of social norms reflects the excess sanguinity and melancholia that the singer is experiencing.

Each chapter has a different methodology and focus. Chapter 1 is a review of existing literature on Baroque singing, showing that there is a dearth of scholarship considering the relationship between the body and voice. Chapters 2 and 3 take a historical approach, examining a variety of primary sources in order to determine the context and practice of using visible gesture in sung performances. Chapter 4 considers scientific treatises, investigating the physiological connection between the singing voice and the human body. Chapter 5 applies this information to actual pieces of music, offering a methodology for understanding how composers wrote visible movement into their works. This broad focus allows for a fuller understanding of the many contributions made by

gesture and movement to sung performances during this period. In so doing, it opens the door for a new approach to analyzing seventeenth-century vocal music.

Before beginning, a note about pronouns is in order. Throughout my dissertation, I will refer to the seventeenth-century singer as "she" for several reasons (not excluding my own perspective as a female writer and performer). All of the descriptions of sung performances I use to show the connection between sight and singing in Chapter 2 are focused on female singers. Furthermore, the pieces I analyze in Chapter 5 were written to be performed by women. While the rhetorical sources I investigate in Chapter 3 are aimed at men, who would use the guidelines contained therein to prepare for speeches in front of their male peers, their instructions are applicable to both women and men in sung performances. After all, singers of both genders were concerned with persuading audiences of their point of view and emotional state. This is not to say that there were no conceptual differences between the bodies of women and men in seventeenth-century Europe. Indeed, women's and men's bodies were perceived as distinct entities during this time, both physically and politically. Men and women had unique ways of carrying themselves and were expected to behave in manners suitable to their genders. The body of a castrato, for example, would be perceived of as entirely different from that of a female soprano.[3] The social, cultural and political forces surrounding these differences are important, but beyond the scope of this project. The principles outlined in this volume may be applied in analyzing and performing music written for both men and women.

[3] For descriptions of the unique qualities of women's and men's bodies, see Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Roger Freitas, "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato," *Journal of Musicology* 20/2 (Spring 2003): 196-249.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MISSING BODY: AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ON SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SINGING

Since the advent of the Early Music performance practice movement of the 1970s, much ink has been spilled over historical singing techniques. Baroque practices have stirred up a special fascination, as this period witnessed the rise of the solo singer and an accompanying boom in virtuosic singing technique, which led to the publication of the first thorough singing treatises. Scholars focusing on singing techniques favored during the period suggest that Baroque music requires a different vocal technique than that practiced by mainstream classical singers. This suggestion has resulted in the rise of Early Music specialists: singers like Emma Kirkby, Sally Sanford Julianne Baird, John Potter and Ellen Hargis who have perfected a technique that they believe is similar to those prevalent during the time in which the music they perform was written. Modern Baroque vocalization techniques are not homogeneous, however, and each singer has her own interpretation of period treatises instructing singers on how to perform well. Nonetheless, there are many common practices that create what is considered to be an "Early Music aesthetic."

Notably missing from this Early Music "aesthetic" is a systematic exploration of the role of the singer's body below the throat. Without the body, the human voice is nearly useless. Elements like posture, body center and tension all affect vocal projection and sound quality. Opera and concert song have always been conceived of as highly visual media, in which the body and voice contribute equally to semantic meaning.[1] During the Baroque,

[1] This has been true throughout music history. Clyde Brockett describes correlations between visual art and musical drama as early as the 11th century ("Reconstructing an Ascension Drama from Aural and Visual Art: a Methodological Approach," in *Le Théâtre et la cité dans l'Europe médiévale* [Stuttgart: Hans-Dieter Heinz, Akademischer Verlag, 1988], 195-209). Anno Mungen's article, "Entering the Musical Picture: Richard Wagner and 19th-Century Multimedia Entertainments" (*Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 26/1-2 [2001]: 123-129.), explains that Wagner's concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the interrelationship among all arts on the operatic stage, existed throughout the nineteenth century.

singers performing in secular contexts were often considered primarily to be actors.[2] As such, singers' use of their bodies—through gesture, posture and movement—played a vital role in shaping audience understandings of the works at hand. Many Baroque singing treatises discuss the important contributions of gesture and deportment to meaningful performances.[3] Unfortunately, modern interpretations thereof tend to ignore these descriptions altogether or minimize their importance by mentioning them only in passing.

This chapter provides an introduction to modern scholarship on seventeenth-century singing. I begin with brief descriptions of several studies investigating seventeenth-century vocal practice. I follow these descriptions with an overview of the principles governing "historically informed" performances of seventeenth-century music as outlined in these modern works. In describing these issues, I will stress the absence of a consideration of the position of posture and gesture in modern Baroque singing, drawing attention to the need for exploring the connection between the body and issues like range, registration, dynamics, breath control, intonation, vibrato, articulation and ornamentation. It is my hope that this chapter will make clear the dearth of and urgent need for a systematic exploration of the seventeenth-century singer's use of her body in performance.

Important Modern Works on Seventeenth-Century Singing

The following is an annotated bibliography of many of the most important modern works discussing seventeenth-century vocal practice. Though it is not comprehensive, as there are several works that I have chosen to omit, it represents several of the most

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[2] Anne Bracegirdle (1671-1748), an English soprano, is one such example. Although Bracegirdle was an actress, she was well known for her musicality (her performances of John Eccles's song "I burn" were heralded in contemporary poetry, and she performed in a fully-sung opera—Giuseppe Fedeli's *The Temple of Love* [1706]). See Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[3] In *Concert Song as Seen: Kinesthetic Aspects of Musical Interpretation*, Sarah K. Schreiber asserts that connections between the roles of the orator and the singer during the Baroque required performers to deliberately use their bodies to perform music (see "Chapter 2: Baroque Influences on Contemporary Style" [Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994]).

important ideas, questions and issues surrounding Baroque vocal practice. The works are listed in chronological order and are accompanied by paragraphs describing each author's approach to the art of singing. I include a summary of each writer's slant on gesture, noting the page numbers that address this issue for the reader's reference.

Sol Babitz. *The Great Baroque Hoax: A Guide to Baroque Performance for Musicians and Connoisseurs,* 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Early Music Society, 1970.

Sol Babitz's work is influenced by his participation in and leadership of the Early Music Laboratory in California, one of the first organizations dedicated to experimentation in Baroque performance practice. This work, which provides a guide to Baroque instrumental and vocal practice, calls for renouncing accuracy in favor of recreating the "authentic spirit" of Baroque music, which was initially a controversial idea. Babitz argues for "speaking" the music rather than "playing it," calling for a focus on spoken language that would alter the quantitative and qualitative values of the written notes in order to replicate speech patterns. He favors flexibility and freedom rather than restraint and correctness and advocates the use of period instruments and articulation techniques in order to reproduce an authentically "Baroque" sound. Babitz criticizes modern singers trained to perform music by Wagner and his contemporaries, accusing them of equalizing rather than varying rhythmic values in order to highlight the inflection of the text (40-42). He ignores gesture completely.

Robert Donington. *A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music*. London: Faber & Faber, 1973.

Chapter 9 in Robert Donington's book focuses on Baroque singing. Donington argues that Baroque music should be performed with *bel canto* technique, in vogue from the rise of the virtuoso singer through Puccini and Wagner. He provides an overview of important issues in *bel canto* practice, defining them thus: exploitation of both the head and chest registers; forward placement of the notes, which creates brightness and the ability to sing in an agile

manner; pitch accuracy, breath control and ornamentation; a pure line of sound; throat articulation; finely-controlled vibrato; and the primacy of the words. Donington addresses ornamentation in Part III and dynamics and articulation in Part IV. He does not mention gesture.

Josef Mertin. *Early Music: Approaches to Performance Practice*. Translated by Siegmund Levarie. New York: Da Capo Press, 1986.

Josef Mertin's chapter on Baroque singing focuses on the problem of throat articulation. The author describes the vocal apparatus as a wind instrument, providing an overview of the anatomy and physiology of the vocal tract, larynx and surrounding muscles and ligaments. He advocates initiating vocal sound from a closed glottal position that makes it possible for the singer to perform passages requiring throat articulation with ease and comfort. Mertin suggests that throat articulation enabled the extremely virtuosic performance technique that emerged during this period, allowing singers to perform elaborate ornaments and melismatic passages and eventually binding together the head and chest registers. He suggests a connection between the body and the agile throat, claiming that singing masters drew attention to the relationship among breathing, posture and the singer's ability to perform the *trillo* (157-160). He does not, however, mention who these singing masters *are* or elaborate on the mechanics of this relationship.

Dene Barnett with Jeanette Massy-Westropp. *The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of Eighteenth-Century Acting*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1987.

Dene Barnett's book provides an overview of principles of eighteenth-century gesture, making suggestions about its application to directing and performing in tragedy and *opera seria* from the period. Barnett describes the vocabulary of gestures at work during the eighteenth century, categorizing gestures as 1) indicating, 2) imitative, 3) expressive, 4) addressing, 5) emphasizing, 6) commencing, 7) terminating and 8) complex. He also

describes the manner in which eighteenth-century performers were expected to use the gestures to ornament and complement vocalization. According to Barnett, the actor should strive for "pictorial beauty" at all times, maintaining harmonious proportions among all body parts and participating in an Aristotelian imitation of the most beautiful parts of nature in order to create an idealized human form onstage (91, 129). Barnett relies primarily on rhetorical and acting sources from across Europe, also pointing to writings by select seventeenth- and nineteenth-century authors whose ideas corroborate those prevalent in the eighteenth century. Although he makes suggestions for applying rhetorical and acting gestures to operatic music, Pier Francesco Tosi (*Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni*, 1723) is the only singer whose ideas about movements he quotes. He neglects to address connections between the mechanics of vocal production and posture and movement.

Ellen Harris. "Voices." In *Performance Practice: Music After 1600*. Edited by Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie, 97-116. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1989.

Rather than presenting a comprehensive overview of Baroque vocal practice, which she notes was *not* unified in the seventeenth century, Ellen Harris presents a series of issues and questions about breathing technique, intonation, text enunciation and expression, maintenance of the *passaggio* between chest and head registers, vibrato, ornamentation and phrasing and vocal casting. She discusses these issues as they are manifested in the writings of several period writers, including Bénigne de Bacilly (*Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter,* 1668), Christoph Bernhard (*Von der Singe-Kunst oder Maniera*, ca. 1660), Giulio Caccini (*Le nuove musiche,* 1601/1602), Tosi, Johann Mathesson (*Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 1739) and Johann Joachim Quantz (*Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 1752). Harris emphasizes the importance of gesture, pointing out Bacilly, Bernhard and Tosi's warnings that facial expressions should never be unseemly and Bernhard's demand for grace

and moderation in gestures of the hands and body (99-100). She does not, however, provide concrete instructions as to *how* to move the body in a seemly, graceful and moderated manner.

Ulrike Engelke. *Music und Sprache: Interpretation der Musik des Frühbarok nach überlieferten Regeln.* Frankfurt am Mein: Verlag, Zürich & Zimmerman, 1990.

Ulrike Engelke's book encourages instrumentalists to perform "like vocalists," using writings by Sylvestro Ganassi (*Opera intitulata fontegara*, 1535; *Regola rubertina*, 1542), Diego Ortiz (*Trattado de glossas*, 1553) Hermann Finck (*Practica musica*, 1556), Giovanni Battista Bovicelli (*Liber primus motectorum*, 1592), Girolamo Diruta (*Il transilvano*, 1593), Caccini, Michael Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum*, 1614-20) and Daniel Friderici (*Musica figuralis*, 1618) to provide an overview of Renaissance and Baroque performance-practice principles and to make suggestions as to how to apply these principles to instrumental music. The author offers a list of possible ornaments and explains the appropriate contexts in which they should be performed. He discusses articulation, relying on information from treatises by Ganassi and Bartolomeo Bismantova (*Compendio musicale*, 1677) and Johann Agricola (*Anleitung zur Singekunst*, 1752). Finally, he addresses vibrato, calling on instrumentalists to use a narrow vibrato similar to that employed by Baroque singers. He does not discuss the body.

Frederick Neumann. *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* New York: Schirmer Books, 1993.

Frederick Neumann describes principles of tempo, rhythm, dynamics, phrasing and ornamentation in the Baroque, aiming to provide instructions on "conveying faithfully to the listeners the spirit and meaning of the musical text."[4] He insists that his book is not a prescription for "correct" practices, which are impossible to reconstruct; rather, the work

[4] Frederick Neumann, *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993), 1.

aims to present an array of possibilities from which the performer may choose. At first glance, the stance on authenticity articulated in Neumann's introduction seems rooted in Richard Taruskin's criticism of the subject in the 1980s, wherein he criticizes the search for factual truth in musical texts rather than focusing on the rhetorical spirit of the music.[5] Regardless of Neumann's stated objectives, reviewers such as David Fuller have criticized Neumann for a prescriptive stance that often neglects to take into account issues of performance practice.[6] Neumann provides an especially diverse list of ornaments, describing those which were favored in various geographical locations at different points in time. He does not mention gesture or the human body.

Julianne Baird. "Solo Singing 2: The *bel canto* Style." In *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music.* Edited by Stewart Carter, 30-42. New York: Schirmer, 1997.

Julianne Baird describes *bel canto* as the dominant Italian style of singing in the Baroque, replacing text-based singing near the end of the seventeenth century. She outlines *bel canto* technique in this chapter, relying on Tosi's treatise and Agricola's commentary thereupon as representative of the style. She divides the elements of *bel canto* technique into several categories: articulation, singing instruction, diction, ornamentation (the category under which she describes vibrato), registration and appearance. Her discussion of appearance involves gesture and relies on Tosi. This singing master rails against unseemly facial gestures and suggests that good posture permits the singer to use the voice most freely. Baird also points to an article by Mario Ulberti about a statue by Luca della Robbia (ca. 1400-1482) in the Museo di Santa Maria del Fiore, which depicts a group of singers performing with their

[5] See Richard Taruskin, "The Limits of Authenticity," in *Text and Act: Essays in Musical Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 67-82. Although this book appears after Neumann's work was published, Taruskin's views were widely known before this work was printed.

[6] David Fuller is critical of Neumann's treatment of rhythmic alteration, maintaining that his stance against inequality and overdotting are a "demonstration of his unfamiliarity with the world of early music performance" (787). See David Fuller, review of *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* by Frederick Neumann, *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 52/3 (March 1996): 784-787.

mouths open wide and in an upturned position. Ulberti uses this as proof that *bel canto* singing would occur with the mouth drawn into a smile (39-42). Though Baird mentions the importance of gesture and makes interesting connections between mouth position and vocal sound, she does not provide details about how *bel canto* singers would have used their bodies in performance.

Sally Sanford. "Solo Singing 1." In *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*. Edited by Stewart Carter, 3-29. New York: Schirmer Books, 1997.

Sally Sanford presents an overview of writings on seventeenth-century singing from across Europe. This chapter is based on research performed as part of the author's Stanford University dissertation, which synthesizes principles outlined in singing treatises written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[7] She divides her work into geographical areas, mapping trends in Italy (as transferred through the writings of Lodovico Zacconi [*Prattica di musica utile et necessaria*, 1592], Caccini and Tosi), France (as described by Bacilly and Mersenne), Germany (as transmitted by the likes of Praetorius, Wolfgang Caspar Printz [*Compendium musicae signatoriae & modulatoriae vocalis*, 1714] and Bernhard), England (relying on writers such as Charles Butler [*The Principles of Music in Singing and Setting,* 1636] and John Playford [*An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1674]) and Spain (as described by Domenico Pietro Cerone [*El melopeo y maestro: Tractado de musica theorica y pratica*, 1613]). Sanford points out that Italian techniques had the most influence across the continent. She also notes that language provided the basis for singing technique in the seventeenth century and discusses the above languages in relation to singing, concluding that each requires a unique use of the breath. For example, the qualitative nature of the Italian language requires using breath that ebbs and flows, changing pressure constantly, while the quantitative nature of French calls

[7] Sally Sanford, "Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Vocal Style and Technique" (DMA Dissertation: Stanford University, 1979).

for a steady, constant breath stream. She outlines various theories on ornamentation, throat articulation, dynamics, phrasing, registration and intonation in each of these geographical areas.[8] Sanford addresses the importance of gesture across Europe, drawing connections among the singer, actor and orator and encouraging modern singers to use principles outlined in acting treatises, such as the anonymous *Il Corago* (1630), to inform their movement choices (13). She does not, however, provide explicit instructions regarding these principles, nor does she address how the singing masters on which she relies refer to gesture.

James Stark. *Bel canto: A History of Vocal Pedagogy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

James Stark presents an overview of *bel canto* technique and its history, beginning with the rise of the virtuoso singer in the late sixteenth century, but focusing primarily on the work of Manuel Garcia (*Traité complet de l'art du chant*, 1847). Stark argues that the most important element in *bel canto* singing is a relationship between word and musical tone, maintaining that expressiveness is the chief aim of this style. He relies on Garcia's writings to outline the principles of *bel canto* singing, including the *coup de glotte* (initiating sound from the position of closed glottal folds), tremulousness/vibrato, a vocal tone that conveys both the appearance of both brilliance and depth, separation of the head and chest registers during the seventeenth century and expression, including *sprezzatura* and ornamentation as described by Caccini. Stark's discussion of *appoggio*, or the process of "leaning" on the breath, is particularly interesting in light of a study on the body. Stark suggests that posture has little or no bearing on a singer's ability to manipulate the breath, insisting that the glottis exerting pressure on the breath stream is the chief monitor of the amount of air passing through it.

[8] Sally Sanford's article on the French and Italian singing in the seventeenth century provides audio examples of the difference in the breathing techniques required for the music from each country. See Sally Sanford, "A Comparison of French and Italian Singing in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 1/1 (1995), < http://sscm-jscm.press.uiuc.edu/v1/no1/sanford.html> (accessed 31 January 2009).

He points to writings by Giovanni Camillo Maffei (*Delle lettere…libri due, un discorso della voce e del modo, d'apparar di garganta senza maestro*, 1562), Zacconi, Bovicelli, Caccini, Bacilly and Tosi as proof that it is not the breath itself, but the way it is turned into a singing tone when it meets the glottis, that controls sound (92-120). I will argue in Chapter 4 that the relationship between posture and use of the breath is an anatomical reality that extends beyond the glottis to include muscles on the anterior and posterior sides of the torso.

Edward V. Foreman. "Vocal Pedagogy of the Baroque." In *Authentic Singing Being the History and Practice of the Art of Singing and Teaching in Two Volumes,* Volume II, 52-95. Minneapolis: Pro Musica Press, 2001.

Edward Foreman's chapter on Baroque singing relies only on Italian sources, focusing primarily on Caccini, Tosi and Giambattista Mancini (*Pensieri e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato*, 1774) and implying that Italian techniques may be applied in the performance of music from other geographical areas. He also suggests that Baroque technique is prevalent through the early nineteenth century. Foreman advocates a singing technique that is agile, relies on the separation of the chest and head registers and maintains good taste. He provides an overview of the ornaments available for the seventeenth-century singer's use, creating a list from Caccini, Marco da Gagliano (ornaments inserted into his opera *La Dafne*, 1608), George Frederic Handel (the composer's extant ornamentation from the operas *Ottone* [1723] and *Serse* [1738]) and Giovanni Battista Velluti (this castrato's annotations for the "Romanza" from *Tebaldo e Isolina* [Francesco Morlacchi, 1820]). He does not address gesture or the body.

Martha Elliottt. *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Martha Elliott divides her description of Baroque vocal practice into sections on Italy, France, England and Germany in both the early and late periods, which she classifies as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For each geographical area in the "early Baroque,"

she provides an overview of voice types and registration issues, as well as explanations of the ornaments at work based on contemporary descriptions taken from writings by Zacconi, Praetorius, Finck, Caccini, Monteverdi, Playford, Thomas Mace (*Musick's Monument*, 1676), Christopher Simpson (*The Division Violist,* 1659) , Bacilly, Roger North (essay, ca. 1695) and Tosi. Elliott provides an overview of issues such as vibrato, pitch and tuning, historical pronunciation, figured bass and accompaniment and the important relationship between words and music that existed during this time. Where various writers in both past and present disagree, she provides an introduction to pertinent questions and issues, outlining all sides of the debates rather than promoting one practice in particular. She does not discuss facial or body movement or gesture in the context of either the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

A Modern Overview of Seventeenth-Century Vocal Practice

The above studies provide source material for those who are interested in Baroque vocal practice. Because many of their authors are concerned with similar issues, they have enabled the emergence of a modern "theory" of Baroque singing.[9] This theory is not unified; indeed, seventeenth-century vocal practice itself has marked variations. Several treatises provide contradictory information about issues like vibrato and articulation. Seventeenth-century practice varied in diverse geographical areas at different moments in time. Singers made adjustments based on the context of their performances; subtle and not-so-subtle variations in style were required for singing in churches, theaters and chamber

[9] It is important to note that although many Baroque vocal specialists attempt to recreate techniques of the past, they approach the repertoire using modern sound production techniques. For example, most singers subtract vibrato from the sound rather than starting with a straight tone and adding vibrato as an ornament.

music settings.[10] Nonetheless, several patterns and issues emerge. I will summarize these issues as they are discussed by the authors cited on pp. 10-18.

Text and Rhetoric

Words were the most important element of music in the seventeenth century; thus, singers were encouraged to make song resemble text declamation. As Sanford points out, the defining characteristics of singing derive from spoken language.[11] Donington calls enunciation inseparable from the process of singing words.[12] Sol Babitz encourages "speaking" rather than "singing" the music.[13] This is a radically different idea from those surrounding text declamation practices today, as modern singers tend to focus on melodic lines rather than word and sentence structures, a practice developed in response to the need to fill large concert halls and the subsequent focus on volume rather than delicacy. Babitz criticizes modern singers for "bellowing" over the notes, performing all tones at an equal volume and sometimes stressing weak syllables.[14]

The close relationship between text and music in the seventeenth century requires singers to communicate words clearly. Caccini, Bacilly, Tosi and Bernhard all demand that singers comprehend the form and meaning of texts in order to move their audiences.[15]

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[10] Harris describes national, stylistic and chronological differences. (Ellen Harris, "Voices," in *Performance Practice: Music After 1600*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie [New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1989], 97.) Sally Sanford notes differences between Italian/German and French schools of singing, demanding that singers "match technique and style not only to the time period, region, physical setting, genre, voice type, and range required, accompanying instrument(s), pitch standard and tuning system being used, and the particular piece of music at hand, but also to the unique characteristics of one's own voice and musical personality." (Sally Sanford, "Solo Singing 1," in *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music* , ed. Stewart Carter [New York: Schirmer Books, 1997], 25).

[11] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 4-5.

[12] According to Donington, enunciation is "inseparable from the production of the notes, both in their sonority (colouring) and in their articulation (declamation)." (Robert Donington, *A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music* [London: Faber & Faber, 1973], 68).

[13] Sol Babitz, *The Great Baroque Hoax: A Guide to Baroque Performance for Musicians and Connoisseurs*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: Early Music Society, 1970), 9.

[14] Babitz, 40.

[15] Bacilly devotes three chapters to the study of pronunciation, and Tosi gives ample time to the study of vowels and consonants (Bénigne de Bacilly, *A Commentary Upon the Art of Proper Singing* (Paris, 1668), trans.

Sanford highlights the importance of pronunciation, stressing that singers should be aware of the linguistic nuances of the texts which they perform. She notes that the French and Italian languages express emotion in different ways, with the former conveying meaning through striking consonants with different levels of emphasis and the latter evoking mood through vowel color.[16] Harris suggests that articulation and expression choices should be based on the form and syntax of the text, citing Caccini's criticism of singers who use ornaments indiscriminately.[17] Sanford's "pyramid concept" is related to this idea; this theory of dynamics holds that that the rhetorical structures of texts in seventeenth-century music, which tend to feature insignificant syllables on high notes and important syllables on low ones, invite the singer to perform high pitches at relatively soft volumes and low pitches at relatively loud ones (see pp. 29-30 for more on this concept).

Sprezzatura is an important element in helping performers "speak" as they sing. This term, first applied to music in Caccini's preface to *Euridice* (Florence, 1600), implies the presence of flexibility and rubato in performances of monody. For Caccini, *sprezzatura* is a sense of effortless nonchalance, a "noble negligence" achieved by approaching the musical text freely and recreating the natural rhythms of speech in the process of singing.[18] Baldassarre Castiglione coined the term in *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1528), using it to describe noble, courtly grace.[19] Sanford advocates rhythmic freedom—departing from

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Austin B. Caswell (Brooklyn: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968), 25-27). According to Giulio Caccini, "unless the words [are] understood, the singer cannot move the understanding" (Quoted in Harris, 99). In *Von der Singe-Kunst* (1649), Bernhard insists on good pronunciation, even in foreign languages: "proper pronunciation of the words which he must set forth in song…. If…he is to sing in a language other than his mother tongue, then he must read that language at least as fluently and correctly as those people to whom it is native" (Quoted in Brown and Sadie, 20).

[16] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 13-15.

[17] Harris writes: "In part, good Baroque singing style was probably articulated through the clear enunciation of the text" (107).

[18] Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, 2nd ed., ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock (Middleton, WI: A&R Editions, 2009), 3.

[19] Baldassarre Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, *La letteratura italiana* Vol. 27, ed. Carlo Cordié (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1960), 48ff.

notated rhythms—in order to be more expressive, maintaining that it allows the singer to "declaim" the text as an actor or orator might.[20] Harris champions a flexible tempo, quoting Tosi, Frescobaldi and Caccini in order to support the idea that rhythmic freedom is an important element of ornamentation. Indeed, absolute rhythmic evenness is unstylish. *Sprezzatura* is important because it imbues performances with a sense of wonderment; singers strove to surprise and delight their audiences with seemingly-impromptu departures from the written text. Stark draws our attention to descriptions of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century singers who used *sprezzatura*, such as Antonio Brandi, noted by Gagliano in 1608 for the "grace of his marvelous singing," and Caterina Martinelli, who "filled with delight and wonder everyone at the theatre."[21]

In order to move and delight audiences, singers were encouraged to mimic the expressive practices of orators, men schooled in performing speeches to achieve specific effects. Praetorius articulates this relationship in the following terms:

> It is not only the task of the speaker (*Orator*) to ornate a speech (*Oratio*) with beautiful, graceful and lively words with delicious metaphors, but also to pronounce them correctly and to move emotions: this he achieves by raising the voice, by now using a powerful but tender voice, by now talking with the full might of his throat. Equally, the task of a musician is not just to sing, but to sing artfully and with grace, in order to touch the listener's heart, to move his emotions; only in this way will singing have fulfilled its purpose. Indeed, a singer must not only be giftet [sic] by nature with a marvellous voice, but also with good intelligence…[22]

Sanford notes that singing and oratory were "closely aligned" during the seventeenth century, pointing to Praetorius and Butler as evidence for the notion that singers should

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[20] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 8.
[21] James Stark, *Bel canto: A History of Vocal Pedagogy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 160.
[22] Quoted in Ulrike Engelke, *Music und Sprache: Interpretation der Musik des Frühbarok nach überlieferten Regeln* (Frankfurt am Mein: Verlag, Zürich & Zimmerman, 1990), 27.

clearly pronounce and understand the rhetorical structure of the texts they performed.[23] Patricia Ranum's *The Harmonic Orator* unpacks this idea in detail with respect to French repertoire, locating rhetorical structures intrinsic in various texts and their musical settings.[24]

Gesture played an important role in both classical and Renaissance oratory; consequently, singers were expected to accompany their performances with movements that reflected and amplified the meaning of their texts. Unfortunately, many modern writers on seventeenth-century music ignore gesture's role completely. Donington and Neumann make no mention whatsoever of the body below the throat.[25] Writers who address the body tend to do so only in a superficial manner. Sanford mentions *Il Corago*, a manual on acting and staging, to emphasize the importance of acting in good singing.[26] She does not, however, go into detail about acting or oratorical practice. Baird briefly discusses Tosi's *Art of Singing*, describing the author's insistence that *bel canto* singers maintain a noble appearance and poised mouth position.[27] She also mentions treatises by Doni, Donati and Scaletta, all of whom insist that performers supplement their singing with mannerisms that enhance, rather than detract from, textual ideas. Like Sanford, however, Baird neglects to go into detail about the pragmatics of movement and gesture. Although Harris mentions Bacilly's and Tosi's preference for the deliberate manipulation of the body to enhance musical meaning, she does not explain *how* these writers expect performers to achieve such use.[28] Mertin

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[23] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 5 and 18-21.
[24] Patricia M. Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator: The Phrasing and Rhetoric of the Melody in French Baroque Airs* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2001), Ch. 1-10.
[25] Donington's book describes the rise and fall of the *bel canto* style, but does not address gesture or the body. (*A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music* [New York: Charles Schriber's Sons, 1979]). Chapter 2 of Mary Cyr's book engages the relationship between tempo and dance, drawing an interesting correlation between the body and music. Cyr does not, however, expand this discussion to dance and the singer. (*Performing Baroque Music.* [Portland: Amadeus Press, 1992]). Frederick Neumann's books neglect to mention the body altogether. (*Essays in Performance Practice* [Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982] and *Performance Practice of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* [New York: Schirmer Books, 1993]).
[26] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 5.
[27] Baird, 39.
[28] Harris, 97-116.

remarks that good posture is required to maintain a successful breathing technique and throat articulation, but neglects to mention *what* good posture *is*.[29] These sources point out the importance of using the face and body in tandem with the voice for expression, but provide no concrete instructions on how to approach such practice. They are so focused on outlining rules for the way that the modern singer's voice should *sound* that they neglect to address the way her body should *look*. In order truly to make seventeenth-century singing behave like oratory, a systematic study of gesture and movements of the body is therefore vital.

Robert Toft's *Tune Thy Musicke to Thy Hart* offers what I have found to be the most useful presentation of gesture in the literature on seventeenth-century music. Toft aims to recreate the compositional style prominent in England between 1597 and 1622, viewing the lute songs of John Dowland and his contemporaries as highly rhetorical pieces, which rely on figures of speech and syntactical constructions mimicking the communication style of classical orations. Because gesture played a vital role in classical oratory, Toft discusses it in depth in his chapter on *pronunciatio*, advising singers to highlight the rhetorical structure of lute songs with carefully-planned movements emphasizing both large-scale emotions and individual words.[30] He provides tables of hand gestures from John Bulwer's *Chirologia* (1644), a treatise on gesture and oratory and analyzes pieces by Dowland in terms of oratory, pointing out the composer's use of rhetorical devices and suggesting a possible vocal and gestural interpretation that would highlight these choices. Toft's book provides an interesting methodological model, tying gesture to music in a concrete way. However, the

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[29] Mertin writes: "A posture entirely appropriate to an individual leads without further difficulties to a correct breathing technique. The old singing masters elaborated on this complex in connection with the *trillo*." (Josef Mertin, *Early Music: Approaches to Performance Practice*, trans. Siegmund Levarie [New York: Da Capo Press, 1986], 60).

[30] Robert Toft, *Tune Thy Musicke to Thy Hart: The Art of Eloquent Singing in England, 1597-1622* (Buffalo: Toronto University Press, 1993), 108-123.

book is limited to one specific musical genre, the lute song; thus, it neglects to address the contributions gesture might make to music composed for and performed in other contexts. Furthermore, Toft's body of source material and approach are limited; his gestural vocabulary is gleaned from only a few sources—Abraham Fraunce (*The Arcadian Rhetoric*, 1588), Thomas Wright (*The Passions of the Mind*, 1601 and revised in 1604), Bulwer and Michel Le Faucheur (*Traité de l'action de l'orateur,* 1657)—and he focuses on movements of the hands without integrating the body as a whole. The field would benefit from a study of interactions among the hands and the entire body which is generated from information in a wider range of sources, thus providing a broader geographical, temporal and contextual perspective. Toft's work provides the methodological model for my fifth chapter; his holistic approach—studying rhetorical structure as conveyed through music, text and hand gestures—will be expanded to address the role of the entire body in conveying the structure and affect of several pieces of music.

Writers on early modern theatre tend to engage the body in more substantial and all-encompassing ways. G. Blakemore Evans's *Elizabethan-Jacobean Drama: The Theatre in Its Time* contains a chapter on acting techniques, investigating the relationship between the actor and the orator.[31] Bertram L. Joseph's *Elizabethan Acting* uses Bulwer's *Chironomia* and *Chirologia* to investigate formalism in seventeenth-century acting technique.[32] Michael Hattaway's *Elizabethan Popular Theatre* refutes Joseph's formalist interpretation of Bulwer, suggesting instead that improvisation and spontaneity were an important part of early modern acting.[33] Henry Phillips's *The Theatre and Its Critics in Seventeenth-Century France* explores the variety of

[31] Chapter 7 includes diverse source readings pointing to the complex relationship between the actor and the orator in the first half of the seventeenth century (G. Blakemore Evans, ed, *Elizabethan-Jacobean Drama: The Theatre in its Time* [New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1998]).
[32] Bertram L. Joseph suggests that seventeenth-century actors performed using a highly codified, formalized, representative acting technique. (*Elizabethan Acting* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951]).
[33] See Michael Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance* (London: Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1982), 77-78.

conceptions of character development at work in this time period, describing debates about the extent to which actors embodied or merely represented characters.[34] Phillips engages with the actor's body as a highly politicized entity, with the potential to shape audience expectations of normative behavior. While such works present interesting investigations of the seventeenth-century actor's body, they stop short of addressing the seventeenth-century singer. A gap between theatrical and musical investigations of seventeenth-century performers' bodies remains.

Range, Registration and Dynamics

Favored vocal ranges changed throughout the seventeenth century, with a focus on treble voices in both the virtuosic music that came into favor during this period and the treatises providing instructions on the practice of this music. Tenors were preferred towards the beginning of the period, with composers like Jacopo Peri and Caccini writing the lead roles in their settings of *Euridice* (1600) for this voice part. The preference for the tenor voice dates back to the sixteenth century, when theorists like Vincenzo Galilei and Girolamo Mei advocated choosing "natural" tessituras for expressing texts and their sentiments. Young male characters most often performed texts musing on love and heroism, and so the relatively high range of the tenor voice suited these subjects, which were among the most popular in early monody.[35] Virtuosic works were also written for female voices, but female

[34] Henry Phillips, *The Theatre and Its Critics in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
[35] In a letter to Galilei, Girolamo Mei writes "These qualities [those of different vocal ranges] are proper symbols and signs of diverse and altogether contrary affections of the living being, each of the qualities expressing naturally its own affection…it is clear that the affections are moved in the souls of others by representing, as if before them, whether as objects or recollections, those affections that have been previously aroused by these images. Now this cannot be brought about by the voice except with its qualities of low, high, or intermediate pitch, which nature provided for this effect and which is a proper and natural sign of that affection which one wants to arouse in the listener. It is likewise very well known that pitches intermediate between the extremely high and extremely low are appropriate for showing a quiet and moderate disposition of the affections, while the very high are signs of a very excited and uplifted spirit, and the very low of abject and humble thoughts.…" (Rome, 8 May, 1572, in *Source Readings in Music History, Revised Edition*, ed. Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler [New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1998], 487).

singers were limited to appearing in chamber works. After 1640, the virtuosic treble voice assumed a central role on the public stage, with lead roles written for castrati and tenors relegated to side and transvestite roles (such as the nurse in Claudio Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* [1642]). The reversal of gender roles was common on the Baroque stage; the practice of castrati performing female roles onstage originated in Rome, where women were prohibited to perform in public, and it quickly spread throughout Europe as Italian opera gained in popularity. Male roles were sometimes written for female singers, such as Goffredo in Handel's *Rinaldo* (1713), which featured a castrato in its title role. The castrato remained at the forefront of musical performance throughout the seventeenth century, with tenors reclaiming lead roles only in eighteenth-century comic opera.[36]

Edward Foreman notes that by the eighteenth century, transposition was not advisable, as pieces were written specifically for the characteristics of each particular voice type.[37] Of course, pitch standards varied from place to place; nonetheless, soprano, contralto, tenor and bass remained distinct and classifiable vocal categories. According to Tosi, each range is marked by a specific proportion of volubility to pathos (ability to converse in a flexible, agile way and to arouse feeling in the listener). The soprano voice has the "greatest Volubility, and becomes it best; and also the best Pathetick," contraltos have "more of the Pathetick than Volubility," tenors have more volubility than pathos, and basses are "more pompous" than any other voice.[38] Bacilly insists that different voice types are suited to different types of expression.[39] Within these vocal ranges, multiple voice types were available for casting treble roles: the boy soprano, female soprano, castrato and

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[36] Harris, 109. Harris explains that the resurgence of the leading tenor voice in opera productions began with Bajazet in Handel's *Tamerlano.*
[37] Edward V. Foreman, "Vocal Pedagogy of the Baroque," in *Authentic Singing Being the History and Practice of the Art of Singing and Teaching in Two Volumes* (Minneapolis: Pro Musica Press, 2001), Volume II, 112.
[38] Johann Freidrich Agricola, *Introduction to the Art of Singing* (1757), trans. Julianne Baird (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 10-11. This volume consists of Tosi's *Opinioni* and Agricola's commentary thereupon.
[39] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 16.

countertenor. Different voice types were preferred on various occasions, such as the female soprano, castrato and countertenor for dramatic roles and the boy soprano and falsettist in choirs and church settings.[40]

Seventeenth-century theories of vocal register were vastly different than those at work today. Modern singers are taught to minimize the *passaggio*, or break, between their chest and head registers, blending the two together seamlessly, a practice first advocated by Tosi in the early eighteenth century. Tosi calls for the singer to unite both registers "in such a way that one cannot distinguish the one from the other, since if the union of the registers is not perfect the voice will be of many registers and consequently will lose its beauty."[41] This statement has been interpreted in many ways by modern writers. Julianne Baird understands it to mean that the head and chest voices should be united, blended seamlessly into a single register.[42] Others believe that as castrati gained prominence, composers continued to exploit the contrasts between the head and chest registers for dramatic effect. Donington suggests that exploitation of the contrast between these registers is a hallmark of *bel canto* style.[43] Harris points out that although Tosi calls for the development of the middle range, he believes in maintaining the unique color of each register.[44]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, singers were encouraged to cultivate the difference between the head and chest registers, using the contrast between them for dramatic effect. Near the beginning of the seventeenth century, Zacconi defines chest and head voice respectively as full voice and falsetto, with a preference for the former.[45] Caccini makes a distinction between *voce piena e naturale* (full and natural) and *voce finta* (feigned,

[40] Foreman, 113.
[41] Tosi in Agricola, 14-15.
[42] Baird, 36.
[43] Donington, 65-67.
[44] Harris, 23.
[45] Stark, 59.

falsetto), insisting that he favors the former when the singer does not have to "blend" with others, as the latter prevents the singer from taking full advantage of dynamic contrasts.[46] Because of this, Caccini's compositions are limited to the chest register. Bacilly makes a similar distinction, maintaining that the natural voice is preferable to the feigned voice because of its superior intonation and that singers should perform either in one voice or the other.[47] Stark summarizes the preference for the chest register, theorizing that the "ideal voice should be clear and full, that chest voice is preferable to falsetto…the tone should also be round and sonorous."[48]

The distinction between the chest and head registers resulted in the cultivation of a dynamic hierarchy that is vastly different from the system prevalent in contemporary classical singing. Today, singers tend to perform high notes at volumes that are relatively loud in comparison with those at which they sing low notes. Harris suggests that the relationship between the registers in the Baroque reverses this hierarchy, with high notes being performed more softly than low ones.[49] Sanford's vocal "pyramid," mentioned earlier in this chapter, supports this notion. Her theory holds that the most important words and syllables in Baroque vocal music tend to fall on low notes, while words and syllables of lesser importance tend to fall on high ones.[50] In order to maintain a coherent sense of the text and intelligible word accents—important because of the primacy of words in Baroque music—the most important syllables, occurring on the lowest notes in the full chest register, should

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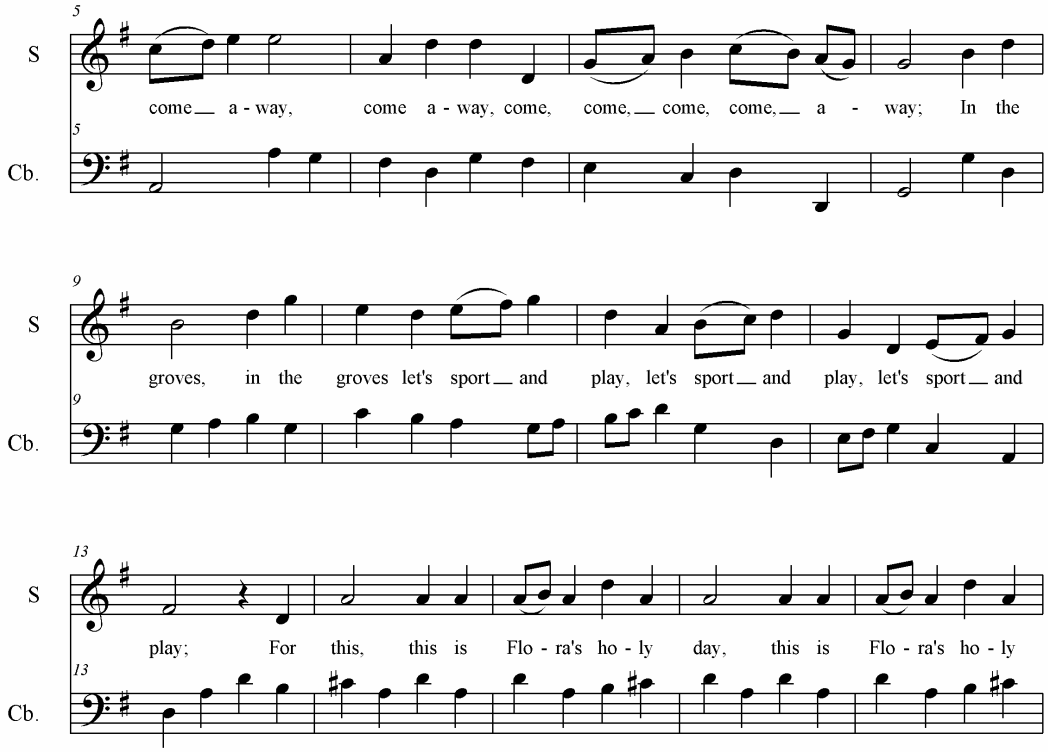
[46] Caccini prefers a "full and natural voice (*voce piena e naturale*), avoiding falsetto (*le voci finte*)…without being constrained to accommodate himself to others" (56). Praetorius makes a similar distinction (Stark, 59). See also Sanford, "Solo Singing," 8.
[47] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 16 and Harris, 22.
[48] Stark, 36.
[49] Harris explains that even Tosi calls for touching high notes with "softness" (103).
[50] Sanford points to descriptions of "pyramid" dynamics as early as Conrad von Zabern's *De modo ben canendi* (1474). See "Solo Singing," 8-9.

be the loudest. Henry Purcell's "Nymphs and Shepherds" provides an example of this compositional technique (Example 1.1).



Example 1.1 Henry Purcell's "Nymphs and Shepherds" (mm. 5-17)

In mm. 8-13, unimportant words such as "the" and "and" occur on relatively high pitches on the weakest beats of measures. By contrast, "play"—the most important verb in the phrase—is often approached by downward leaps landing on strong beats. The relatively low pitch and strong accent of this word give it rhetorical emphasis, which would be enhanced by performance at a relatively loud volume. Singing the highest notes in this excerpt at a relatively loud volume would make no sense rhetorically.

Discussions of range, registration and dynamics by modern theorists tend to downplay the practical and philosophical relationships between the body and these issues, an omission that prevents us from applying them to their full potential in modern performance and analysis. Range, dynamics and registers rely on the body, with posture and breathing

playing important roles in the singer's ability to control and manipulate them. Additionally, the relationship between body type and vocal range in the seventeenth century held special meaning; vocal ranges were often equated with "moral" emblems, making body type a factor in creating moral order. Giovanni Battista Doni's *Trattato della musica scenica* (1640) is one such example. This treatise advocates assigning roles based on body and voice type. For Doni, Jesus should always be a tenor, "because the voice is more suitable than any other to a well-adjusted and perfectly-organized body."[51] Such writings raise several questions about the relationship between range, registration and the body: What are the practical and aesthetic implications of discussions of the body in regard to range in singing treatises? How do onstage performance conventions mirror everyday social roles? After all, the idea that singers should emulate members of the nobility is present even in sixteenth-century writing surrounding the emergence of monody. Theorizing on how modern musicians might emulate persuasive performances given by ancient orators, Galilei instructs performers to study the ways that people in particular social positions act and interact with others.[52] In so doing, the musician may "select the norm of what is fitting for the expression of any other conception whatever that can call for their handling."[53] In the context of this history, it is

[51] Giovanni Battista Doni, "*Trattato della musica scenica*," in *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, ed. and trans. Carol McClintock (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1979), 203-204.
[52] Galilei instructs musicians to "mark a little what difference obtains in all these things when one of them speaks with one of his servants, or one of these with another; let them observe the prince when he chances to be conversing with one of his subjects and vassals; when the petitioner is entreating a favor; how the man infuriated or excited speaks; the married woman, the girl, the mere child, the clever harlot, the lover speaking to his mistress as he seeks to persuade her to grant his wishes, the man who laments, the one who cries out, the timid man, and the man exultant with joy…. When the ancient musician sang any poem whatsoever, he first considered very diligently the character of the person singing, and the effect he sought to produce by this means; and these conceptions, previously clothed by the poet in chosen words suited to such a need, the musician then expressed in the tone and with the accents and gestures, the quantity and quality of sound, and the rhythm appropriate to that action and that sort of person." (Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music* (Florence, 1581), in *Source Readings in Music History, Revised Edition*, ed. Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler [New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1998], 465-466).
[53] Galilei, 446.

important to consider how the seventeenth-century singer would have used her body to represent characters of certain social statures in the moment of performance.

Intonation, Breath and Vibrato

Intonation during the seventeenth century was clearer and more precise than in the present. Harris suggests that this was the effect of a focus on learning intervals in vocal training, and Sanford adds that the range of non-equally-tempered tuning systems caused a more refined attention to be paid to pitches.[54] Sanford and Stark suggest that volume and vibrato play a key role in pitch accuracy, and Stark adds that a narrower vibrato in relation to that prevalent today is also a factor.[55] In the concert halls of the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, precise intonantion and floridity have been sacrificed in favor of power.

Singing with less power and volume than in the present afforded performers the ability to vocalize with more agility; this was made possible by a more flexible approach to breath support than singers tend to employ today. In general, modern singers rely on a "steamroller" technique, using a steady, heavy stream of air to produce a sound that maintains a consistently loud volume and wide vibrato. In order to maintain their agile technique, which allowed for the performance of ornaments and virtuosic passages using glottal articulation, seventeenth-century singers supported their sound with a light, flexible air stream.

Breathing techniques varied across Europe, with distinct styles employed in different geographical locations in order to accommodate subtle linguistic differences. Drawing on Caccini, Tosi, Bacilly and Mersenne, Sanford argues that Italian and Italian-influenced music, such as that practiced in Germany and England, requires a drastically different use of the

[54] Harris, 99 and Sanford, "Solo Singing," 12.
[55] Sanford, "Solo Singing, 17 and Stark, 151-152.

breath than French singing does. Expressivity is achieved in the Italian language by qualitative differences between vowel sounds. To maintain this type of expressivity, she calls for a flexible breathing technique, allowing the air stream to ebb and flow, which creates emphases of varying strengths on each word and syllable. The French language is quantitative, relying on the strength, duration and affective qualities of consonants for expression; as a result, French music requires a steady air stream, in which breath pressure, speed and the sound volume remain relatively consistent.[56]

Seventeenth-century notions of vibrato, a technique intimately related to the flexible air stream, is a hotly contested issue. Modern practitioners are divided as to whether vibrato occurs naturally or is merely an artifice, unnecessary in the mechanics of sound production. Before Tosi, consistent, subtle pitch fluctuations are not referred to as *vibrato*; thus, terminology itself is an issue, making it difficult to determine what, exactly, is meant in discussions of pitch fluctuations. Even seventeenth-century singers tend to have varied ideas about what, exactly, the word *tremolo* means. Elliott provides a summary of various authors' opinions on the matter: Zacconi calls *tremolo* a short and beautiful "trembling voice"; Bernhard calls for *fermo*, or the "maintenance of a steady voice…on all notes, except where a *trillo* or *ardire* is applied," and he dismisses *tremolo* as a defect of an aging voice; Tosi instructs the singer to "learn to hold out the notes without a shrillness…or trembling" to avoid imitating those who "sing in a very bad taste."[57] Such ambiguity leads to the following questions: Is vibrato a natural component of the singing voice? Was vibrato constant or merely used in an ornamental fashion? How wide was vibrato in the seventeenth century?

The first two questions are related, resulting in debates about where and when to use vibrato. Many early music singers and coaches advocate performing with a completely

[56] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 9 and 13.
[57] Elliott, 14-15.

"straight" tone, eliminating vibrato completely. Stark describes the prevalence of the preference for "straight" singing in the Early Music revival, noting complaints by Bernhard Ulrich as early as 1912 and Irving Godt's insistence on "crystalline perfection" into the 1980s.[58] Even today, conductors like Alexander Blachly of Pomerium ask singers to eliminate vibrato from their voices in performing music composed before 1800. Reviews repeatedly cite the group's notable lack of vibrato; Alex Ross, writing in the *New Yorker*, observes an alternation of "vibrato-free, church-choir tones alternated with a more red-blooded, vernacular style" in the group's performance of *chansons* and a mass by Machaut; and Anne Midgette praises the group for "banishing vibrato from their voices in the requisite sexless manner of English choir boys" in sacred polyphonic pieces by Monteverdi and William Byrd.[59] By contrast, Mason views vibrato as a "natural phenomenon," a fundamental component in the act of singing itself.[60] Baird considers tremolo to be an "inseparable" part of the human voice, insisting that ornaments like *messa di voce* and *crescendo* are impossible without a constant vibrato. She concedes that seventeenth-century singers may have eliminated vibrato at certain, key moments (such as dissonant notes, leading tones and particularly expressive intervals), but believes that vibrato was nonetheless constant—a fundamental component of singing technique. She admits that seventeenth-century vibrato was narrower than that used by modern singers.[61] Elliott's view is similar; she claims that "most writers and singers today agree that vibrato is a natural part of healthy singing," and that the difference between early and modern practice rests in the "degree" to which it is

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[58] Stark, 149-150.
[59] Alex Ross, "Escaping the Museum," *The New Yorker* (3 November 2003); *Anne* Midgette, "Unadorned Voices Peal Out in Bitterness and Sorrow," *The New York Times* (17 April 2001).
[60] Robert M. Mason and W. R. Zemlin, "Physiological Components of Vocal Vibrato," *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 49/1A (1971): 136.
[61] Baird, 36.

present.[62] According to Elliott, Baroque singers performed with a constant, moderate vibrato that was much more subtle than that in mainstream practice today. Sally Sanford has a more flexible view, maintaining that singers performed with a tone that was more or less straight, as the throat articulation required for ornamentation would be impossible to perform simultaneously with a pitch fluctuating vibrato.[63] She and Harris support the notion of vibrato as an ornament, which is to be used intentionally to achieve desired effects.[64] Vibrato was an issue at the National Early Music Conference held in York, England in July 2009, which focused on singing before 1900. Of the 30 presentations offered at this event, eight were focused on vibrato, with perspectives ranging from attempts to prove that vibrato is a natural component of vocal production to charges that "authentic" early music singing should feature no vibrato whatsoever.[65]

Regardless of their differences in opinion, modern scholars tend to agree that seventeenth-century vibrato was much narrower than that used by modern singers. Donington advocates a vibrato with a small width and a relatively slow speed.[66] Baird calls for a narrow vibrato that occurs at faster speeds than that prevalent in the present, as she believes that rapidity allows the singer to perform difficult *passaggi* more easily.[67] Engelke points out that seventeenth-century treatises describe only a "small trembling."[68] Harris

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[62] Elliott, 15.
[63] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 11-12.
[64] Sanford sees this at work in French and English music ("Solo Singing," 15-16 and 23). Harris notices this idea in the writings of Matheson and Bacilly (104).
[65] Ed Breen performed a spectrographic analysis of recordings of singing with perceivable "straight tone," showing that there is a constant, though slight, natural vibrato. Richard Bethell performed a survey of NEMA members' preferences on the amount of vibrato present in performances of a Handel aria, showing that audiences prefer narrow vibrato and straight-tone singing; he used these survey results to hail straight-tone singing as "authentic" for Baroque music. Ed Breen, "David Munrow: Thoughts on Vibrato and a Glimpse into His Record Collection" (paper presented at the National Early Music Association Conference, York University, 7-10 July, 2009); Richard Bethell, "Preferred Vocal Emission for Handel's Arias: A Case Study" (paper presented at the National Early Music Association Conference, York University, 7-10 July, 2009).
[66] Donington, 65-67.
[67] Baird, 36.
[68] Engelke, 69.

quotes Zacconi, stating a need for a vibrato that is "small and pleasing."[69] Sanford provides the most concrete information, calling for pitch fluctuation that does not exceed a quarter tone in order to preserve the difference between major and minor semitones. She warns against simply straightening the tone by suppressing the vocal tract, suggesting instead that singers should achieve this narrow vibrato by using less air pressure than they otherwise might.[70]

Discussions of issues relating to the breath stream warrant consideration of the body, as muscles required for breath production extend beyond those in the neck. The ability to control the breath, which, in turn, manipulates intonation and vibrato, is affected by posture and factors like physical tension. The mechanical connection between the body and the breath will be explored in Chapter 4.

Articulation and Ornamentation

The virtuosic ornaments and melismatic passages that came into favor during the seventeenth century—especially in Italy—were made possible by singers' use of glottal (throat) articulation. Baird describes this technique as rapid movement enabled by air striking the glottis.[71] Mertin suggests that the singer should start with a closed glottis, forcing it open with short, rapid bursts of air.[72] Sanford adds that throat articulation "works best when the vocal tract is relaxed and there is not excessive breath pressure."[73] Both Baird and Sanford encourage singers to avoid "breathy" articulation, staying away from pronouncing an "h" sound on each glottal strike.[74] Donington adds that seventeenth-century throat

[69] Harris, 105.
[70] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 12-13.
[71] Baird, 31.
[72] Mertin, 158.
[73] Sanford, "Solo Singing," 18.
[74] Baird, 33 and Sanford, "Solo Singing," 18.

articulation was accompanied by a forward-placed tone, which contributed to the sense of brightness and enabled the requisite agility.[75]

Ornaments were a vital component of seventeenth-century singing. Singers were expected to master not only the vocabulary of available ornaments, but also to understand and identify the appropriate contexts in which to perform them. Seventeenth-century singing masters were extremely concerned with performers using ornaments at suitable moments in the music and with fitting affects. As Tosi notes, the *type* of ornaments chosen and the way in which they are performed should complement the mood of the song.[76] Stark explains that ornamentation provided singers with a sense of agency, making *performances* rather than the notes on the page the most important element of music.[77] For Caccini, ornaments did not merely represent the affections; they were in themselves *affetti*. Explaining his preferred usage of ornaments like *esclamazioni,* tremolos and trills, Caccini demands that "the major source of grace in singing so as to be able to move the affect of the soul be true understanding as to where one should employ the affects…."[78] Mastering the performance and placement of ornaments is an important concern for most writers on seventeenth-century singing.

A great many ornaments were available to seventeenth-century singers. The following list of the most common modern interpretations of these figures was compiled from descriptions in writings by Baird, Donington, Engelke and Neumann.[79]

- *Acciaccatura*: A short appoggiatura, in which the time taken away from the principal note is barely perceptible.

[75] Donington, 65-67.
[76] Baird, 34.
[77] Stark, 157-158.
[78] Caccini, 7.
[79] Baird, 33-36, Donington, Part III, Engelke, 36-44 and Neumann, Part V.

- *Appoggiatura*: Removing time from a note by extending the duration of the note directly preceding it, which falls on a strong beat.

- *Gruppo*: Cadential ornament, an upper note trill followed by a turn.

- *Messa di voce*: Crescendo and decrescendo: beginning a note softly, allowing it to swell, and then allowing it to recede again to softness.

    - *Crescendo:* Long note with a swell, eventually rising a semitone.

    - *Esclamazione*: *Messa di voce* in which the note is attacked initially with a forte dynamic, dropping immediately to piano before gradually swelling back to forte.

    - *Strascino*: Sliding gradually from one note to another.

- *Mordent*: Single or repeated rapid alternation between an indicated note and the tone immediately below it.

- *Port de voix*: Gliding between two adjacent notes.

- *Trill*: Rapid alternation between an indicated note and the tone immediately above it. Baroque trills tend to start on the note above the written note.

    - *Maggiore*: Trill fluctuating one whole step.

    - *Minore:* Trill fluctuating one half step.

    - *Lento*: Slow trill.

    - *Raddoppiato*: Trill with added auxiliary tones.

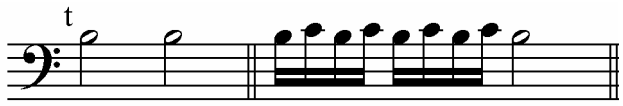
- *Trillo*: Rapid repetition of a single pitch, often accelerating in tempo.

- *Turn*: Figure consisting of the note above the indicated note, which is followed by the indicated note and the note below it and a final repetition of the indicated note.

These ornaments may be combined with others in a variety of patterns, coloring the music in almost infinite ways.

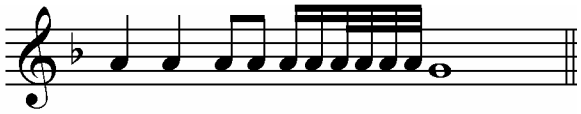
It is important to note that the manner in which these ornaments were performed varied throughout the Baroque depending on the performance context, moment in time, geographical location and preference of the composer or theorist. The *trillo*, for example, is

described in several different ways by several different writers. The *trillo* preferred by Emilio de' Cavalieri, composing in Rome around the turn of the century, is an alternation of a note with its upper auxiliary, an effect that Praetorius calls *tremolo* and Caccini names *gruppo*. Writing in Germany in 1689, Printz gives the same name to this figure.[80] In France in 1768, Jean-Jacques Rousseau mentions that the Italians' *trillo* is the same as the French *tremblement*, a whole- or semitone trill on the penultimate note of a cadence.[81] This figure is illustrated in Example 1.2, from Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di anima et di corpo*:



Example 1.2 *Trillo* from Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di anima et di corpo* (1600)[82]

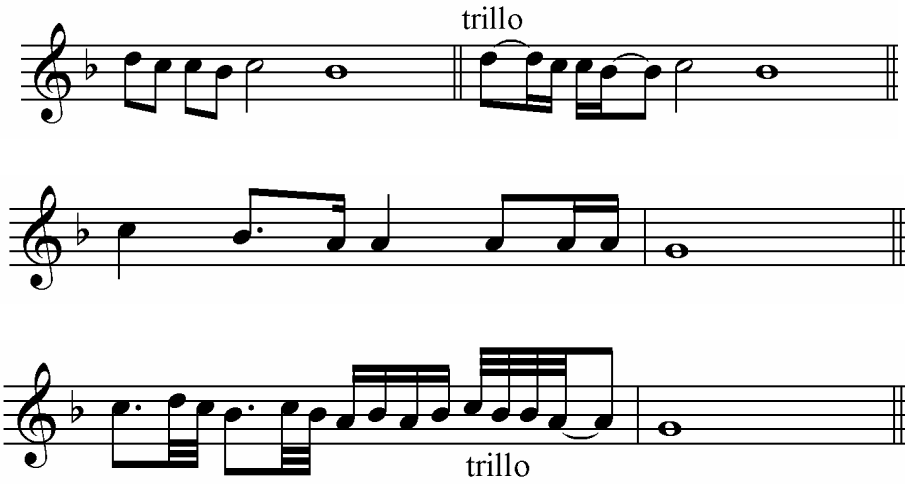
Praetorius's *trillo* is similar to the term that Caccini, writing in Florence, uses to indicate throat articulation at an accelerating pace on the penultimate note of a cadence (Example 1.3). Praetorius's account of this figure is echoed by Herbst in 1658, suggesting that the *trillo* maintained this meaning in Germany throughout the seventeenth century.[83] Playford's *trill*, which he also refers to as a "plain shake," mirrors this figure.[84] This ornament is illustrated in the following excerpt from the preface to *Le nuove musiche*:



Example 1.3 *Trillo* from Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (1601/02)

[80] David Schulenberg, "Ornaments: German Baroque," *Grove Music Online,* ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 2 February 2009).
[81] Kah-Ming Ng, "Ornaments: French Baroque,"*Grove Music Online,* ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 2 February 2009).
[82] Figures 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 are reproduced from Stewart A. Carter, "Ornamentation: Italy (1600-1650)," *Grove Music Online,* ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 2 February 2009).
[83] Schulenberg.
[84] Ng.

Stewart Carter notes that relying on these two formulae as models is somewhat reductive, as Caccini himself provides alternate patterns for the *trillo* in *Le nuove musiche*, and Notari (1613) and Herbst (1642) reduce the ornament to "a kinde of sweetness in the voice" and a "charming buzz."[85] These figures are illustrated in Example 1.4.



Example 1.4 Variations on *trilli* from Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*

When deciding on how to ornament a piece, the modern singer is advised to take into account the vocabulary preferred by its composer. Just as there is a connection between breathing and vibrato/intonation, the position of the body and the ability to use the throat in ways that permits glottal articulation are related. This connection will be explored in Chapter 4.

Conclusion—Where is the Body?

Though there are subtle variations in interpretations of various issues, scholarship on Baroque singing provides a comprehensive theory of performance practice in the seventeenth century. Scholars and performers raise a series of ideas and questions about several elements of singing technique, including range, dynamics, intonation, breath support,

[85] Carter.

vibrato and articulation. While many of these writers stress the importance of facial and bodily gesture in musical expression, a comprehensive theory of gesture's role in sung performance and its effects on the singing voice is conspicuously lacking. Readers are left wondering *why* gesture was important, which sources are available to singers interested in implementing historical gesture into their performance, *how* singers would have used gesture in practice and *what* effects this might have had on their singing technique. By addressing these questions, I hope to contribute a new approach to the performance and analysis of seventeenth-century vocal music.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SINGER AS A LOCUS OF UT PICTURA POESIS

In the opening lines of his *Ars poetica*, the Roman poet Horace draws a parallel between the work of painters, creators of visual art, and poets, champions of what was then an aural discipline:[1]

pictoribus atque poetis
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas[2]

Again, near the end of this epistle, Horace makes the famous charge *ut pictura poesis*, "as is painting, so poetry," a phrase that has sparked centuries of dialogue about the association between these pursuits. Horace was not the first, nor was he the only ancient theorist to point out this parallel. Although Jean Hagstrum confirms the importance of Horace's *Ars poetica*, explaining that its author "has been more closely linked with our subject than any other critic,"[3] he acknowledges that Plato and Aristotle both allude to a relationship between the visual and verbal arts.[4] In the *Republic*, Plato insists disparagingly that "the poet is like the painter."[5] Aristotle's *Poetics* features several instances in which its author makes analogies between the design of poetry and painting.[6]

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[1] In his history of the relationship between poetry and music, James Anderson Winn describes the highly oral nature of Greek and Roman poetry, explaining that it was chanted as if composed in the process of recitation. See James Anderson Winn, *Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of Relations Between Poetry and Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

[2] "Equal power of daring anything was always for painters and poets" (9-10). For the complete text and a translation, see: "De arte poetica," in *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 450-489.

[3] Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 9.

[4] Hagstrum, Chapter 1.

[5] See Book 10 of Plato, *Republic* in *The Portable Plato*, ed. Scott Buchanan and trans. Benjamin Jowett (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), 666-667. Plato discusses poets and painters as artists who understand their subjects, but only well enough to imitate their natures. "The poet is like the painter who, as we have already observed, will make a likeness of a cobbler though he understands nothing of cobbling; and his picture is good enough for those who know no more than he does, and judge only by colours and figures….In like manner the poet with his words and phrases may be said to lay on the colours of the several arts, himself understanding their nature only enough to imitate them, and other people, who are as ignorant as he is, and judge only from his words, imagine that if he speaks of cobbling, or of military tactics, or of anything else, in metre and harmony and rhythm, he speaks very well—such is the sweet influence which melody and rhythm by nature have. And I

It is important to note that the connection between poetry and painting was actually quite tenuous for these ancient writers.[7] Plato attributed relatively little worth to sculpture and painting compared with music and rhythm, which are based on Pythagorean numerical relationships. For Aristotle, means of expression ally poetry more closely with dance and song than with the visual arts, because they both move in time, a very positive attribute for Aristotle. Rensselaer Lee maintains that "both Aristotle and Horace had suggested interesting analogies between poetry and painting, though they had by no means tended to identify them as did the Renaissance and Baroque critics."[8] According to Lee's analysis, poetry and painting became so closely aligned for early modern thinkers interested in the concept of *ut pictura poesis* that they resembled one another in both form and their approach to content.[9]

Regardless of the intent with which it was originally penned, the phrase *ut pictura poesis* has become a veritable anthem for thinkers interested in the relationship between the visual and verbal arts. Lee's *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* remains the classic study of this simile, providing a narrative of the intimate relationship between these "sister arts" in theory and practice between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Through

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think that you must have observed again and again what a poor appearance the tales of poets make when stripped of the colours which music puts upon them, and recited in simple prose."

[6] Aristotle's *Poetics* contains five references to painting, four of which draw analogies between this art and poetry, with the other differentiating between the two based on their different means of expression. One example is Part 6 of Book 4, where Aristotle discusses the need for poetic themes to be probable, while depicting natural subjects in elevated ways: "With respect also to what is best, the imitations of poetry should resemble the paintings of Zeuxis; the example should be more perfect than nature" (Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. Rev. T. A. Moxon [London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923], 56). For discussion and analysis of all five references, see Hagstrum, 7.

[7] On p. 7, Hagstrum explains that "in neither is the comparison of great importance."

[8] Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1967), 5.

[9] According to Lee, early modern thinkers interested in *ut pictura poesis* wanted: 1) to make their work imitate an idealized version of nature, 2) for their work to take an inventive, novel approach to an austere theme, 3) to express the passions of the soul with a lively spirit, 4) to delight and instruct viewers and 5) to display decorum—the idea that characters should use words and gestures appropriate for their gender and class to achieve clarity and appropriateness (9-41).

examining several visual arts treatises written during this time period, Lee demonstrates that theorists tend to emphasize connections between art and writing, attempting to afford painting the same status as poetry.

Such attempts, described by Lee as efforts to create a "resemblance of painting to poetry," were especially prevalent during the seventeenth century.[10] Intellectuals during this time were concerned with emulating the ancients, a sentiment expressed by the Earl of Roscommon in one of the many translations of *Ars poetica* published during the century.[11] Roscommon points to Horace's oeuvre as an important model for his own writing and the work of his contemporaries:

> Horace will our superfluous Branches prune,
> Give us new rules, and set our Harp in tune,[12]

For Italian theorists, attempts at emulation were manifested in an ideal in which painting and poetry were comprised of related subject matter and equally profound content and expressive power. The French and English supported an effort to draw formal correspondences between these arts. In the preface to his translation of Charles du Fresnoy's *De arte graphica*, for example, John Dryden makes a parallel between words and colors: "expression, and all that belongs to Words, is that in a Poem, which Colouring is in a Picture."[13]

It may seem odd to include the concept of *ut pictura poesis* in a dissertation about singing. However, I wish ultimately to posit the body of the seventeenth-century European singer within the framework of this line of thought. An artist who relied heavily on manipulating her voice *and* her body to move audiences, the singer was a unique nexus of

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[10] Lee, 8.
[11] *Ars poetica* was translated several times during the course of the century, most famously by Ben Jonson in 1640, who provided its first translation into English.
[12] Earl of Roscommon, *Horace's Art of Poetry Made English* (London: Henry Herrignman, 1684), A4.
[13] Lee, 8. For more information, see Lee's Introduction (3-9).

song and gesture, arts that were, in the minds of her contemporaries, intimately related to poetry and painting. In a way, the singer was the living embodiment of *ut pictura poesis*; form and content in musical lines were mirrored and amplified by movements of her body, which worked together with the music to shape the audience's understanding of and reaction to the works at hand.

Connections between song and poetry in the seventeenth century have been stressed, both during the period and in the present. Diane McColley has written about the highly musical nature of poetry by seventeenth-century writers like John Milton and John Donne, maintaining that music and words were closely allied during this time, with poetry itself being a highly musical medium.[14] Barbara Hanning has described the importance of poetry in the evolution of early musical drama, referencing parallels between language and music drawn by Girolamo Mei in late-sixteenth-century Florence.[15] Mei related opera to Greek drama, which he believed was predominantly sung. Although they have traditionally been glossed over, connections between visual art and singers' use of their bodies—through gesture, posture and movement—to project meaning were equally important.[16]

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that the highly visual culture in which the seventeenth-century singer operated makes it impossible to ignore the contributions of gesture to musical form and meaning in sung performances. First, I will describe the function of sight in seventeenth-century Europe, illuminating its importance and role as the primary sense through which the world was experienced, processed and understood. After

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[14] [14] Diane McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[15] Barbara Russano Hanning, *Of Poetry and Music's Power: Humanism and the Creation of Opera* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980).
[16] Sara K. Schreiber asserts that connections between the roles of the orator and the singer during the Baroque required performers to deliberately use their bodies to perform music. Sarah K. Schreiber, "Chapter 2: Baroque Influences on Contemporary Style," *Concert Song as Seen: Kinesthetic Aspects of Musical Interpretation* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994).

doing so, I will explore the idea of the singer as the locus of *ut pictura poesis*. By examining seventeenth-century notions of connections among poetry, song, painting, stagecraft and movement, I will posit the singer as a creature for whom aural and visual elements of expression were inextricably intertwined.

The Ennobled Sense

To understand fully the importance of the visual elements of performances given by early modern singers, one must first consider the role of sight in seventeenth-century Europe. Ennobled in Plato's *Republic* via an analogy between light and beauty, sight came into its own during this time as the primary sense with which people investigated the natural world.[17]

Michel Foucault describes the turn of the seventeenth century as one of two major episteme shifts in human history, wherein there was a transition from *resemblance* to *representation* as the major means of ordering the world.[18] Foucault stresses the visual nature of representation, citing the numerous natural histories published during this time, which he describes as "nothing more than the nomination of the visible."[19] The seventeenth century witnessed the end of attempts to explain the organization of the universe in musical metaphors. James Haar observes that the natural philosopher Johannes Kepler was one of the last to make a "creative statement of the idea of the music of the spheres" in his

[17] Hagstrum describes Plato's elevation of sight in the following terms: "Plato made one conceptual association that was most congenial to the rise of literary pictorialism in late antiquity, to its persistence in the Middle Ages, and to its flowering in the Counter Reformation of the seventeenth century. His striking analogy between light and beauty ennobled the sense of sight. He called it "sunlike," and his metaphor, "the eye of the mind," exalted both sense and intellect" (5).

[18] Foucault writes: "Up until the end of the 16th century, resemblance played a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture. It was resemblance that largely guided exegesis and the interpretation of texts; it was resemblance that organized the play of symbols, made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them. The universe was folded in upon itself…. Painting imitated space. And representation…was posited as a form of repetition: the theater of life or the mirror of nature; that was the claim made by all language, its manner of declaring its existence and of formulating its right of speech." Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Routledge, 1970), 17.

[19] Foucault, 132.

Harmonices mundi (1619), a work that attempted to find congruencies between musical harmony and the motions of the planets.[20]

A visual approach to examining and understanding the world is manifested in the terminology that developed during the seventeenth century to discuss processes of observation and analysis. The use of the word "reflect," from the Latin verb "flecto," to indicate meditation on a subject of inquiry has its origins in this period.[21] Before 1600, definitions of the word "reflection" were quite literal, referring to physical motions of bending and the science of light.[22] In the seventeenth century, the verb "reflect" began to assume a figurative function, indicating attempts to study information. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* during this time the word came to mean "to turn one's thoughts (back) on, to fix the mind or attention on or upon a subject; to ponder, meditate on, [or] think of."[23] What was once a word referring to various physical actions became a term describing the process of cognition itself; sight thus provided a fundamental vocabulary for the pursuit of knowledge.

Such emphasis on visual experience was made possible by technological achievements expanding the amount of visible information available to the curious observer. In 1608, Dutch scientist Hans Lipperhey applied for a patent for a concave lens affixed in a tube, an experiment that resulted in the magnification of an object at four times its size to

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[20] James Haar, "Music of the Spheres," *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 20 Sept. 2008). See also J. Rodgers and W. Ruff, "Kepler's Harmony of the World: A Realization for the Ear," *American Scientist* 67 (1979): 286–92.

[21] According to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary,* "flecto" has the following range of meanings: 1. to bend, curve; 3. to cause to go in a different or in the opposite direction, turn, deflect, etc.; to alter or reverse; to avert one's eyes (in horror, shame, etc.); to look behind one; to change direction, turn away; 6. to direct or transfer to a given thing; to turn one's attention, proceed; 10. to soften or relax one's expression; to allow one's resolution to weaken, given way. P. G. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 712.

[22] Some examples from the *Oxford English Dictionary*: b. to bend, turn, or fold back; to give a backward bend or curve to (a thing); to re-curve; to bend (the legs); e. of bodies or surfaces, esp. such as are smooth or polished: to turn, throw, or cast back. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner eds., *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 470.

[23] Simpson and Weiner, 471.

the naked eye. This tube was one of the first versions of the refracting telescope, a device that depended purely on glass to bend rays of light. In the same year, Jacob Adriaanzoon (James Metius) filed a claim to patent a similar invention.[24] Such devices became wildly popular, sparking the sale of copies all over Europe and the New World. Thomas Harriot, who was the scientific aide to Sir Walter Raleigh on his maiden voyage to Virginia, built a version of the invention capable of magnifying objects six times. With this device, Harriot observed the heavens, creating the first detailed drawings of the moon in 1609, pictured in Figure 2.1.[25]

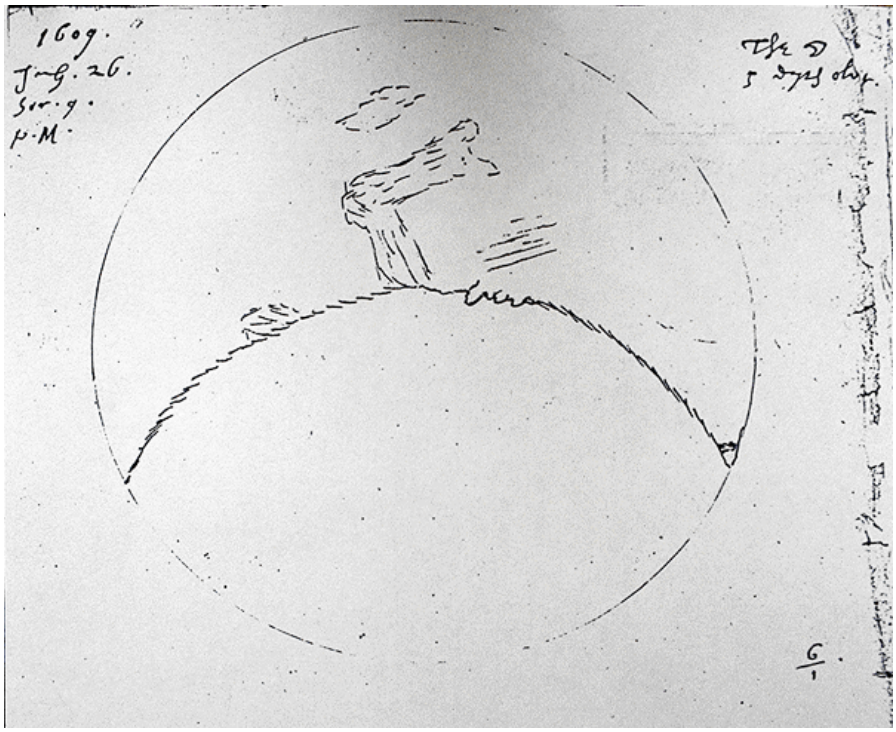

Figure 2.1 Thomas Harriot, Moon Drawing (1609)

Galileo Galilei made further advances in telescope design, building *plano-convex, plano-concave* instruments with powers of magnification at up to twenty times that of the naked eye. With his ability to observe the heavens so increased, Galileo made several important

[24] Reginald S. Clay, *The History of the Microscope* (London: Charles Griffin and Co., Ltd., 1932), 7.
[25] J. B. Zircher, *An Acre of Glass* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2005), 6.

discoveries, including the rings of Saturn, the phases of Venus and four planets orbiting Jupiter, a finding that challenged the then-standard geocentric model of the universe.[26] Further modifications to the refracting telescope were made throughout the century, by the likes of Christopher Scheiner and Christian Huygens.

In 1661, the Scottish mathematician James Gregory invented the first reflecting telescope, a device that depended on mirrors to reflect rays of light, which was capable of magnifying images to a higher degree than the refracting instrument. French scientist Guillaume Cassegrain and Englishman Isaac Newton also designed reflecting telescopes during this decade. Like Gregory's, their instruments remain in use today.[27]

The invention of the telescope was vital in advancing the science of astronomy. Before the refracting telescope, star-gazers were limited in their capacity to observe the sky. Astronomers such as Tycho Brahe and his assistant Johannes Kepler depended on tools like the sextant (which measures angles above the horizon), the azimuthal quadrant (which measures vertical and horizontal angles) and the armillary sphere (which measures angles with respect to elliptic and meridian lines) to study the universe.[28] These tools helped them make mathematical calculations about phenomena that were visible to the naked eye, but did not expand the amount of available visual information. The development of the reflecting telescope led to the foundation of observatories in Paris (1667), Greenwich (1675) and Berlin (1711).[29] Edward Ruestow emphasizes the important effects of telescope technology on contemporary knowledge: "the character of European science changed profoundly during the course of the seventeenth century. Aggressive experimentation established its

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[26] Zircher, 6. See also H. Floris Cohen, "Galileo Galilei," *Number to Sound: The Musical Way to the Scientific Revolution*, ed. Paolo Gozza (Boston: Kluwer Academic, 2000, 219-232.
[27] Zircher, 9.
[28] Zircher, 5.
[29] Zircher, 8-11.

place in scientific practice, and a new mathematical mechanics embracing both the terrestrial and celestial realms overthrew a divided Aristotelian cosmos and its qualitative, teleological physics."[30]

Parallel to the telescope, which offered philosophers opportunities to observe the heavens in more detail than ever before, the microscope expanded thinkers' ability to explore life on Earth. Cornelius Drebbel created one of the first microscopes, which became popular all over Europe. Drebbel's instruments were in use in England by 1619 and in Rome by 1622, spreading shortly thereafter to France and Italy.[31] Innovations in microscope design continued throughout the century, making microorganisms visible for the first time. By using an instrument of his own design, pictured in Figure 2.2, Robert Hooke published *Micrographica* in 1655, a book of illustrations of small objects drawn after making observations through a microscope.

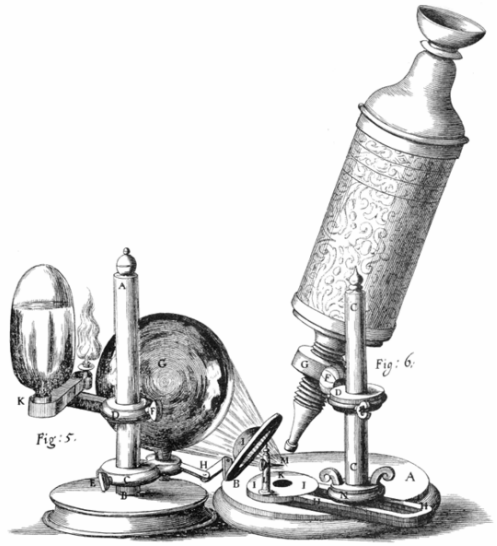

Figure 2.2 Robert Hooke's Microscope, from Scheme 1 of *Micrographia* (1665)

[30] Edward G. Ruestow, *The Microscope in the Dutch Republic: The Shaping of Discovery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.
[31] Clay, 9.

Hooke's images reveal a fascination with a world never before visible, one which was surprisingly rich in visual detail. Figure 2.3 is an example from *Micrographica*; this engraving of a flea reveals hair, scales and legs with knotted joints, highlighting the variety of textures on the body of an insect that is smaller than the head of a pin.

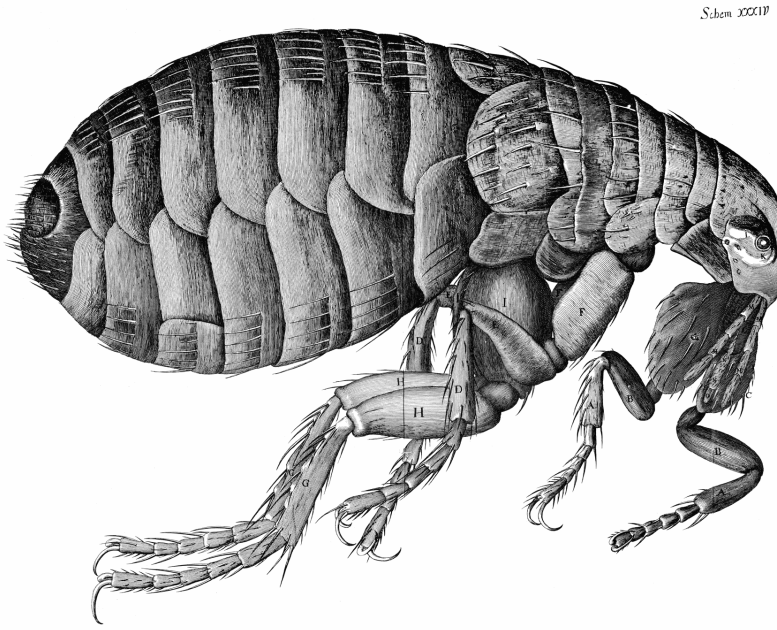

Figure 2.3 Flea, from Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*

Ruestow describes the spirit of discovery at work in such ventures; he explains that microscopes allowed scientists to access the "inexplicable diversity" of life, writing that "early microscopic observations underscored nature's capacity for endless surprises and for images that challenged the limits of the imagination."[32] Throughout the seventeenth century, natural philosophers continued to refine the microscope, with variations of simple and compound instruments created by Antonie von Leeuwenhoek, Eustachio Divini, Johann Joosten van Musschenbroek, Filippo Bonanni and John Marshall, among others.[33]

[32] Ruestow, 5.
[33] For a detailed history of the microscope in the seventeenth century, see Clay, 23-85.

Innovations in microscopic and telescopic technology were related to an increased interest in optics by the seventeenth century's leading natural philosophers. Johannes Kepler published *Ad vitellionem paralipomena, quibus astronomiae pars optica traditur* a work investigating atmospheric refraction,[34] in 1604.[35] Kepler also published *Dioptrice* in 1611. In the former work, the author calls light a "beautiful science."[36] In the latter, he attributes metaphysical properties to light, claiming that it as the "most excellent thing in the world, the matrix of the animate faculties, and the chain linking the corporeal and spiritual world."[37] René Descartes published his own optical treatise in 1637. In this work, the author presents the first published outline of what is now known as *Snell's Law,*[38] also known as *Descartes's Law* or the *Law of Refraction*, a formula describing the relationship between the angle of incidence[39] and refraction, providing an explanation for visible phenomena like rainbows. Optics proved to be an intellectual battlefield for Christiaan Huygens and Sir Isaac Newton, natural philosophers who vehemently disagreed on the behavior of light.[40] Newton presented his "Hypothesis Explaining the Properties of Light" before the Royal Society in 1675, a paper

[34] The process through which celestial objects appear to be in different places than their true locations.
[35] See J. V. Field, *Kepler's Geometrical Cosmology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Bruce Stephenson, *Kepler's Physical Astronomy* (New York: Springer Verlag, 1987); Fernand Hallyn, *The Poetic Structure of the World: Copernicus and Kepler*, trans. Donald M. Leslie (New York: Zone Books, 1990); Edward Rosen, *Three Imperial Mathematicians: Kepler Trapped Between Tycho Brahe and Ursus* (New York: Abaris Books, 1986).
[36] Johannes Kepler, *Optics: Paralipomena to Witelo & Optical Part of Astronomy*, trans. William H. Donahue (Santa Fe: Green Lion Press, 2000), 7.
[37] Quoted in Mark Pendergrast, *Mirror Mirror: A History of the Human Love Affair with Reflection* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 81.
[38] Modern historians of science generally agree that the Law of Refraction was first discovered by Willebrord Snellius (1580-1626), who never published his work. In the nineteenth century, William Whewell reclaimed Snellius's discovery, explaining that: "The person who did discover the Law of Sines (Law of Refraction) was Willebrord Snell, about 1621; but the law was first published by Descartes, who had seen Snell's papers." Rev. William Whewell, *History of the Inductive Science from the Earliest to the Present Times* (London: John H. Parker, 1837), 347.
[39] The angle of incidence is the angle between a ray striking a surface and a line perpendicular to the surface.
[40] For more on the controversy, see Pendergrast, 109-110.

suggesting that light travels in particles. Huygens refuted this theory in his *Traité de la lumière* (1690), insisting instead that light travels in waves, similar to the movements of sound.[41]

It is remarkable that these philosophers, whose accomplishments marked the beginning of modern optics, were also interested in music. Kepler considered *Harmonices mundi* (1619) to be his crowning achievement. Huygens developed an interest in music in 1661, studying the subject and eventually writing *Lettre touchant le cycle harmonique* (1691).[42] Though Newton never published on music, he studied the subject, applying its principles to other scientific pursuits. His *Optics* (1704) provides a particularly interesting example of the application of musical principles to optical inquiry; in *Book One* of this work, the author makes analogies between the seven notes of the musical scale and the seven colors in the spectrum of light. Figure 2.4 is Newton's diagram of the light spectrum, which he divides using the same proportions that govern relationships among notes on the musical scale.

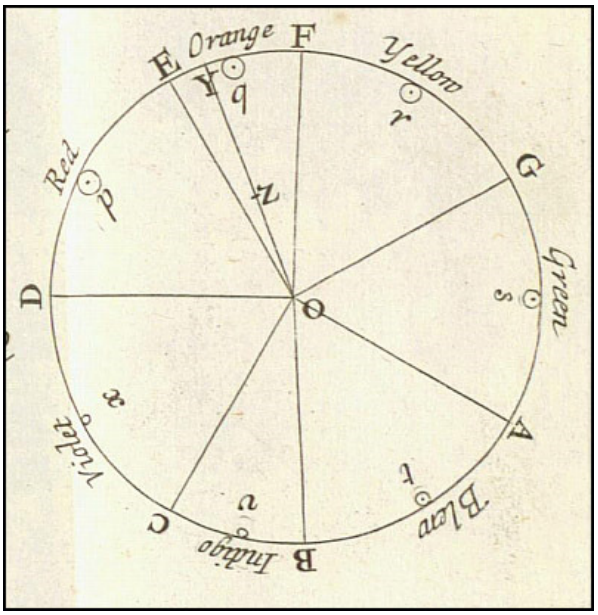

Figure 2.4 Isaac Newton, Figure 11 in Book 1 Part II of *Optics* (1704)

[41] Pendergrast, 109-110. See also Vasco Ronchi, "Chapter 5: Newton and Huygens," in *The Nature of Light: An Historical Survey*, trans. V. Barocas (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970, 159-208.
[42] In this document, Huygens described his ideas about music, including the layout for an imaginary transposing harpsichord with a 31-tone octave. See Rudolph A. Rasch, "Christiaan Huygens," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 20 September 2008).

Describing this process, Newton writes:

> With the Center O and Radius ID describe a Circle ADF, and distinguish its Circumference into seven parts DE, EF, FG, GA, AB, BC, CD, proportional to the seven Musical Tones or Intervals of the eight Sounds, *Sol, la, fa, sol, la mi, fa, sol*, contained in an eight, that is, proportional to the Number 1/9, 1/16, 1/10, 1/9, 1/16, 1/16, 1/9. Let the first Part DE represent a red colour, the second EF orange, the third FG yellow, the fourth CA green, the fifth AB blue, the sixth BC indigo, and the seventh CD violet.[43]

Descartes's first major work was *Compendium musices*, written in 1618 and published in 1650. This piece was concerned with a subject that would occupy its author throughout his life: the nature of sensory perception.[44] Descartes makes associations between the processes of experiencing sight and sound throughout his career. In his *Optics*, the author draws connections between the two senses:

> …we must suppose our soul to be of such a nature that what makes it have the sensation of light is the force of the movements taking place in the regions of the brain where the optic nerve-fibers originate, and what makes it have the sensation of color is the manner of these movements. Likewise, the movements in the nerves leading to the ears make the soul hear sounds…[45]

These thinkers were invested in both sight and sound; they prized correspondences between the form and function of both, seeking manifestations of *ut pictura poesis* in the natural world.

Advancements in the study of optics were made possible by developments in the glass trade, with lens polishing techniques perfected by men such as Galileo and Constantiin and Christiaan Huygens. Their achievements created circumstances under which the act of

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[43] Sir Isaac Newton, *Optics: Or a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections & Colours of Light* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1952), 154-155.
[44] See Albert Cohen, "René Descartes," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 31 October 2007).
[45] René Descartes, *Optics,* in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes: Volume One*, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff and Dugald Murdoch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 130-131.

looking—at one's self and at the rest of the world—became more accessible than ever before. In addition to making it possible to create advanced lenses for microscopes and telescopes, glass polishers enabled the production of affordable and accurate mirrors. Mirrors became a popular element in home decoration and a veritable trade, with the emergence of groups like the Saint-Gobain, a successful mirror manufacturing company founded in Paris in 1665.[46] Mirrored rooms—*cabinets de glaces* like the famous Hall of Mirrors at Versailles—were all the rage in France, as were pieces of furniture embedded with mirrors. Through adorning their homes with pieces of glass capable of reflecting light, members of the aristocracy attempted, quite literally, to outshine one another.[47]

An enhanced ability to use the eyes to understand the world prompted the development of art that referenced its own visual nature. Many seventeenth-century painters depict mirrors in their work, drawing the viewer's attention to the process of *looking*. Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (1656), shown in Figure 2.5, is one famous example. The gaze of each figure in this painting is directed towards two people standing outside of the frame of the image, directly where the viewer is positioned. These exterior figures are reflected in a mirror stationed directly opposite the viewer. The mirror defines for the viewer the objects of each interior figure's gaze. In so doing, it expands the amount of information available, an action Foucault describes as one that both provides and denies knowledge: "The reflection shows us quite simply, and in shadow, what all those in the foreground are looking at. It restores, as if by magic, what is lacking in every gaze…but perhaps this generosity on the part of the mirror is feigned; perhaps it is hiding as much and even more than it

[46] See Hugh Tait, "Venice and Renaissance Europe Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries," in *Five Thousand Years of Glass* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
[47] Pendergrast, 154.

reveals."[48] The mirror in this painting, an image that references and engages the sense of sight and the action of looking, provokes the imagination, asking the viewer to use the eyes to interact with its subject matter in an intimate way.

Figure 2.5 Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas* (1656)

Descartes's description of the mechanics of sight reveal a process that was believed to be extremely tactile. The author makes several analogies between sight and touch, including a comparison of the process an image undergoes to reach the eye and the process a man undergoes to make physical contact with an object. He writes: "I would have you consider light in bodies we call 'luminous' to be nothing other than a certain movement, or a very rapid and lively action, which passes to our eyes through the medium of the air and other transparent bodies, just as to his hand by means of his stick."[49] Descartes understands the process of sight as an exchange, wherein images must touch the viewer and the viewer

[48] Foucault, 15.
[49] Descartes, *Optics*, 84.

must touch images in return in order to achieve understanding. He writes: "we must acknowledge that the objects of sight can be perceived not only by means of the action in them which is directed towards our eyes, but also by the action in our eyes which is directed towards them."[50]

The association of sight with touch dates back to classical antiquity, when theories of vision were rather corporeal.[51] In the ancient world, there were five basic theories of the mechanics of sight: intromission, extramission, Platonic, Aristotelian and Stoic. The intromission and extramission theories concern us here, as their tactile nature resonates in the seventeenth century.[52] Intromission theory holds that visible objects emit tiny particles (*eidola* to the Greeks, *simulacra* to the Romans) in the form of a film retaining the object's shape. These particles move through the air to the surface of the eye, upon which they impress themselves before traveling to the soul, an act resulting in comprehension of the perceived object.[53] Lucretius describes this process in *De rerum natura* (first century BCE):

> I say, therefore, that likenesses and delicate shapes of things are cast from their outer surfaces, which are to be described as if they were membranes or skin, because the image of that thing bears an appearance and form similar to whatever thing is said to have wandered away from the shed body. First of all, because many things among the visible throw off bodies … when the cicadas drop their smooth cloaks in the summer and when calves throw off the caul from the surface of their bodies, and similarly when the slippery serpent casts aside his clothing into the thorn bush.[54]

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[50] Descartes, *Optics*, 86.

[51] Martin Jay suggests that theories of philosophy from Plato to Descartes were based on sight. Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1993), 21-82. See also Hans Jonas, "The Nobility of Sight: A Study in the Phenomenology of the Senses," in *The Phenomenon of Life: Toward a Philosophical Biology* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1982), 135-52.

[52] Descriptions of the other theories of seeing may be found in the following sources: Shadi Bartsch, *The Mirror of the Self: Sexuality, Self-Knowledge and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

[53] For a description, see Bartsch, 59.

[54] Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 42-61. My own translation.

In intromission theory, the eyes assume a passive role, acting as conduits through which images must pass in the process of perception. The active role of the *simulacra* is remarkable; this theory considers them to be material entities that make physical contact with the human body.

Extramission theory is no less tactile. This theory holds that the eyes emit rays, which touch external objects, assume their shapes and eventually return to the eyes, bringing back messages of visible forms. In the second century BCE, the Greek astronomer Hipparchus offered a description of this theory: "rays from each of the eyes, extended out to their limits as with the touch of the hands, grasp external bodies and return an apprehension of them to the sense of sight."[55]

It is important to note that by the end of the sixteenth century, the ancient notion of objects physically entering the eyes had been replaced by the idea that images representing objects were processed by the sense organs. The theories of Giovanni Battista Della Porta, who wrote in the 1590s, are representative of what Vasco Ronchi calls a "change of ideas" in scientific understandings of sight; Della Porta discusses objects "jumping" into the eye, but only in metaphorical terms.[56] Nonetheless, the ancients' idea that sight could "touch" the viewer carried into seventeenth-century discussions of the way the senses functioned. Descartes's version of emotion, described in his *Passions of the Soul,* is intensely physical. According to Descartes, passions are incited when an external stimulus enters the body via the sense organs; a record of this stimulus travels to the pineal gland, wherein the soul sits, causing it to react. When the soul feels a passion, it sends a message to the limbs via the "animal spirits," small bodies circulating through the blood stream at various speeds

[55] Bartsch, 61.
[56] Ronchi, 85.

determined by movements of the heart.[57] The speed at which the animal spirits travel causes the body to produce a specific physical and emotional reaction to the external stimulus. Appendix 1 provides an example of this process: Descartes's account of fear. Descartes describes the body in remarkably passive terms, fashioning it as a receptacle moved by external stimuli.[58] He calls the body a "patient" and the stimulus an "agent," emphasizing the extent to which the body is acted *upon* by external sources.[59] It is noteworthy that Descartes chooses sight from among all the senses to explain this process. Records of external stimuli are described in spatial terms, and the author returns to sight throughout the treatise to exemplify the various aspects of the mechanics of the passions.[60]

In seventeenth-century Europe, sight was extremely important. It was the primary sense that inspired and enabled intellectual pursuits, and was the sense through which attempts to understand the world were organized. Advancements in the technology surrounding sight influenced the artistic world, resulting in works that self-referenced the act of looking. Of all the senses, sight was uniquely capable of inspiring the mind and body to act and react. Descartes summarizes his contemporaries' beliefs about the power of this sense in the following excerpt from his *Optics*: "The conduct of our life depends entirely on

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[57] "Finally, it is known that all these movements of the muscles, and likewise all sensations, depend on the nerves, which are like little threads or tubes coming from the brain and containing, like the brain itself, a certain very fine air or wind which is called the 'animal spirits'…. For what I am calling 'spirits' here are merely bodies: they have no property other than that of being extremely small bodies which move very quickly, like the jets of flame that come from a torch. They never stop in any place, and as some of them enter the brain's cavities, others leave it through the pores in its substance. These pores conduct them into the nerves, and then to the muscles. In this way the animal spirits move the body in all the various ways it can be moved" (Descartes, *Passions of the Soul*, in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes:: Volume One,* trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff and Dugald Murdoch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 333-35).

[58] "Mechanism of our body is so composed that all the changes occurring in the movement of the spirits may cause them to open some pores in the brain more than others. Conversely, when one of the pores is opened somewhat more or less than usual by an action of the sensory nerves, this brings about a change in the movement of the spirits, and directs them to the muscles which serve to move the body in the way it is usually moved on the occasion of such an action" (Descartes, *Passions,* 341).

[59] Descartes, *Passions*, 327.

[60] Descartes calls a record of an external stimulus a "shape" (Descartes, *Passions*, 356).

our senses, and since sight is the noblest and most comprehensive of the senses, inventions which serve to increase its power are undoubtedly among the most useful there can be."[61]

Singing and Sight

Sight's position in the seventeenth century as the foremost sense raises two important historical questions: I) Knowing this context, how may we understand the role of sight in sung performances during this time? II) What relationship existed among the singer's body and voice and the spectator's eye and ear? Contemporary descriptions of sung performances offer evidence that may help us approach an answer to both questions. A poem by Giambattista Marino extolling Virginia Andreini praises both the visual and audible elements of her portrayal of the role of Monteverdi's *Arianna* (*Adone,* 7.88, published in 1623):

> Thus perhaps with her sweet song
> The lovely Adriana is wont to melt harsh sentiments,
> While with her voice and with her look
> She takes two paths to pierce men's breasts;
> Thus, Mantua, did you hear Florinda,[62]
> There in the theatres beneath your royal roofs,
> Expounding Ariadne's harsh martyrdoms
> And drawing from a thousand hearts a thousand sighs.[63]

Andreini uses both her "voice" and "look" to elicit responses from the listener, relying on sound *and* sight for expression. Though Marino's poems predate the *Passions of the Soul*, we see Descartes's theories at work in the tangible effect that the singer's voice and movements have on those who witness her performance. Andreini "pierces" the souls of audience members, becoming an external stimulus that enters the bodies of several adoring patients, causing their humors to react, eventually "drawing…a thousand sighs." A publication

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[61] Descartes, *Optics,* 81.
[62] Florinda was a stage name frequently used by Andreini.
[63] Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 384.

extolling the virtues of Anna Renzi, printed by the Venetian *Accademia degli Incogniti* in 1644, provides another example of a singer who relied on both her voice and body to present ideas:

> The action that gives soul, spirit and existence to things must be governed by the movement of the body, by gestures, by the face and by the voice, now raising it, now lowering it, becoming enraged and immediately becoming calm again; at times speaking hurriedly, at others slowly, moving the body now in one, now in another direction, drawing in the arms and then extending them, laughing and crying, now with little, now with much agitation of the hands. Our Signora Anna is endowed with such lifelike expression that her responses and speeches seem not memorized but born at that very moment. In sum, she transforms herself completely into the person she represents, and seems now a Thalia full of comic gaiety, now a Melpomene rich in tragic majesty.[64]

Descriptions of singers who were equally admired for their physical beauty and accomplished singing were not limited to Italy. *Le Parnasse François* (1743) by Évrard Titon du Tillet (1677-1762) discusses Marie Le Rochois, the French singer who created the roles of many of Lully's heroines, including *Proserpine* (1680) and *Armide* (1686). Tillet writes:

> The greatest performer and the most perfect model for declamation who had appeared on stage…with eyes close together which were, however, large, full of fire, and capable of expressing all the passions, she effaced all the most beautiful and more attractive actresses when she was on stage…. She understood marvelously well that which is called the *ritournelle*, which is played while the actress enters and presents herself to the audience, as in pantomime; in the silence, all the feelings and passions should be painted on the performer's face and be seen in her movements, something that great actors and actresses have not always understood. When she would become passionate and sing, one would notice only her on the stage.[65]

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[64] From *Le glorie della signora Anna Renzi,* quoted in Rosand (385).
[65] Évrard Titon du Tillet, "From the First Supplement to *The Parnassus of France,*" in *Source Readings in Music History, Revised Edition,* ed. Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), 572-573.

For Tillet, the power of Rochois's performances rests in her ability to represent the passions via the sense of sight. Tillet emphasizes the importance of silence, wherein Rochois conveys feeling through facial expression and movement without relying on the assistance of sound.

The symbiotic relationship between sight and sound in opera, which is inherently a theatrical genre, may seem obvious. However, it is remarkable that visible movement in concerts aimed at small audiences is no less important. Visible movement and gesture were important even in private concerts aimed at small audiences. Descriptions of intimate, private concerts performed for members of the nobility by members of late-sixteenth-century *concerti delle donne* reveal the importance of sight. A letter describing the Ferrarese soprano Laura Peverara extols this singer's physical beauty, fashioning her singing as a secondary virtue: "When his Excellency [Duke Alfonso] was at Mantua he saw a young lady who was rather beautiful, and, in addition, had the virtue of singing and playing excellently…"[66] Sight played an important role in private concerts performances given by Adriana Basile in the early seventeenth century. Monteverdi praises her abilities in the following terms: "Every Friday evening we make music in the Hall of Mirrors. Signora Adriana comes to sing in ensemble music and invests it with such power and striking beauty as to delight the senses and to turn the room almost into a new theatre…"[67] Basile's visible beauty combined with the presence of mirrors that multiply and intensify her gestures creates a performance environment that Monteverdi deems "theatrical." His use of the plural form—she delights the *senses*—tells us that the eye and ear each played a role in receiving messages conveyed through *both* visible and audible processes.

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[66] The words of Urbani, Florentine ambassador to Ferrara. Quoted in Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597*, Volume 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 11.
[67] Monteverdi writing to Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzana on June 22, 1611. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune, eds., in *The Monteverdi Companion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), 122-123.

The theatrical nature of these performances is nothing less than striking. Even the most intimate of the concerts described in the preceding pages are discussed in terms that would flatter an actor, an artist concerned with moving audiences through her words and actions. Indeed, the line between the singer and the actor in the seventeenth century was particularly fine. Sally Sanford and Julianne Baird have both emphasized the importance of acting in Baroque singing.[68] Several seventeenth-century singers from diverse geographical and temporal locations were known for their acting ability rather than the beauty of their voices. Isabelle Emerson has discussed this issue in the context of Virginia Andreini, who had extensive training in and experience performing *commedia dell'arte*, a form of improvisatory street theater.[69] Emerson notes the ties between opera and *commedia,* emphasizing the idea that Andreini was known both as an actor *and* a singer. Andreini applied acting techniques to her sung roles, becoming—quite literally—a singing actress on the operatic stage.

"Singing actresses" may be found throughout seventeenth-century Europe. Anne Bracegirdle provides another such example. Bracegirdle was one of the most adored actresses of the Restoration English stage, known for her portrayals of virginal women who eventually surrender to romantic relationships or are raped, resulting in the onset of madness.[70] Several of Bracegirdle's roles feature mad songs composed especially for her, including "I Burn," written by John Eccles for performance in Thomas D'Urfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote, Part II* (1694). "I Burn," which became the most popular song

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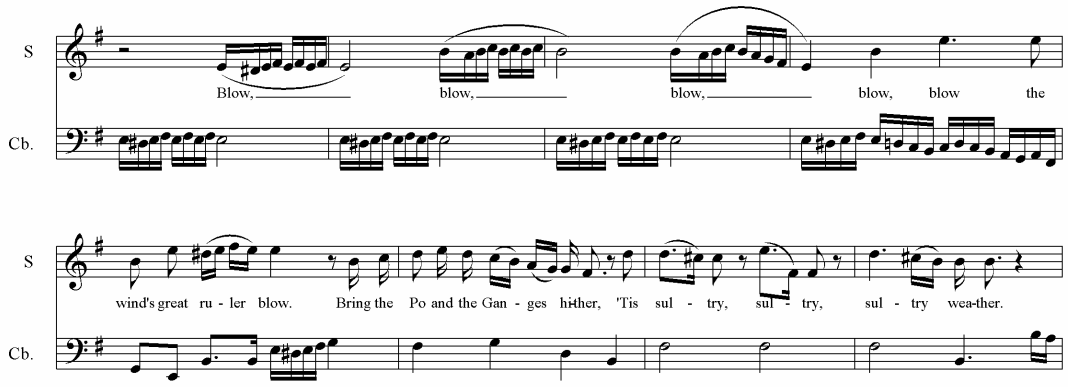
[68] See Sally Sanford, "Solo Singing 1," in *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Stewart Carter (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 5-7; Julianne Baird, "Solo Singing 2," in *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Stewart Carter (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 30-42.

[69] Isabelle Emerson, *Five Generations of Women Singers* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005), 13-15. See also Emily Wilbourne, "La Florinda: The Performance of Virginia Ramponi Andreini" (PhD Dissertation: New York University, 2008).

[70] Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 43. See also Amber Youell-Fingleton, "Anne Bracegirdle on Fire: The Historical Performance of a Mad Song," *Early-Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 4 (forthcoming, October 2009).

of its decade, requires both vocal virtuosity and immense acting talent. It features the juxtaposition of several sections of music with contrasting characters; loose recitative frames several frenzied metered sections, each of which requires the singer to portray a drastically different emotion, moving rapidly from one passion to the next. Example 2.1 demonstrates the emotional and technical range necessary for singing this piece. Measures 19-24 in this example feature a pattern of 16th notes that is repeated at various pitch levels as the singer furiously demands that the wind bring water from the Po and Ganges Rivers in order to quench her thirst. These furious melismas are followed by a seductive, sultry assertion of the heat of the speaker's lust, which is manifested in technically-difficult chromatic movement and dissonant leaps in mm. 25-26.



Example 2.1 "I burn," by John Eccles (mm. 19-26)

Bracegirdle's contemporaries lauded her ability to sing and act the piece. Both Henry Purcell and Godfrey Finger wrote songs in response to her alluring performance of it: settings of Thomas Durfey's poem "Whilst I with wounding grief."[71]

The connection between singing and acting in the seventeenth century makes it necessary to consider the visual aspects of spoken theater. Design elements in theatrical

[71] Durfey's text is published in *With and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy.* See Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 86-87.

productions mounted during this period were closely related to those in painting. Jocelyn Powell has described such connections as they were displayed on Restoration English stages.[72] After 1660, stages in London were sloped upwards to achieve three-dimensional perspective, to which sets of curtains or wooden wings extending further onstage as they progressed upstage contributed, creating a relief effect that fixed actions towards a rear vanishing point. Elaborate systems of trap doors and pulleys allowed set pieces and actors to defy gravity, descending from the skies and ascending from the earth. Restoration stages were surrounded by proscenium arches, which originated in Italian court theaters; their function was to contain action onstage as if within the frame of a painting.[73] Stages in France were arranged according to similar principles. The case of the frontispiece to John Eccles' *Theater Musick* (1699) provides an example of the prevalence of receding set pieces and the proscenium throughout Europe around the turn of the eighteenth century. This engraving is an altered version of a similar plate illustrating the Quinault-Lully opera *Roland*, which premiered at the Palais Royal Theatre in Paris in 1685. Similarities between these images (Figures 2.6 and 2.7) highlight the importance of pictorial scenography on both French and English stages. Allan Jackson, who discovered the relationship between these engravings, concludes that "the fact that the print was used to illustrate Eccles's work indicates that the design seemed to be an acceptable representation of a type of setting used in English musical productions…".[74] Christopher Braider has emphasized that stages were a

[72] Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 39-50.
[73] Stephen Orgel has emphasized the importance of the proscenium frame in providing a context for onstage action, asserting that "a frame does more than separate the viewer from the scene. It also directs his attention and provides a context for the action it contains." Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 20.
[74] Allan S. Jackson, "The Frontispiece to Eccles's *Theater Musick* 1699," *Theatre Notebook* 19 (Winter 1964/65): 49.

locus of *ut pictura poesis*; the proscenium created a performance space where the rules of *decorum*[75] were applied to costume and set design.[76]

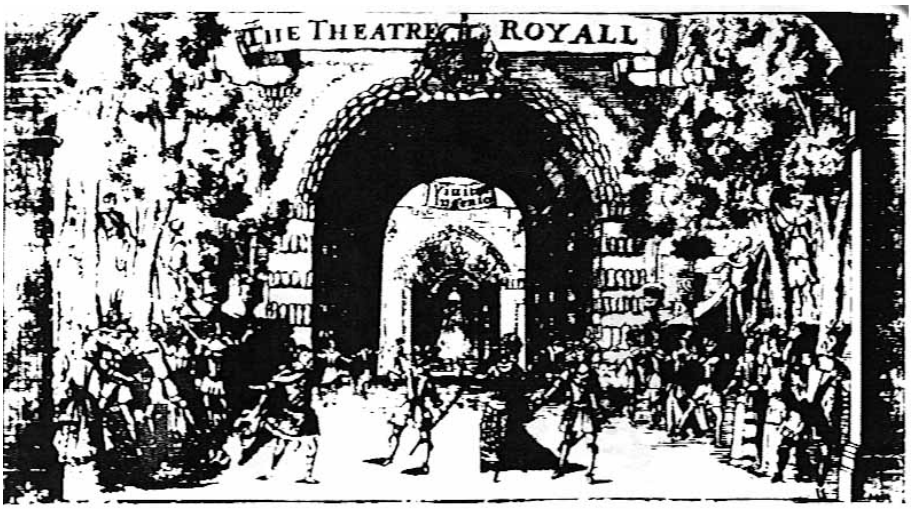


Figure 2.6 Frontispiece to John Eccles *Theater Musick* (1699)[77]

Figure 2.7 Illustrative Plate for Quinault and Lully's *Roland* (1685)[78]

[75] Lee, 34-41.
[76] Braider's description of the function of the proscenium: "setting off the play space, creating in effect a picture plane, it organizes the theatrical tableau relative to a projection-point determined in neoclassical playhouses or on the Stuart masquing stage by the *place du roi* or "state," the king's seat in the audience. In painting, unity is imposed both by the point and, above all, by *ut pictura* notions of decorum, dictating what is appropriate to painting's dignity as a poetic art." Christopher Braider, *Refiguring the Real: Picture and Modernity in Word and Image: 1400-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 93.
[77] Reproduced from Jackson.

Within the world of the pictorial stage, the actor resembled a figure in a painting. Actors relied on a codified system of gesture and movement for expression that was tied intimately to sources used by painters to express the passions.[79] Treatises like Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*[80]and Charles Le Brun's *Conférence de peinture et sculpture*[81] defined the shapes and facial expressions necessary for portraying specific emotions in visual art; Le Brun's treatise also served as a model for actors attempting to communicate with audiences. Based on the works of the rhetorician Quintilian, who insisted that training of the body *and* the voice were vital in the education of an orator,[82] treatises like John Bulwer's *Chironomia* cultivated a vocabulary of hand and body gestures that would accompany spoken words, which actors and public speakers could use to make their intentions clear.[83] As a result of this focus on the codification of the body, mime, an art form in which silent movement is used to express ideas, came into its own.[84] Through building a vocabulary of expression and movement based on these commonly-known sources, painters portrayed figures who expressed emotion in terms with which their audiences were familiar. Actors *became* live-action versions of those still figures in staged performances. Since the line between acting and singing was so fine during this time, it follows that singers must have relied on similar

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[78] Reproduced from Jackson.
[79] See Dene Barnett and Jeanette Massy-Westropp, *The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of Eighteenth-Century Acting* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1987).
[80] D. J. Gordon, "Ripa's Fate," in *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 51–74.
[81] Charles Le Brun, *The Conference of Monsieur Charles Le Brun, Chief Painter to the French King, Chancellor and Director of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture; Upon Expression, General and Particular* (London: John Smith, 1701).
[82] W. H. S. Jones, "Quintilian, Plutarch, and the Early Humanists," in *Classical Review* 21/2 (1907): 33-43. It is important to note that Quintilian favors limiting the amount of physical training (such as gymnastics and martial exercises) that an orator should undertake, admitting that some such activity is positive while it remains confined to boyhood (*Institutio Oratoria* I.xi.19). The author is much more concerned with the moral and intellectual development of the budding orator (I.xi.1-14).
[83] John Bulwer's *Chironomia* (London, 1644); Obadiah Walker's *Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory* (London, 1659); Michel Le Faucheur's *An Essay on the Actions of an Orator* (London, 1680) are but a few examples.
[84] Lincoln Kirstein, "Chapter 2: Gesture and Mime," in *Movement & Metaphor: Four Centuries of Ballet* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970).

techniques, using the prevalent vocabulary of facial and body movement to inform the visual elements of their performances. I will explore this rhetorical vocabulary in detail in Chapter 3.

Stephen Orgel has criticized modern historians of theater for equating the advent of visual perspective onstage with the rise of explicitly "visual" theater.[85] He stresses the aural nature of the word "audience," reminding us that the relatively poor lighting conditions in seventeenth-century theaters made it impossible for spectators to experience drama in purely visual terms. Orgel complicates our understanding of the way seventeenth-century theatrical productions presented ideas, maintaining that they required a symbiosis of sound and sight. Actors relied on all of the elements of oratory—passionate speech illustrated with appropriate facial and bodily gestures—to present stories and ideas. They attempted to imbue both the verbal and visual elements of their performances with equal grace, style and decorum.

This evidence suggests answers to the questions I posed a few pages ago. It seems that sight played a very important role in sung performances during the seventeenth century. There was a close relationship between sound and sight at this time, both in scientific thought and in musical and theatrical endeavors on both large and small scales. Singers were praised, both for their ability to manipulate their voices *and* for their visible attributes. Furthermore, spectators were expected to use both their eyes *and* ears in order to process messages conveyed by performers.

How might thinking about the singer in the context of the seventeenth-century actor's use of both visual and aural techniques to communicate ideas and emotions color our understanding of gesture in sung performances? First and foremost, we must elevate the

[85] Orgel, 16-17.

role of gesture from one of subservience to one considered equal to, in select situations, even more important than the act of singing. Furthermore, we must understand gesture as a vital, visceral component of sung performance, capable of affecting the emotions and beliefs of the spectator. Bonnie Gordon suggests that during the seventeenth century, human voices, particularly those belonging to women, were capable of upsetting the delicate balance of the humors in listener's bodies. She writes:

> Music, and more particularly singing, could radically alter this delicate system [of the human body] by stimulating the pulse or rebalancing the humors…the voice was assimilated into bodily processes through an analogy between the spirit, breath, and voice in which the latter coalesced with the spirit—a vaporous and airy substance or non-substance that animated the body, fusing the live but incorporeal soul with the lifeless corporeal body that it inhabited.[86]

In the context of the vibrant visual culture of the seventeenth century, it is impossible to ignore the impact of gesture on the delicately-balanced humor system. The belief that the eye was the most important of the sense organs supports the notion that sight was uniquely capable of physically affecting the spectator. It is imperative to think about gesture in the context of *ut pictura poesis*, the popular concept that verbal arts should emulate the form, content and stature of visual ones. Singing, a verbal art, was elevated in the seventeenth century by the singer's use of gesture, a form of visual expression. Communicating with gesture and music simultaneously made the seventeenth-century singer the living embodiment of this famous simile.

[86] Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 20.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SINGER'S BODY: AN INSTRUMENT OF ACTION

My previous chapter dealt with the notion of the singer as a locus of *ut pictura poesis*, ultimately concluding that she was the living embodiment of this idea, relying both on her voice *and* body for transmitting meaning in sung performances. This chapter attempts to understand the tools singers used for employing movements and gestures of their bodies to communicate the form and content of their music. In researching this chapter, I studied several treatises written by singing masters in diverse geographical locations at various points throughout the seventeenth century. I have also examined select eighteenth-century sources, whose authors were active during a significant portion of the previous century.[1] These treatises were written to instruct singers performing in a variety of contexts: Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* (France, 1636) focuses on the anatomy and physiology of the voice; Charles Butler's *The Principles of Music in Singing and Setting* (London, 1636) provides suggestions for musical composition and performance in religious services; Tosi's *Opinioni di' cantori antichi e moderni* (Italy, 1723) is a manual for singing teachers. I studied several sources (listed in the "Primary Sources" section of the bibliography), noting instances where their authors discussed the use of the body in vocal performances. My findings may be organized into three categories: I) discussions of the importance of the body; II) relating singers' uses of their bodies to other performers' movement techniques; III) instructions for using the body in sung performances. In this chapter, I will discuss my conclusions, using a broad sample of treatises to present an overview of principles available for singers interested in staging performances of seventeenth-century music with period movement.

[1] *Opinioni di' cantori antichi e moderni*, published in 1723 by Pier Francesco Tosi, is one example. While this work was published in the eighteenth century, its author was active as a singer during a significant portion of the seventeenth century. Tosi was born in 1654, and became one of those most accomplished and well-known castrato singers of his day.

The Importance of Gesture

Singing masters in diverse geographical locations and at different points in time emphasize the importance of the body in sung performances. Writing in 1636 London, Charles Butler privileges the bodily operations that engage the sense of sight rather than those aimed at the ear. He instructs singers to concern themselves with the posture of their bodies before the clarity of their voices, writing that their "first care soolde bee to sit with a decent erect posture of the Body…then…to sing as plainely as they woolde speak: pronouncing every Syllable and letter distinctly and treatably."[2] A century later in Italy, Tosi warns against emphasizing the eye at the expense of the ear, chastising singers who, having "nothing but the outward Appearance, pay that Debt to the Eyes, which they owe to the Ears."[3] In criticizing performers who focus on appearances rather than the sound of their voices, Tosi testifies to the widespread nature of performances that are aimed at the eye. Writing in France in 1636, Marin Mersenne maintains that the eye and the ear were both "entirely necessary for making the observations and experiences that serve to invent, establish, advance and perfect the arts and sciences."[4] For Mersenne, both sense organs were required for the audience to receive information and process meaning.

This focus on the body as an instrument of expression in singing is tied to the idea of the importance of visual communication during the seventeenth century. In this period, thinkers writing about singing, oratory and acting were interested the ability of the body to speak without the assistance of the voice. Mersenne devotes a chapter in *Harmonie universelle* to considering whether it is possible for mutes to express their ideas. He explains the various methods that those without the ability to speak use to communicate:

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[2] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Music in Singing and Setting* (London, 1636), 97.
[3] Pier Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song*, trans. John Ernest Galliard (London: J. Wilcox, 1742), 58.
[4] Marin Mersenne, "Harmonie Universelle," trans. Edmund LeRoy (DMA Thesis: The Juilliard School, 1978), 234.

> As for mutes, although many believe that it is impossible for them to speak otherwise than by ordinary signs they make with the hands, eyes, and other parts of the body because they cannot hear any instruction by reason of their being deaf; nevertheless there is no doubt that they can be taught to move the tongue such that they will form words, the meaning of which can be taught to them by presenting them in front of their eyes or by making them touch the things they signify.[5]

In this passage, Mersenne describes a belief that the language of the body—moving the hands, eyes and "other parts" in ways that signify meaning—transcends the limitations of speech. In his *Essay upon the Actions of the Orator*, Sir Michel Le Faucheur emphasizes the possibilities of visible gesture to communicate with the deaf and speakers of foreign languages, maintaining that gesture is often a more universal and useful tool than the spoken word:

> 'tis by Gesture alone that we communicate with the Deaf; and without this Faculty, we should have no Commerce or Conversation at all with 'em. Besides Gesture has this advantage over Pronunciation' that, by Speech we are only understood by People of our own Country and Lingua; but by Gesture, we render our Thoughts and our Passions intelligible to all Nations, indifferently, under the Sun. 'Tis as it were the common language of all Mankind, which strikes the Understanding in at our Eyes as much as Speaking does in at our Ears...it sometimes surpasses the very force of Words.[6]

The idea that gesture could provide those lacking normal speech facilities with a means of communication dates back to the ancient world; Quintilian explains that "signs take the place of language in the dumb."[7] Thomas Wilson considers gesture itself to be a form of speech, stating that "the gesture of man is the speech of his bodie, and therefore reason it is,

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[5] Mersenne, 233.
[6] Michel Le Faucheur, *An Essay upon the Actions of an Orator as to His Pronunciation and Gesture Useful Both for Divines and Lawyers, and Necessary for all Young Gentlemen, that Study How to Speak Well in Publick Done Out of French* (London: Nicolas Cox, 1680), 171.
[7] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, trans. H. E. Butler (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1920), 279.

that like as the speeche must agree to the matter, so must also the gesture agree to the minde, for the eyes are not given to man onely to see, but also to shewe and set forth the meaning of his mind…."[8] Abraham Fraunce believes that gesture is a more universal form of communication than speech, claiming that "gesture and action, which is both more excellent and more universall than voice: as belonging not onlie to those that use the same speech, but generallie to all people, yea to beasts and senceles creatures…."[9]

The idea that gesture was an effective tool for communication in the early modern period is evident in the proliferation of the dumb show, a theatrical genre that was completely pantomimed. Twentieth-century specialist in English literature Dieter Mehl has described the abundance of the Elizabethan dumb show, whose roots lie in the Italian *intermedi*, detailing its proliferation even in spoken drama, where it often adds insightful visual commentary to the plot."[10] In *Hamlet*, for example, the pantomimed *Murder of Gonzago* (Appendix 2) provides moral commentary on recent, masked political events in Denmark; this play-within-a-play illustrates the murder of a duke and the marriage between his wife and brother.

Appendix 3 is a dumb show written to be performed before Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (1607). The outline for this play-before-a-play reveals the importance of visual elements in storytelling. The piece relays meaning through manipulating the characteristics associated with Truth, an image well-known because of its inclusion in contemporary emblem books. At the beginning of the play, Truth stands onstage with Time. In *Iconologia*, Cesare Ripa had depicted Truth as a naked beauty, standing tall and alert

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[8] Thomas Wilson, *Wilson's Art of Rhetorique 1560*, ed. G. H. Mair (New York: Clarendon Press, 1909), 211.
[9] Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetoric* (1588), ed. Ethel Seaton (Oxford: Luttrel Society, 1950), 120.
[10] Mehl writes that "dumb show and drama are on the one hand very sharply contrasted, but on the other closely linked; the one throws light on the other." Deiter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show: The History of a Dramatic Convention* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1964), 116.

astride a globe, holding the sun in one hand and an open book in the other. Figure 3.1 is *Verity*, from an early-eighteenth-century edition of Ripa's treatise translated by Pierce Tempest and illustrated by Isaac Fuller.

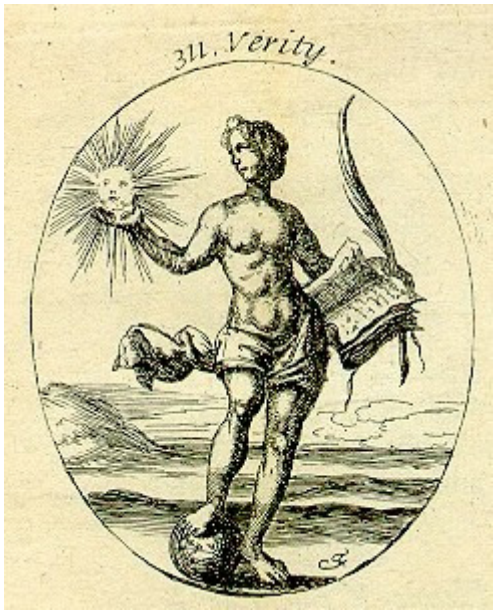

FIG. 311. Veritá: VERITY.

This naked Beauty, holds a Sun in her right Hand; in her left, a Book open, with a Palm; under one Foot the Globe of the World.

Naked, becauſe *downright Simplicity* is natural to her. The Sun ſhews her great Delight in *Clearneſs*. The Book, that the Truth of Things may be found in good *Authors*. The Palm, her *Riſing* the more ſhe is depreſs'd. The Globe, that being *immortal*, ſhe is the ſtrongeſt of all Things in the World, and therefore tramples upon it.

Figure 3.1 Cesare Ripa's *Verity* (1709)

Unlike this depiction, Truth is represented by Dekker as an ill woman asleep on a rock. Her diminished physical state indicates that she does not perform her traditional function. After a funeral procession passes, however, Truth awakes. She and Time exit and promptly reemerge; now she bears her traditional trappings: light, which she uses in tandem with removing funeral veils to astonish the members of the funeral procession, and a book, with which she educates the Fairy Queen. This change suggests that Truth may be tested, but will

ultimately prevail, a message revealed in purely visual terms. In the words of John Barton, "nothing is needful to be spoken."[11]

Source Material

While many singing treatises emphasize the importance of visual communication, few give concrete instructions on the process of doing so. To understand how singers would have used their bodies as communicative tools in the seventeenth century, therefore, it is imperative to investigate the other arts that singing teachers required their students to master. Writers on rhetoric during this time based their work on the models of the ancients, which were translated and circulated freely; as such, instruction by Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian provides additional information about the ideas on which seventeenth-century oratorical practice was based.[12]

Oratory is often invoked as a model for good singing. Tosi suggests that modulations in the voices of orators are, in essence, a form of song: "The Charms of the human Voice, even in Speaking are very powerful. It is well known that in Oratory a just Modulation of it is of the highest Conssequence [sic]."[13] Charles Butler insists that music and speech are intertwined:

> Quintilian sheweth, where he saith, that Grammar cannot be perfect without Musick…and again, that Grammar is under Musick & that the same must be taught them both…for Musik it self, the Philosopher concludeth the speciall necessity thereof in breeding of Children, partly from its

[11] John Barton, *The Art of Rhetorick Concisely and Completely Handled* (Staffordshire: Nicolas Alsop, 1634), 35.
[12] Here are but a few examples of classical works on rhetoric in circulation during the seventeenth century: Aristotle, *Aristotle's Rhetoric or the True Grounds and Principles of Oratory; Shewing the Right Art of Pleading and Speaking in Full Assemblies and Courts of Judicature* (London: Randal Taylor, 1686); Marcus Tullius Cicero, *M. Tullius Cicero de oratore ad Q. fratrem es mss. recensuit Thomas Cockman* (Oxford: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1696); Quintilian, *De institutione oratoria libri duodecim cum duplici indice, rerum & locutionum altero, altero auctorum: ex tribus codicibus mss. & octo impressis emendavit, atque lectiones variantes adjecit Edmundus Gibson; accedunt emendationum specimen, et Tribunus Marianus, declamatio, nunc primum ex codice ms. edita.* (Oxford: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1693).
[13] Tosi in Agricola, iv.

> naturall delight, and partly from the efficiacy it hath, in moving affections and virtues.[14]

For Butler, oratory and music have the same goal: to move the affections of the audience. To do so, the orator and the singer must rely on many of the same tools for stirring the passions. Quintilian himself connects the histories of singing and rhetoric. He explains that Gaius Gracchus, a leading orator of his age, accompanied his speeches with a pitch pipe in order to choose the most affective tones at "which his voice was to be pitched."[15] He also describes Pythagoras, who was able to calm the tempers of men who "were led astray by their passions" by having a piper "change her strain to a spondaic measure."[16] For Quintilian, music was a vital part of rhetoric; orators chose to speak in deliberate tones and meters that would elicit the desired responses from their audiences. George Puttenham evokes the same musical progenitors for poetry and rhetoric: Amphion and Orpheus.[17]

Early modern rhetorical treatises tend to divide their subject into two parts: elocution, or the structuring of speech, and pronunciation, described by Dudley Fenner as "garnishing the manner of utterance."[18] Pronunciation has two parts: 1) speaking words and 2) using the body to reinforce their meaning to auditors. Masters of rhetoric consider the composition and performance of speeches to be radically different tasks. Several tomes on the subject focus solely on composition. Thomas Blount's *The Academie of Eloquence* (1654) is one example; this work provides a detailed explanation of how one should choose and organize rhetorical devices in writing while providing no information on the act of executing

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[14] Butler, 2.
[15] Quintilian (I.x.27), 173.
[16] Quintilian (I.x.32), 175.
[17] George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy: A Critical Edition*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2007), 34. Puttenham himself writes that Amphion "built up cities and reared walls with the stones that came in heaps to the sound of his harp, figuring thereby the mollifying of hard and stony hearts by his sweet and eloquent persuasion" and Orpheus "assembled the wild beasts to come in herds to hearken his music by that means made them tame…he brought the rude and savage people to a more civil and orderly life…" (96).
[18] Dudley Fenner, *The Arts of Logike and Rhetorike* (London, 1584).

a speech. A significant number of authors do emphasize the importance of pronunciation. For Hobbes, "Pronunciation, or Action are in some degree necessary for an Orator."[19] Le Faucheur describes an incident in which a speaker's success was completely reliant on his pronunciation ability; in print, his speeches were unsuccessful. Le Faucheur insists that this writer's published speeches failed, because they "had neither the Harmony of his delicate Voyce…nor the Beauties of his fine Mien and handsome Gesture"; their merit resided in the ability of their author to perform them live.[20]

Singing masters also likened their art to the actor's craft. Though Tosi doubts that a performer could at once be a flawless singer *and* actor, he holds this possibility as ideal:

> I do not know if a perfect Singer can at the same time be a perfect Actor; for the Mind being at once divided by two different Operations, he will probably incline more to one than the other: It being, however, much more difficult to sing well than to act well, the Merit of the first is beyond the second. What a Felicity would it be, to posses both in a perfect degree![21]

Though Tosi doubts the potential for the master singer to be an equally accomplished player, several performers were known for their abilities to both sing *and* act; some of these singers were discussed in Chapter 2 (pp. 60-63).

In the preface to *Love's Kingdom: a Pastoral Tragi-Comedy*, Richard Flecknoe draws a parallel between the processes of acting and singing well. He compares the discrepancy between "docile and excellent Actors" like Nathaniel Field and Richard Burbidge, famous for "wholly transforming himself into his Parte,"[22] and a "common" Actor on the one hand with "a Ballad-singer who only mouths it and an excellent singer, who knows all his Graces,

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[19] Thomas Hobbes, *A Briefe of the Arte of Rhetoricke; Containing in Substance All That Aristotle Hath Written in His Three Books on the Subject* (London: Thomas Coates, 1637), 153.
[20] Le Faucheur, 8.
[21] Tosi in Agricola, 152.
[22] Richard Flecknoe, *A Short Treatise on the English Stage &c* (London: R. Wood, 1664), 6. This work was published with *Love's Kingdom A Pastoral Trage-Comedy Not As It Was Acted at the Theatre near Lincolns Inn, But As It Was Written, And Since Corrected.*

and can artfully vary and modulate his Voice, even to know how much breath he is to give to every syllable" on the other hand.[23]

Gesture was a key component of seventeenth-century acting. Hardie Albright emphasizes the role of physicality in acting during this period, describing stage directions embedded within Shakespeare's verse and Molière's use of the body to express ideas; the latter often relied on silhouettes rather than words to convey information.[24] In his *Apology for Actors*, Thomas Heywood describes gesture as a necessary component of performance:

> Tully, in his booke *Ad Caium Herennium*, requires five things in an orator—invention, disposition, eloqution, memory, and pronunciation; yet all are imperfect without the sixth, which is action, for be his invention never so fluent and exquisite, his disposition and order never so composed and formall, his eloquence and elaborate phrases never so materiall and pithy, his memory never so firme and retentive, his pronunciation never so musicall and plausive, yet without a comely and elegant gesture, a gratious and bewitching kinde of action, a naturall and familiar motion of the head, the hand, the body, and a moderate and fit countenance sutable to all the rest…a delivery and sweet action is the glosse and beauty of any discourse that belongs to a schollar.[25]

Here, Heywood insists that the five components of oratory outlined by Cicero are rendered ineloquent without the use of the body to illustrate and amplify words and ideas.[26]

Just as the crafts of acting and oratory were often likened to the art of singing, the arts of the actor and the orator were compared. Flecknoe describes similarities between men of these professions, claiming that the actor "hath all the parts of an excellent Orator."[27] His view is not uncommon. Le Faucheur suggests that the Roman orator Hortensius was a model for contemporary actors, explaining that he

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[23] Flecknoe, 7.
[24] Hardie Albright, *Acting: The Creative Process* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1980), 152-172.
[25] Thomas Heywood, *The Actor's Vindication: Containing Three brief Treatises viz I) Their Antiquity, II) Their Ancient Dignity, III) The True Use of their Quality* (London: G. E., 1658), 29.
[26] The Roman orator Cicero (106-43 BCE) was sometimes referred to as Tully, a derivative from his full name: Marcus Tullius Cicero.
[27] Flecknoe, 7.

> excel'd so much in mute gestures that two of the famousest Comedians of his time, Esopus and Roscius, always made it their business to seek him out when he pleaded…on purpose to improve themselves; to carry away his fine Gestures with them, and to practice on Stage what they had learned at the Barr.[28]

Sir Richard Baker defends actors by granting them responsibility for the origin of oratory, insisting that "there had never been so good orators, if there had not first been Players…[because orators] have learned the gracefulness of their action from Players. Demosthenes from Satyrus; and Cicero from Roscius."[29] The Jesuit theater director, producer, playwright and teacher Franz Lang draws explicit parallels among music, visual art, rhetoric and drama, maintaining that the ideal stage director is well-trained in all of these areas, as well as Latin and psychology.[30]

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[28] Le Faucheur, 177.
[29] Sir Richard Baker, *Theatrum Redivium* (London, T. R: 1661), 37.
[30] Carl Max Haas, *Das Theater der Jesuiten in Ingolstadt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistlichen Theaters in Süddeutschland* (Lechte: Emsdetten, 1958), 76.
[31] Le Faucheur, 177.
[32] Sir Richard Baker, *Theatrum Redivium* (London, T. R: 1661), 37.

rhetoric and drama, maintaining that the ideal stage director is well-trained in all of these areas, as well as Latin and psychology.[33]

Writers on oratory sometimes demean actors, denying a connection between the two arts. Le Faucheur, for example, accuses actors of making "ill use on't [their ability to move audiences]; in prostituting it to their own ends of interest and appetite."[34] The denial of the connection between the orator and the actor likely stems from the social position of the actor, which was historically much lower than his counterparts at the bar. The aims of the orator, after all, were considered to be lofty and moral, while the actor's primary goal was to entertain.[35] In reality, the use of the body in both practices was similar. Several writers draw parallels between the gestures used by actors and orators, maintaining that their main difference lies in the magnitudes of gestures required for the stage and at the bar; the latter should be more restrained than the former.

Charles Gildon supplements Le Faucheur's perspective in his treatise on the life and practices of Thomas Betterton (ca. 1635-1710), a prominent actor and theater manager in London. Interestingly enough, nearly 250 years after the publication of this work, Wilbur Samuel Howell discovered that Gildon made several unacknowledged borrowings from the English translation of Le Faucheur's *Traitté de l'action de l'orateur* (1680).[36] Regardless of this apparent plagiarism, Gildon's treatise provides useful information for the present study. Gildon offers interesting insights into the practices and values of Betterton and his contemporaries, and the fact that its author's extensive borrowings were only unearthed in

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[33] Carl Max Haas, *Das Theater der Jesuiten in Ingolstadt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistlichen Theaters in Süddeutschland* (Lechte: Emsdetten, 1958), 76.
[34] Le Faucheur, 23.
[35] For information on the status of actors in Antiquity, see Catherine Edwards, "Playing Romans: Representations of Actors and the Theatre," *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 98-137; Karen Bassi, *Acting Like Men: Gender, Drama, and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).
[36] Wilbur Samuel Howell, "Sources in the Elocutionary Movement in England: 1700-1748," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 45/1 (February 1959): 1-18. See in particular section 4, pp. 9-12.

the 1950s speaks to the plausibility of his work's depiction of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century acting practice. Howell adds that Le Faucheur and Gildon have different foci; the former is primarily concerned with the voice, while the latter treats the voice as "subordinate to gesture."[37] Additional details suggested by Gildon's focus on gesture offer supplementary information that is useful here and throughout this chapter. Gildon explains that similar gestures "will be of use to the Bar and the Pulpit, as well as the Stage, provided, that the Student allow a more strong, vivid and violent Gesture to the Plays, than to either of the other." [38]

Gesture is no less important in oratory than in acting. The translator's preface to Le Faucheur's treatise insists that "a Genteel regular Movement of the Body, goes a long way in the Character of a Publick Orator; for there is nothing so taking or so much admir'd as that which is ACTED to the Life…. So that Gesture, in fine, is not improperly called the Eloquence of the Body and the last Accomplishment of Speech."[39] Le Faucheur himself believes that a command of "Action," which consists of both speech *and* gesture, determines the "Orator's Fate."[40] Wilson maintains that gesture defines the orator's ability to succeed, warning that "as we ought to have good regard, for the utterance of our words, so we ought to take heede that our gesture be comely, the which both being well observed, shall encrease fame, and get estimation universally."[41] Quintilian insists that "the temper of the mind can be inferred from the glance and gait…"[42] and understands that gesture, like other forms of

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[37] Howell, 12.
[38] Charles Gildon, *The Life and Times of Mr. Thomas Betterton The Late and Eminent Tragedian Wherein the Action and Utterance of the Stage, Bar, and Pulpit, are Distinctly Considered* (London: Robert Gosling, 1710), 57.
[39] Le Faucheur, x.
[40] Le Faucheur, 2-3.
[41] Wilson, 221.
[42] Quintilian, 279.

visual art, has the ability to "penetrate into our innermost feelings with such power that at times they seem more eloquent than language itself."[43]

Both actors and orators are advised to take cues from visual art in formulating guidelines for visual communication. Thomas Heywood likens oratory to painting in both form and function, maintaining that "oratory is a kind of speaking picture…painting, likewise, is dumbe oratory."[44] Baker compares acting and painting, maintaining: "when an Actor presents himself on the Stage, he is but a picture, and when he speaks, he is but a Storie...so we may say as truly that a Player, is a speaking Picture, or a Historie in person."[45] Quintilian calls for the orator to study paintings and statues when seeking tools for bodily eloquence, describing the need for such attention in the following terms: "in all his pleadings the orator should keep two things in view, what is becoming and what is expedient. But it is often expedient and occasionally becoming to make some modification in the time-honored order. We see the same thing in pictures and statues."[46] Later in this passage, Quintilian draws on depictions of characters in painting and sculpture as models for the orator's behavior at the bar. He points to the example of Appeles painting Antigonus in profile in order to "conceal the blemish caused by the loss of one eye," suggesting that orators create verbal equivalents to visual symbolism by concealing pieces of information "either because they ought not to be disclosed or because they cannot be expressed as they deserve."[47]

Quintilian, Heywood and Baker make connections between visual art and speech on two levels. First, they suggest that actors and orators should view depictions of emotions in visual art as models for how to hold and move the body. Visual art was itself highly

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[43] Quintilian, 281.
[44] Heywood, 20.
[45] Baker, 42-43.
[46] Quintilian, 293.
[47] Quintilian, 293.

rhetorical at this time, as emblem books provided instructions for artists on how to make their pictures "speak."[48] These writers also draw connections among the functions of visual art, acting and oratory; all of these forms of expression serve the same purpose: moving the passions of the listener.

The interdependent relationship between the realms of visual and verbal rhetoric in the early modern period is exemplified in George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). In this treatise, Puttenham assigns highly emblematic nicknames to figures of speech and rhetorical gestures. Frank Wingham and Wayne A. Rebhorn have observed a connection in Puttenham's writing between "figure" and "figure of speech," pointing to the visual culture of Elizabethan England as an environment that would support a connection between these arenas.[49] Puttenham essentially describes rhetorical figures terms of visual emblems, connecting oratory with the social codes of his culture, which were highly visual in themselves.[50] For example, Puttenham assigns the nickname "The Doubtful" to the figure "Aporia," a figure expressing real or simulated doubt, "because oftentimes we will seem to cast perils and make doubt of things, when by a plain manner of speech we might affirm or deny him."[51]

Connections among singing, oratory, acting and visual art broaden the range of sources available to the singer interested in seventeenth-century gesture. Though singing treatises emphasize the importance of using the body to convey meaning, they relay frustratingly little information about *how* to do so. It is imperative, therefore, to consider

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[48] For more on emblem books and rhetoric, see Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (New York: Longman Publishing Group, 1994).
[49] Wingham and Rayborn's introduction to Puttenham, 33-35.
[50] For information about the visual nature of Elizabethan England, see William A. Dyrness, "England and the Visual Culture of the Reformation," *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 90-141.
[51] Puttenham. 311.

acting, oratory and visual arts treatises when trying to understand singers' use of their bodies during this time for visual expression.

Using the Body

The following section outlines principles of gesture and movement as suggested in seventeenth-century singing treatises, as well as several oratorical and acting sources (see the "Acting and Rhetoric" section of the bibliography). After summarizing general principles, I will discuss details regarding the two most important parts of the body in terms of gesture and movement: I) the head, face and eyes and II) the hands.

General Principles

The singing, acting and rhetorical treatises examined for this chapter articulate four principles governing the use the body as an instrument of action, each of which is described below. It is important to note that these are guiding principles and not hard-and-fast rules. Even during the seventeenth century, gestures were suggested rather than prescribed. Franz Lang is critical of "circular arguments, crises, calumnies, dicta, bitterness and derision" surrounding arguments about adhering to the rules of drama dictated by the ancients, such as Aristotle's unities of time, place and action.[52] He calls for reinterpreting theatrical rules in accordance with pervasive aesthetic standards of the present, concluding "that recent poets do not behave badly if they study moderately the rules of the ancients to accommodate them to the spirit of our times, indeed, sticking to their footsteps, insofar as they are able; nevertheless giving somewhat more to one's own freedom than the strict severity of the ancients allows."[53] Lang's attitude may serve as a model in the present; the guidelines below

[52] Franz Lang, *Dissertatio de actione scenica, cum figures eandem explicantibus, et observationibus quibusdam de arte comica…. Accessserunt imagines symbolicae pro exhibitione e vesitu theatrali* (Monachii: Mariae Magdalenae Riedlin, 1727), 66. Though Lang's treatise was published in 1727, it is possible that he began writing it as early as 1696. See Ronald G. Engle, "Lang's Discourse on Stage Movement," *Educational Theatre Journal 22:2* (May 1970): 179-187.
[53] Lang, 85 (Quoted in Engle, 182-183).

may be used in conjunction with modern acting techniques to expand the tools available to the modern performer for staging pieces of music.

1. Maintaining Decorum

Seventeenth-century singers were encouraged to obey the rules of decorum that governed contemporary social interactions. Maintaining decorum was the most important element of gesture from this period, governing every other principle of movement. An important component of decorum is modeling the carriage of the body after members of the nobility. Tosi instructs singers to develop their movements onstage by studying behavior of noblemen, writing that "the best School is the Nobility, from whom every thing that is genteel is to be learned."[54] Conduct was an important part of the education of young elites during the seventeenth century. Manuals like Antoine de Courtin's *The Rules of Civility* (1671) and Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo* (1558)—on which Courtin's treatise was modeled—provide highly detailed instructions on how to behave in compliance with contemporary mores and social codes, with each person acting in a manner appropriate to his age and social status and the status of those with whom he interacts.[55] Such behavior is tied to the idea of decorum in painting; Lee explains that early modern artists depicted human beings with "physique, gesture, bearing, and facial expression" appropriate to their sex, age and social status.[56]

Modeling behavior after the nobility meant that singers were expected to carry and move their bodies with deliberation and control. Puttenham makes the connection between the notions of seemly carriage and social decorum explicit:

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[54] Tosi in Agricola, 144.
[55] See, for example, Antoine de Courtin, *The Rules of Civility*, *Translated from the French* (London: J. Martyn, 1671).
[56] Rensselaer W. Lee, "Chapter 5: Decorum," in *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1967), especially p. 35.

> ..*seemliness*, that is to say, for his good shape and utter appearance well pleasing the eye. We call it also comeliness for the delight it bringeth coming towards us, and to that purpose may be called *pleasant approach*, so as every way to seek to express this…*decorum* of the Latins, we are fain in our vulgar tongue to borrow the term which our eye only for his noble prerogative over all the rest of the senses doth usurp, and to apply the same to all good, comely, pleasant, and honest things.[57]

Several writers condemn speakers who neglect to regulate their carriage and movement. Butler insists that singers' first concern should be to maintain control, avoiding gestures that are not carefully and meticulously planned. He writes:

> Concerning the Singers, their first care soolde bee to fit with a decent erect posture of the Body, without all ridiculous and uncoomly gesticulations, of Hed, or Hands, or any other Part; then…to sing as plainely as they woolde speak: pronouncing every Syllable and letter distinctly and treatably. And in their great variety of Tones, to keepe stil and equal Sound: that one voice droun not an other.[58]

For Butler, who discusses music within the context of church services, "idle and careless gesture, all illfavoured distorting and disfiguring of the countenance"[59] is unbecoming of a minister of God and upsets the divine order of the earth and cosmos. Butler calls a lack of control "a disgrace to the Divine Service."[60] Heywood makes an explicit demand for bodily decorum, calling upon the actor "to keepe a decorum in his countenance."[61]

Good posture is perhaps the most important element of bodily decorum. Le Faucheur is critical of those who "thrust out the *Belly* and throw back the *Head*,"[62] citing the ancients as models for admonishing behavior that is uncontrolled and unbecoming. Indeed, Quintilian warns against poor posture, writing "we must take care not to protrude the chest

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[57] Puttenham, 348.
[58] Butler, 97-98.
[59] Butler, 116.
[60] Butler, 117.
[61] Heywood, 29.
[62] Le Faucheur, 194.

or stomach, since such an attitude arches the back, and all bending backwards is unsightly. The flanks must conform to the gesture; for the motion of the entire body contributes to the effect…Cicero holds that the body is more expressive than even the hands."[63] Gildon calls for "Government, Order, and Balance…of the whole Body,"[64] criticizing those who "thrust out the belly, and throw back the head," gestures he calls "unbecoming and indecent."[65] Fraunce orders the speaker to "stand upright & straight as nature hath appointed: much wavering and overcurious and nice motion is verie ridiculous."[66]

The above passages illuminate the prevailing viewpoint that the singer should carry herself with a sense of order and control. The body was to be held as if a sculpted statue, with a taut midsection and the head held upright. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 present idealized depictions of Marcantonio Pasqualini (1614-1691), a famous castrato, and the god Apollo, ruler over the sun and music. These images display a remarkable correlation between two depictions of idealized bodies. Sacchi's depictions of Pasqualini and the god (Apollo) who crowns him with laurel feature heads positioned upright, facing the audience, and torsos held tall with concave stomachs. Bernini's statue of Apollo and the Apollo Belvedere, the Roman statue on which it is based (Figure 3.4) feature similar traits.

Deliberate deportment was important, because it provided the audience with information about the age, social status and emotional state of the character that the singer was representing onstage. Quintilian warns that "we need to be careful about our gait and the attitudes in which we stand,"[67] as the way a singer holds herself conveys information about her character. Wright explains that different gaits convey a variety of information to

[63] Quintilian, 309.
[64] Gildon. 57.
[65] Gildon, 73.
[66] Fraunce, 120.
[67] Quintilian, 309-311.

audiences. "To walke majestically (that is by extending thy legs forth, and by drawing thy body backe, with a slowe and stately motion)" shows a man "with a proud minde…which few can tolerate" unless in a soldier, prince or general.[68] By contrast "to trippe, to jet, or any such light pace" indicates a light, carefree mental state which "commeth not grave men."[69]

Figure 3.2 Andrea Sacchi's *Marcantonio Pasqualini Crowned by Apollo* (1641)

[68] Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde* (London: V. B., 1601), 214-215.
[69] Wright, 215.

Figure 3.3 Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* (1622-24)

Figure 3.4 *Apollo Belvedere* (between 350 and 325 BCE)

In order to create control over her body, the singer was expected to observe herself in practice. Several writers stress the important role played by mirrors in the singer's quest to learn to use the body to communicate. Tosi urges students "sometimes [to] sing before a Looking-glass, not to be enamoured with his own Person, but to avoid those convulsive Motions of the body, or of the Face (for so I call the Grimaces of an affected Singer) which, when they have took Footing, never leave him."[70] Gildon and Le Faucheur explain that the celebrated orator Demosthenes practiced in front of a mirror, suggesting that students of acting and rhetoric emulate this practice.[71] Le Faucheur extols the mirror's ability to help the speaker "observe his Gestures the better, and be able to distinguish between right and wrong, decent and indecent Actions."[72] Gildon emphasizes that observing action in the mirror will help the actor become aware of the body, creating a harmony of the "Parts with the Whole and the Whole with the Parts."[73] Thus, the mirror aids the singer in judging the merit of her actions. Le Faucheur maintains that the mirror helps the speaker "easily discover…any thing that is *unhandsome* and *disagreeable*, either in your *Habit* or your *Gesture*; and any *Action* again…that adds *Grace* to your person and *force* to your *Discourse*."[74] In lieu of a mirror, performing a speech in front of a friend with good judgment will suffice.[75] Feedback leads to the singer cultivating the ability to monitor constantly and control her posture and movement.

2. Achieving Balanced Variety

The seventeenth-century singer was expected to imbue her movements with a sense of variety. In oratory, variety is a vital part of pronunciation. Good speakers vary their vocal

[70] Tosi in Agricola, 88-89.
[71] Demosthenes (384-322 BCE) was a prominent Greek statesman and orator.
[72] Le Faucheur, 175.
[73] Gildon, 55.
[74] Le Faucheur, 176.
[75] Le Faucheur, 176.

tones, choosing to express each word, idea and emotion with a unique, appropriately affective vocal color. Obadiah Walker describes the importance of this phenomenon in the following terms: "men are both eased and delighted with perpetual variety, and change, so 'tis in *Pronunciation*; the varying whereof yields a great delight to the ear, but also as great an ease and refreshment to the voice."[76] As gesture is a key part of pronunciation, bodily postures and movements were expected to reflect vocal variation.[77] Fraunce articulates this principle in the following terms: "The gesture must follow the change and varietie of the voice, answering thereunto in every respect: yet not parasiticallie as stage plaiers use, but gravelie and decentlie as becommeth men of greater calling."[78] Gildon extols variety, because of its ability to give "admiration to every thing it adorns, loses likewise that Genteelness, and Grace, which engaged the Attention by pleasing the eye."[79] Franz Lang suggests that the actor perform similar gestures with different affects, maintaining that "it is wrong to make a gesture repetitively and to do it in the same way each time."[80] Le Faucheur praises variety's ties to naturalism. He warns against standing "immovable as a May-Pole," maintaining that "*God Almighty* having made the *Body* of such *movable Meen* of such *Members* as to dispose it of *Motion*."[81] He calls a lack of variety "*disagreeable* and *ungenteel*,"[82] linking its absence with a want of decorum. Cicero provides a description of the many varieties in color that the human voice is capable of producing:

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[76] Obadiah Walker, *Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory Collected for the Use of a Friend a Young Student* (London: J. G. for R. Royston, 1659), 120.
[77] In Book I, Cicero calls for "changing intonation of the voice" (15). Quintilian advocates "inflexions of the voice, of which a great variety are required in pleading. ..eloquence does vary both tone and rhythm, expressing sublime thoughts with elevation, pleasing thoughts with sweetness, and ordinary with gentle utterance, and every expression of its art is in sympathy with the emotions of which it is the mouthpiece" (171).
[78] Fraunce, 120.
[79] Gildon, 58.
[80] Lang, 38 (Quoted in Engle, 185).
[81] Le Faucheur, 179.
[82] Le Faucheur, 179.

> For the tones of the voice are keyed up like the strings of an instrument, so as to answer to every touch, high, low, quick, slow, forte, piano, while between all of those in their several kinds there is a medium note; and there are also various modifications derived from these, smooth or rough, limited or full in volume, tenuto or staccato, faint or harsh, diminuendo or crescendo. For there are none of these varieties that cannot be regulated by the control of art; they are the colours available for the actor, as for the painter, to secure variety.[83]

It is important to note that these writers warn against excessive variety, arguing that it endangers decorum as much as a lack of variation does. Le Faucheur demands that the body neither "*change* Place nor Posture every moment."[84] Echoing Le Faucheur, Gildon calls changing "Place and Posture of the Body…every Moment…trifling and light."[85] Singers were encouraged to strike a balance, varying their actions just enough create a sense of controlled and deliberate visual diversity.

3. Fostering Harmony Among Speech, Idea and Action

The seventeenth-century singer was expected to use gestures that enhanced the ideas conveyed in her songs, thus ensuring the maintenance of decorum by creating harmony among idea, word and action. According to Quintilian, "appropriate" delivery is that which adapts "the delivery to the subjects on which we are speaking."[86] He goes on to warn that "if gesture and the expression of the face are out of harmony with the speech, if we look cheerful when our words are sad, or shake our heads when making a positive assertion, our words will not only lack weight, but will fail to carry conviction."[87] Heywood gives a similar warning, insisting that a good actor "neither… frowne when he should smile."[88] Frowning

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[83] Cicero "Book III," in *De oratore*, trans. E. W. Sutton (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1942), 173.
[84] Le Faucheur, 178.
[85] Gildon, 58.
[86] Quintilian, 277.
[87] Quintilian, 281.
[88] Heywood, 29.

during a jubilant speech would upset the natural order of visible manifestations of the passions. Cicero draws attention to this "natural order," explaining that "nature has assigned to every emotion a particular look and tone of voice and bearing of its own; and the whole of a person's frame and every look on his face and utterance of his voice are like the strings of a harp, and sound according as they are struck by each successive emotion."[89] Upsetting this order would mean undermining contemporary beliefs about the mechanics of the body, and would be a severe violation of decorum.

The notion of harmony between idea and action is inextricably linked with theories of the mechanics of the body circulating during the seventeenth century, including Descartes's theory of the passions of the soul.[90] Each passion manifested itself via specific physical characteristics; not responding to ideas and emotions presented in the music according to these mechanical rules violated contemporary perceptions of the laws of nature. Hobbes articulates the need for harmony between emotion and gesture, writing "if the *Words, Tone, Greatness* of the Voice, *Gesture* of the body and Countenance, seeme all to proceed from one Passion, then 'tis well-pronounced; otherwise not."[91]

Just as gestures should appropriately express ideas and emotions embedded in a piece of music, movements should complement the vocal quality the singer uses to convey the passions. Quintilian demands that "gesture is adapted to suit" the voice,[92] while Fraunce adds that "the gesture must follow the change and varietie of the voice, answering thereunto in every respect."[93] Writers on oratory emphasize the need for harmony between an idea and the vocal quality used to make it manifest. Heywood discusses suiting words to actions,

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[89] Cicero, Book III, 173.
[90] For a description of Descartes's theory of the passions, see Chapter 2 in this dissertation, especially pp. 57-58.
[91] Hobbes, 153.
[92] Quintilian, 249-251.
[93] Fraunce, 120.

maintaining that it behooves the actor "to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronunciation to them both."[94] Cicero demands "changing intonation of the voice," depending on the type of idea being expressed.[95] For these writers, the voice offers infinite colors and varieties; gradations of the qualities traditionally associated with particular emotions show variations in degree and intensity. These writers agree that the degrees of intensity of physical movements should match those of the voice. The same gestures could be performed with different levels of intensity to match subtle vocal variations.

4. Obeying the Rules of Nature

Naturalism was held as an ideal towards which the seventeenth-century singer should strive in her movements. Nature provided a palette of possible reactions to situations; therefore, singers were encouraged to study the outward manifestations of the passions as instructions for how to emote in their performances. Le Faucheur requests that "you must also have a care there be nothing *affected* in your Gesture; for, generally speaking, *all Affection is odious*: but it must appear completely natural."[96] John Newton omits discussing pronunciation and elocution entirely, because he considers them "natural Endowments, which may be better improved by constant Practice, than by any Precepts which can be given."[97]

The idea of naturalism is related to the most widely-accepted theories of body mechanics circulating during the seventeenth century. The process of performing emotion described by writers on acting and oratory during this time mirrors Descartes's description of how the body manifests the passions of the soul (described in Chapter 2, p. 58). The

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[94] Heywood, 29.
[95] Cicero, Book I 15.
[96] Le Faucheur, 174.
[97] John Newton, *The English Academy: Or, a Brief Introduction to the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2nd Ed (London: A. Milbourn, 1693), 171.

singer was expected to display the external signals of a passion, which would result in her feeling this passion. In witnessing the external signs of this passion, the audience would be moved to experience the same emotion in their own bodies. Gildon describes this process, holding that a player "ought to form in his mind a very strong idea of the subject of his passion, then the passion it self will not fail to follow, rise into the eyes, and affect both the sense and the understanding of the spectators with the same tenderness."[98] Through this process, the singer creates a successful, emotive performance, manipulating the emotional experience of her audience by participating in the system of natural body mechanics.

Related to naturalism is the idea that the performer should present lines and gestures in a manner appropriate to her relationship to other characters onstage. Lang insists that the actor remain "in character" at all times, delivering speeches and gestures in a manner that shows an understanding of both what is being said and his relationship with those to whom he speaks.[99]

The Head, Face and Glance

The head, face and glance attract special attention from writers on gesture. Le Faucheur demands that particular care be taken with gestures of the face, "for [the countenance] 'tis the *Part* most exposed and in *view*, and your Auditors constantly have their eyes fix'd upon't."[100] The face houses the eyes, which both ancient and early modern rhetoricians believed to be the most important body part in terms of transmitting meaning.[101]

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[98] Gildon, 70. Walker provides another example: "Passion chiefly directs the pronunciation…. Therefore, this is to be excited, that the other may be performed, which as it were the hand to this instrument of the voice, by which it is tuned several ways, to the begetting like motions, in the minds of others, to those with which our selves are first affected" (126).
[99] Quoted in Engle, 186.
[100] Le Faucheur, 182.
[101] In Book III, Cicero writes "But everything depends on the countenance, while the countenance itself is entirely dominated by the eyes… For delivery is entirely the concern of the eyes; for this is the only part of the body capable of producing as many indication and variations as there are emotions, and there is nobody who can produce the same effect with his eyes shut…. Consequently, there is need of constant management of the

As Quintilian eloquently states, "By far the greatest influence is exercised by the glance."[102] According to Gildon, the "Soul is most visible in the eyes, as being, according to one, the perfect Images of the Mind, and, as *Pliny* says, they burn, yet dissolve in Floods; they dart their Beams on Objects, and seem not to see them; and when we kiss the Eyes, we seem to touch the very soul."[103]

Writers call for the observance of decorum with regard to the countenance, demanding that the performer never hold her face in a way that is ungraceful, unbecoming, or, most importantly, not deliberate.[104] Quintilian articulates this view, insisting:

> …the lips are not distorted nor the jaws parted to a grin, that the face is not thrown back , nor the eyes fixed on the ground, nor the neck slanted to the left or right. For there are a variety of faults of facial expression…those who raised the brows whenever the voice was called upon for an effort, others who wore a perpetual frown, yet others who could not keep their eyebrows level, but raised one towards the top of the head and depressed the other till it almost closed the eyes…these are details, but…they are of enormous importance, for nothing that is unbecoming can have a pleasing effect.[105]

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eyes, because the expression of the countenance ought not to be too much altered, for fear of slipping into looks that are in bad taste or into some distortion; for by action the body talks, so it is all the more necessary to make it agree with the thought; and nature has given us eyes…to indicate the feelings of the mind, so that in the matter of delivery which we are not considering the face is next in importance to the voice; and the eyes are the dominant feature in the fact…. Words influence nobody but the person allied to the speaker by sharing the same language, and clever ideas frequently outfly the understanding of people who are not as clever, whereas delivery, which gives the emotion of the mind expression, influences everybody, for the same emotions are felt by all people and they both recognize them in others and manifest them in themselves by the same marks" (177-179). Fraunce writes "the chiefest force of the head is in the countenance, and of the countenance, in the eyes, which expres livelilie even anie conceit or passion of the mind" (123). For Lang, "The eyes…can truly be said to be the seats of the emotions…. From them the highest power and efficacy is breathed into the action so it penetrates wonderfully into the souls of the onlookers…. Often a single flash of the eye exercised in the right manner and time does more for the meaning than the poet can accomplish by lengthy passages" (39-41, Quoted in Engle, 185-186).

[102] Quintilian, 283. He continues by saying that "it is this that inspires the hearer with affection or dislike, this that conveys a world of meaning and is often more eloquent than all our words."

[103] Gildon, 44.

[104] Fraunce requests that "the face & countenance must bee comelilie and orderlie composed" (123). Orinthoparcus criticizes singers who lack decorum in moving their mouths, insisting that "The uncomely gaping of the mouth, and ungracefull motion of the body, is a signe of a mad Singer." (Andreas Orinthoparcus, *His Micrologus Or Introduction Containing the Art of Singing Digested into Four Books* [London: Thomas Adams, 1609], 90.)

[105] Quintilian,187.

Facial decorum for the seventeenth-century singer has several components. In terms of deportment, it means that the head is upright and alert and that facial expressions are deliberate, never occurring without forethought.[106] The singer is advised not to take this calculation too far, however, as too much attention borders on conceit; Wilson warns against an obsession with appearances, as speakers who are too vain and "inamored" with themselves "displeaseth commonly."[107] Another component of decorum involves never moving the head in a way that would jeopardize the ability of the voice to maintain control over the sound it produces. Le Faucheur warns against moving the head in a way that might "prejudice the *voyce* mightily,…[making it] less *clear, distinct and intelligible*."[108] This connection between motions of the body and the quality of the voice will be explored further in Chapter 4. The eyebrows should be used in conjunction with the eyes to magnify the facial expressions. In general, they should obey rules of decorum, remaining even and refraining from moving in ways that that are not controlled or comely.[109] Though the mouth receives less attention than the face and the glance, it should nonetheless be moved with equal care. Decorum should be maintained at all times, with the mouth never presenting expressions that are unbecoming.[110]

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[106] Quintilian writes "To secure grace it is essential that the head should be carried naturally and erect. For a droop suggests humility, while if it be thrown back it seems to express arrogance, if inclined to one side it gives an impression of languor, while if it is held too stiffly and rigidly it appears to indicate a rude and savage temper" (281). Wilson insists that the head should "bee holden upright, the forehead without frowning, the browes without bending, the nose without blowing, the eyes quicke and pleasant, the lippes not laid out, the teeth without grenning" (221).

[107] Wilson, 214. Le Faucheur also warns against "arrogance or haughtiness" (180).

[108] Le Faucheur, 180.

[109] Le Faucheur,192. Gildon adds that the eyebrows should be "neither be immovable, nor always in motion; nor…both be raised on every thing that is spoken with eagerness and consent, and much less must one be raised, and the other cast down; but generally they must remain in the same posture and equality, which they have by nature, allowing them their due motion, when the passions require it; to contract themselves, and frown in sorrow; to smooth and dialate themselves in joy; to hang down in humility..." (72).

[110] Gildon believes that the mouth "must never be writh'd, nor the lips bit or licked…untenteel and unmannerly actions" (73). Le Faucheur concurs that biting or licking the lips should be avoided, as it is "ungenteel and unmannerly" (192).

Another important element of decorum is creating an alliance between gestures of the head and the body. The face and body should move in tandem; the head and glance must always move in the same direction as the body, unless the singer is denying or refuting an idea, in which case her head should turn away from her gesture.[111] Moving the head without moving the body should never be done.[112]

The performer should always accompany her singing with facial gestures that match and amplify that affects being expressed in the music, thus contributing to decorum by creating harmony among speech, idea and action.[113] Such a correlation between song and movement complies with the contemporary notion that human passions were manifested on the human body in specific, highly mechanized ways.[114] In the seventeenth century, singers could have extrapolated the following guidelines for fostering harmony between idea and action:

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[111] Fraunce writes: "The countenance must turne with the bodie, unlesse we cast aside the face in token of detestation or abhorring anie abominable thing…" (122). Quintilian: "For the eyes are always turned in the same direction as the gesture, except when we are called upon to condemn or concede something or to express abhorrence, when we show our aversion by turning away the face and by thrusting out our hands as though to repel the thought, as in the lines: --*di talem avertite pestem* (Aen iii. 620)…" (281-283). Gildon maintains that the "head ought always to be turn'd on the same side, to which the actions of the rest of the body are directed, except when they are employ'd to express our aversion to things, we refuse…detest or abhor; for these Things we reject with the right hand, at the same time turning the head away to the left" (59).

[112] Fraunce writes: "To make often gesture with the head alone is forbidden" (123).

[113] Quintilian: "Further, it should derive appropriate motion from the subject of our pleading, maintaining harmony with the gesture and following the movement of the hands and side" (281).

[114] Gildon: "Every passion or Emotion of the Mind has from Nature its proper and particular Countenance, Sound and Gesture; and the whole Body of Man, all his Looks, and every Sound of his Voice, like Strings on an Instrument, receive their Sounds from the various Impulse of the Passions" (43). He adds that the face "will naturally follow the several Accesses and Recesses of the Passion, whether Greif, Anger, &c" (59) Gildon also advises the performer to "adjust all the lines and motions of the face to the subject of your discourse, the passion you feel within you, or should according to your part feel, or would raise in those, who hear and see you…likewise consider the quality you represent, as well as the quality of those to whom you speak…in great degrees of the passions the difference and distance of that has a greater or less awe upon the very appearance of the passion" (64). Le Faucheur maintains that it is unnecessary to even describe the manifestations of the passions of the soul on the face, "because every Body knows this well enough already" (179).

1. The way the singer holds her head reveals information about the disposition of her character.

A. The head should generally be positioned upright, unless the character desires to express an emotion that is more elevated than normal.[115]

B. Holding the head down and casting the eyes downward conveys modesty, grief or sorrow. Tears enhance this expression of grief. Shaking the head while the eyes are lowered emphasizes grief or indignation.[116] In order to comply with rules of decorum, the head should never be held down so far that it touches the breast, as this is "disagreeable to the eye" and harmful to the voice.[117]

C. Carrying the head aloft indicates joy, triumph or victory. Tossing the head into this position shows pride and/or arrogance.[118]

2. The direction of the glance provides important information:

A. In general, the eyes should be focused on the audience, moving gently from place to place without focusing on a single person or point for too long.[119]

B. When singing passionately about a subject, the gaze should be directed toward it.[120] Fixing the gaze on a specific person for an extended period indicates desire.

C. The gaze may be focused on certain subjects when they are addressed; singing of heaven requires directing the gaze towards the sky, while singing about hell calls for a glance at the floor.[121]

D. Turning the eyes away from the object or person being addressed indicates denial, aversion, neglect or dissimulation.[122]

E. Lifting the eyes conveys arrogance, unless they are lifted in prayer. Arrogance should be avoided except in cases when the singer portrays a vain character.[123]

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[115] Gildon, 58.
[116] Fraunce writes: "The holding downe of the head, and casting downe of the eyes betokeneth modestie" (121). Quintilian: "[the eyebrows] are also dropped or raised to express consent or refusal respectively" (287). According to Gildon, grief and sorrow were indicated by "Demission…hanging down of the Head" (44).
[117] Gildon, 58.
[118] Gildon, 43.
[119] Le Faucheur, 183.
[120] Le Faucheur, 191.
[121] Gildon advises to "deject them [the eyes] on things of disgrace…raise them on things of honour…in swearing, or taking a solemn oath, or attestation of any thing…you turn up your eyes, and in the same action lift up your hand to the thing you swear by or attest" (72).
[122] Gildon, 44.
[123] Gildon, 44 and 58.

F. Casting the eyes to the floor indicates humility.[124]

3. The nature of the singer's glance provides information about the passion being expressed and the temperament of the character:

A. Quick, rolling eyes show a quick wit or a choleric complexion. Inflamed and wide eyes are described by Wright as "firey," choleric and possessing of ire.[125]

B. Heavy, dull eyes indicate a "dull Mind."[126]

C. Slow motion of the eyes shows age or a phlegmatic temperament.[127]

D. A propensity to winking shows a "Soul subject to Feare…a Weakness of Spirit."[128]

E. A bold, staring eye shows stupidity, impudence, incontinence, or lewdness (in women).[129]

F. Quiet, calm eyes show love and friendship.[130]

G. Widely-opened eyes display a person who is of a good, but unsubtle and innocent, nature.[131]

H. Frequent winking or trembling of the eyes shows maliciousness or perverse thought or inclinations.[132]

In addition to the glance, the deliberate modification of the singer's face was required, providing what Gildon calls an "index" to the passions of the mind.[133] He and Le Faucheur set forth the following rules:

A. Unless the performer desires to convey a particularly strong emotion, she should have a pleasant, untroubled face, without any severe expressions.[134]

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[124] Gildon, 44.
[125] Wright, 211and Gildon, 42. Contemporary theories of temperaments (dating back to Hippocrates) held that a person with a choleric temperament was dry and hot, displaying in anger and excessive energy.
[126] Gildon, 42.
[127] Gildon, 42. Contemporary theories of temperaments (dating back to Hippocrates) held that a person with a phlegmatic of temperament was moist and cold, resulting in an unemotional and shy personality.
[128] Gildon, 42.
[129] Wright, 211 and Gildon, 42.
[130] Gildon, 42-43.
[131] Wright, 211.
[132] Gildon. 44.
[133] Gildon, 45.
[134] Le Faucheur, 184.

B. A pale expression indicates grief, sorrow, fear and envy.

C. A dark expression indicates misery, labor or agitation.[135]

The expressions used to show emotion in history painting may be used by the singer as models for her own facial expressions.[136]

Discussions of the head, face and glance may be summarized by a few key points. Regarding these considerations, decorum should be the primary concern. In general, the singer's facial posture and gaze should be neutral, striking a controlled a balance between excessive and insufficient motion, which, for Gildon, creates "the Effect of Wisdom and Gravity."[137] This balanced stance allows the singer to emphasize moments of increased intensity, during which she will stray from this neutral state, manifesting the passions with stronger movements of the head and expressions of the face and eyes.[138] In so doing, the singer obeys the rules of decorum on two levels: 1) her face is always controlled, deliberate and becoming and 2) her facial gestures comply with contemporary understandings of the affections theory.

The Hands

The hands were important tools for gesture in seventeenth-century singing, as their movements were regarded as a universal language that could communicate across national

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[135] Gildon, 45.

[136] Gildon, 63. For an overview, see Le Brun. Le Faucheur also mentions the fact that the face should convey the passions. For him, the countenance "is always to resemble the *Passion* you have a Mind either to *express* or *excite*" (174).

[137] For Gildon, too much gesture conveys "lightness," while too little is "a Sign of heavy and slow Disposition" (43).

[138] Gildon suggests that the eyebrows should "neither be immovable, nor always in motion; nor…both be raised on every thing that is spoken with eagerness and consent, and much less must one be raised, and the other cast down; but generally they must remain in the same posture and equality, which they have by nature, allowing them their due motion, when the passions require it; to contract themselves, and frown in sorrow; to smooth and dilate themselves…" (73).

and linguistic borders.[139] Several writers regard hand gesture as the most eloquent method of communication available. Le Faucheur calls the hands the "chief instruments of action,"[140] emphasizing the idea that they are the primary means by which ideas are conveyed. Gildon echoes this idea, going further by maintaining that "it is impossible to have any great emotion or gestures of the body, without action of the hands, to answer to figures of discourse which are made use of in all poetical, as well as rhetorical diction."[141] For Quintilian, the hands "may almost be said to speak," while other parts of the body "merely help the speaker."[142]

The seventeenth-century singer was required to maintain decorum in her use of the hands.[143] Wilson warns against moving the arms without control, which he terms "seemly moderation," and demands that the speaker hold the arms in a deliberate fashion,[144] while Wright and Quintilian criticize those whose gestures stem from impulse rather than rationality.[145] To maintain decorum, the following rules are suggested:[146]

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[139] Le Faucheur: "Gesture has therefore this Advantage above mere Speaking; that by this we're only understood by those of our own Language, but by Action and Gesture (I mean just and regular Action) we make our Thoughts and Passions intelligible to all Nations and Tongues. 'Tis…the common Speech of all Mankind, which strikes our Understanding by our Eyes, as effectually, as Speaking does by the Ears; nay, perhaps, makes the more effectual Impression, that Sense being the most vivacious and touching" (50-51). Quintilian: "In fact, though the peoples and nations of the earth speak a multitude of tongues, they share in common the universal language of the hands. The gestures of which I have thus far spoken are such as naturally proceed from us simultaneously with our words" (291).

[140] Le Faucheur, 194. Le Faucheur quotes Ovid, saying that while "other parts of the Body help him speak… the Hands, as it were, speak themselves" (194).

[141] Gildon, 76.

[142] Quintilian: "ipsae loquantur" (289).

[143] Walker: "Yet must there be some caution used in the gestures of the hands, because 'tis very easie in this to exceed a *decorum*" (127).

[144] Wilson: "armes not much cast abroade, but comely set out, as time and cause shall best require" (221).

[145] Wright: "Some men you have always fiddling about their garments, eyther prying for moathes, binding of garters, pulling uppe their stockings…this produceth a childish minde…you little attend what they say" (213-214). According to Quintilan, sluggish hands and exaggeration are "faults…which spring not from nature, but from nervousness, such as struggling desperately with our lips when they refuse to open, making inarticulate sounds…" (307).

[146] Walker, 128.

1. Avoid excessiveness in posture and movement.

The arms should not be extended far from the body, above the eye, below the breast, backward, too far from the sides or be moved in a circular motion.[147] The shoulders play an important role in maintaining decorum, as they are the place from which the arms extend. In order to control the arms, singers' gestures should begin from the shoulders, which are to remain level and even, and should never move in an unsightly manner.[148] Gravity must be maintained in movements of the arms; unless a particularly strong passion is being expressed, movement is to be moderated and levity should be absent.[149]

Controlling movements of the arms and hands transmits the idea that the singer's movements are deliberate at all times. This is not to say that singers' movements were never excessive. On the contrary, excessiveness was accepted under circumstances in which the singer portrayed a character so gripped by a passion that she effectively lost control of her body. Amanda Eubanks Winkler has described the performance of mad songs on Restoration English stages in which singers performed excessive emotion, presenting the troubled mental states of the characters they portrayed by allowing their bodies to lose

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[147] Le Faucheur supports this notion, writing "your Eyes must always have your Hands in view: They must always be within compass of your Head, and lash-out as little as possible, either over or under, higher or lower than the Eyes.... You ought not to stretch out your arms, sideways, further than half a foot from your Body" (200-201). For Quintilian, "Motion is generally divided into six kinds, but circular motion must be regarded as the seventh. The latter alone is faulty when applied to gesture. The remaining motions—that is, forward, to right or left and up or down—all have their significance, but the gesture is never directed to what lies behind us, though we do at times throw the hand back" (299-301). Gildon adds: "In the lifting up the hands to preserve the grace, you ought not to raise them above the eyes; to stretch them farther might disorder and distort the body; nor must it be very little lower, because that position gives a beauty to the figure…. Never let therefore your hands hang down, as if lame or dead; for that is very disagreeable to the eye, and argues no passion in the imagination…your hands must always be in view of your eyes, and so corresponding with the motions of the head, eyes and body, that the spectator may see their concurrence, every one in its own way to signify the same thing, which will make a more agreeable, and by consequence a deeper impression on their senses and their understanding. Your arms should not stretch out sideways, above half a foot from the trunk of your body…[otherwise, your gestures will be out of your sight]" (77-78).

[148] Le Faucheur: "As to the Shoulders, there are some that shrug 'em up at every Expression…. 'Tis a very unbecoming Vice, and you ought to shun it as a Disgrace" (193). Quintilian: "It is, as a rule, unbecoming to raise or contract the shoulders. For it shortens the neck and produces a mean and servile gesture, which is even suggestive of dishonesty or flattery, admiration or fear" (289).

[149] Le Faucheur emphasizes moderation, saying that "your Gesture ought to be very moderate and modest; not bold and extensive, nor indeed too frequent neither…" (203).

control via an overabundance of melancholy, resulting in an unkempt appearance and unruly movements.[150] Within a general framework of control, such excessive emotion becomes a dramatic tool capable of reflecting a loss of agency over the body.

2. Turn action of the hand "the same way as the voice."[151]

The idea of harmony between word and action is an exceedingly important consideration in movements of the hands. This principle may be understood in several ways. In the most basic terms, the principle can be taken literally, meaning that motions of the hands should be coordinated with movements of the face—more specifically, the mouth. Le Faucheur insists that such coordination leaves "a deeper and more agreeable impression both on the Senses and their Understandings." [152]

This notion can also mean that the motions of the hand should match the emotions transmitted in the music *and* be suitable for the type of character being portrayed by the singer. Mental states may be indicated by the gestures the singer uses. Walker describes some of the possibilities for using gesture to indicate emotion; violent gestures, such as the "hand beating on any thing," indicate anger, the extension of the middle finger is a signal of reproach and folding the hands across the chest transmits sadness.[153] The way a singer moves should be appropriate for the character she portrays and the type of speech being

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[150] See Amanda Eubanks Winkler, "Gender and Genre: Musical Conventions on the English Stage, 1660-1705" (PhD Dissertation., University of Michigan, 2000), 202.

[151] Quintilian: "movement of the hand should begin and end with the thought that is expressed.... Language possesses certain imperceptible stresses, indeed we might almost call them feet, to which the gesture of most speakers conforms. Thus there will be one movement at *novum crimen*, another at *Gai Caesar*, a third at *et ante hanc diem*, a fourth at *non auditum*, a fifth at *prompinquus meus*, a sixth at *ad te* and others at *Quintus Tubero* and *detulit* (*pro Lig.* i. 1)" (201). Gildon: "The gesture must pass from left to right, and there end with gentleness and moderation, at least not stretch to the extremity of violence…begin your action with what you say, so you must end it when you have done speaking…. Movement or gestures of the hands must always be agreeable to the nature of the words that you speak; for when you say *come in* or *approach*, you must not stretch out your hand with a repulsive gesture…for all these gestures would be so visibly against nature, that you would be laugh'd at by all that saw or heard you" (75-76).

[152] Le Faucheur writes "your Mouth, your Eyes, and your Hands concerning all together, every one in its own way, to signifie the same thing; which will make a deeper and more agreeable impression both on the Senses and their Understandings" (200-201).

[153] Walker, 126-127.

performed. Le Faucheur demands that a performer always use gestures that are "proper" for the character and context in which he speaks.[154]

The magnitude of gestures conveys important information about the mental state or character portrayed by the singer. Performing gestures at different speeds or with various levels of emphasis relays a variety of ideas about the type of emotion intended by the voice. Gildon maintains that extending the arms high shows "Authority, Vigour and Victory," while performing a gesture with the arms close to the body indicates "Bashfulness, Modesty and Diffidence."[155] Performing gestures in a manner that takes up a significant amount of space conveys a sense of authority, while small, limited gestures imply meekness. The same gestures may be performed in an endless variety of ways to show the personality of the character portrayed by the singer *and* this character's different attitudes at numerous moments in time.

Finally, harmony between action and idea means that the hands should move in conjunction with the structure of the music. Movement should start as a phrase begins and end when the phrase ends. Important words and musical moments within phrases should be punctuated with gestures.[156] In moving through space, gestures normally proceed from right to left.[157] Cicero implies that the entire body may sometimes be involved in articulating

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[154] Le Faucheur: "[in Proposopoeia when] a Person is brought to in speaking, you must take care of making use of any Gestures that would not be proper for him to use, and agreeable to the State and Condition, in which you represent Him in speaking" (203).
[155] Gildon, 45.
[156] Quintilian: "In continuous and flowing passages a most becoming gesture is slightly to extend the arm with shoulders well thrown back and the fingers opening as the hand moves forward. But when we have to speak in specially rich or impressive style, as, for example, in the passage *saxa atque solitudines voci respondent* (*pro Arch* viii,. 19), the arm will be thrown out in a stately sidelong sweep and the words will…expand in unison with the gesture" (289). Le Faucheur: "You must begin your Action with your Speech, and to end with it again; for it would be ridiculous either to begin your Gestures before you had opened your Mouth" (198-199). Walker: "the Hand…keeps time, in our speech, with our periods; being in a kind of suspense and waving, when the sentence is so, and, at the end thereof, returning still to the first posture, as the voice doth to such a tone" (127).
[157] Le Faucheur: [Gestures] "must pass from left to right, and end at the right, too…laying of it with Gentlenes and Moderation" (198).

phrases; he suggests that it is often appropriate to punctuate the beginnings and/or endings of emphatic passages with a stamp of the foot.[158]

Inside phrases, singers are encouraged to focus on emphasizing large-scale ideas rather than illustrating concepts on the level of individual word. Quintilian articulates this principle, writing that "gesture should be adapted rather to his thought than to his actual words."[159] The singer should concentrate on postures of the hands, face and body that convey the passion appropriate to the idea she expresses instead of drawing attention to every word with a specific gesture.

This is not to say that individual words are never represented with the hands. The singer is encouraged to highlight important words and moments with specific gestures, which are divided into four types:

1. Gestures of demonstration.

Demonstrating gestures draw attention to items and characters that are real or imaginary, on or outside of the performance area.[160] To demonstrate, the singer should point to the item or person she addresses with her index finger extended and the thumb and other fingers curled inside the hand.[161] Demonstrating gestures should not be used incessantly, pointing out everything that is referred to. Rather, they should refer to important ideas and characters in a song, using a small-scale gesture to focus the audience's attention on key ideas. Demonstrating is often an important part of musical structure, used

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158 Cicero: "a stamp of the foot in beginning or ending emphatic passages" (177).
159 Quintilian, 291. He gives these instructions to both orators *and* players on the stage. Likewise, Cicero writes: "But all these emotions must be accompanied by gesture—not this stagey gesture reproducing the words but one conveying the general situation and idea not by mimicry but by hints..." (177).
160 Quintilian: "I should, therefore, permit him to direct his hand towards his body to indicate that he is speaking of himself, or to point it at some other similar gestures which I need not mention…. I would not allow him to use the hands to imitate attitudes or to illustrate anything he may chance to say" (293). Walker: "The hand brought towards one, in saying anything of himself" (127).
161 Walker: "putting out the forefinger: when demonstrating, as it were shewing a thing…. So the hand is put forward with the thumb bended in..." (127). Mersenne: "The former finger stretched out doth point at or showe, when the other three are closed and kept in with the thumbe" (128).

as a textual and musical device to draw attention to central ideas in a piece. Mauro Calcagno has discussed the function of pointing in early modern music, illustrating Monteverdi's musical emphasis of deictic words (such as I, you and here) to "situate" speakers as characters in specific moments and locations, calling attention to the dramatic situation at various points in *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* and *L'incoronazione di Poppea*. Calcagno calls for studying performers' use of indexical gestures, which emphasize deictics visually. [162]

In addition to pointing out important characters, items or places, directional gestures may convey the singer's attitude about the things she addresses. She should think of demonstrating gestures not only as a means to pointing out important items, but also as a method of conveying her relationship to them. Pointing vehemently or violently indicates a far different relationship to the addressee than pointing gently does.

2. Gestures of imploring or interrogating.

When begging or asking (the difference between the two lies in the degree of urgency), the singer should lift the arms towards the addressee with the hands upturned.[163] Mersenne adds that pointing at the ground is another method of urging. [164] Prayer is likened to begging, except that the hands should be clasped rather than upturned and directed towards the heavens instead of another person.[165] In order to maintain decorum, these gestures should be performed in a manner and at a magnitude that reflects both the passion governing the singer's body and the relationship between her character and the addressee.

3. Gestures of response.

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[162] See Mauro Calcagno, "Imitar col canto chi parla: Monteverdi's Creation of a Language for Musical Theater," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55/3 (Autumn, 2002): 383-431. See especially pp. 399 and 419.

[163] According to Gildon, misery and imploration are indicated by "lifting up both Hands on high" (46).

[164] Mersenne: "If it bee turned directly downe towards the groun, it urgeth" (128).

[165] Walker: "As to hold out the hand; when begging: up, when we speak of praying: gripping the hand" (126).

Responding gestures provide explicit reactions to the ideas expressed by the singer. Gestures of response include clapping to show a favorable opinion of another character, idea or action.

4. Gestures of indicating.

These gestures provide visual signs of the words and ideas that the singer's text addresses. Gestures of indication should be performed in tandem with the singer's voice, appearing at the precise moment she sings the words to which they correspond. Marking numbers on the fingers when counting or making a list is one example; this gesture is a visual counterpart to the process of enumeration.[166] Touching the head and breast is another example; the former indicates understanding while the latter shows feeling or the presence of a passion.[167]

As with gestures of demonstration, the manner in which the singer performs gestures of indication provides information about her relationship to the feeling or idea being signified. The singer should perform these gestures in a manner appropriate to the passion governing her body when she sings about the objects to which they correspond.

Presenting gestures that resemble too closely the words they represent is regarded as a severe violation of decorum. Le Faucheur cautions against imitating fencing, or performing the motions "of bending a bow or presenting a Musquet, of playing upon an Instrument of Musick" in a speech.[168] Cicero criticizes "stagey gesture reproducing the words," instead favoring gestures "conveying the general situation and idea not by mimicry

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[166] Walker: "the touching a finger with the other hand, for disputing and for numbering" (127).
[167] Walker: "toward the head, when speaking of the understanding; toward the breast, when of the soul, will or the affections" (127). Gildon: "—"right…must be applied to the bosom, declaring your own faculties, and passions your heart, your soul, or your conscience…only…by laying the hand gently on the breast, and not by thumping it as some people do" (76).
[168] Le Faucheur, 201. Gildon echoes this sentiment, warning that tragic actors should never "put your self into the posture of one bending a bow, presenting a musquet, or playing on any musical instrument as if you had it in your hands" (78). Such literal actions are only suitable for comedy.

but by hint…but the movements of the hand must be less rapid, following the words and not eliciting them with the fingers."[169] Gildon presents the following scenario, instructing the actor in his performance of speeches:

> [At the beginning of a speech,] there is no gesture at least of any consideration, unless it begins abruptly as *O! JUPITER, oh! Heaven's! it this to be born? The very ships then in our eyes, which I preserv'd, &c* extending here his hands first to the heav'n; and then to the ships. In all regular gestures of the hands, they ought perfectly to correspond with one another, as in starting a maze, on a sudden fright, as in *Hamlet* in the scene betwixt him and his mother, on the appearance of his father's ghost—
>
> *Save me, and hover o'er me with your wings, you heavenly guards!*
>
> This is spoke with arms and hands extended, and expressing his concern, as well as his eyes, and whole face.[170]

According to Gildon, the actor must rely on gestures that demonstrate and interrogate rather than those that indicate. He instructs the actor to use an imploring gesture, "extending here his hands first to the heav'n," and to demonstrate an offstage item, pointing "then to the ships." In discussing *Hamlet*, he urges the performer to react in a way that transmits an emotional state—that of fear—rather than signifying individual words. He later summarizes the importance of both large-scale gesture *and* word-level emphasis, writing that "the gesture may not answer the pronunciation or utterance, but both the nature of the thing, and the meaning of the words."[171]

John Bulwer provides a detailed palette of potential demonstrating, urging and indicating gestures in his *Chirologia*, describing the ways that the hands may be manipulated to provide signs of words. Appendix 4 is one of the four tables of these figures included in this work, which is followed by a brief description of each gesture's use. The letters

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[169] Cicero, 177.
[170] Gildon, 76.
[171] Gildon, 78.

following each description place the gesture into one of the above three categories: A) demonstrating, B) urging, C) responding or D) indicating. The number of gestures falling into these categories provides a sampling of the frequency of use of each type of gesture. Indicating gestures appear less frequently than gestures of any other type.

3. Strike a balance between variety of movement and stagnation.

The singer is encouraged to find a balance between too many and too few gestures of the hands and arms. Writers call for an assortment of gestures while avoiding what Le Faucheur refers to as "restless variation."[172]

4. Gestures of the hand should comply with the rules of the doctrine of the affections.

As with movements of the body in general, gestures of the hands and arms must proceed from the passions without being forced. Gestures may increase or decrease in frequency or urgency as the speech changes in character.[173]

5. Maintain a hierarchy between the right and left hands.

Both hands may be used in gesticulation, but the right hand should generally lead; if the left hand is ever used, its role should be subservient to that of the right. The left hand should always be held at a lower elevation than the right.[174] The only exception is when the speaker discusses a negative or disagreeable matter, in which case, the left hand may lead.[175]

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[172] Le Faucheur also stresses this idea, writing "you must not make use of Action every where. For as the hands ought not to be idle, on one side; so 'tis impertinent on the other, to keep them in perpetual motion" (201-202).

[173] Quintilian: "But when increasing warmth of feeling has fired the oratory, the gesture will become more frequent, in conforming the impetus of the speech" (303).

[174] Other writers discuss this in detail. Mersenne writes: "Without the hand the gesture is nothing, yet a moderation is to be had in the gesture of the hand and fingers that it rather follow than goes before and express the words…. There is no gesture of the left hand alone, but the left hand joined with the right is fit for addubitations or doubts, & obtestations or prayers, & very much frequented" (126). Le Faucheur commands: "Make all gestures with the right hand…[left is] only to accompany the other never lifted so high as the right" (196). Gildon explains "that must be by the right, it being indecent to make a gesture with the left alone; except you should say any such thing as, *Rather than be guilty of so foul a deed,/I'd cut this right hand off, &c.* For here the action must be expressed with the left hand, because the right is the member to suffer" (74).

[175] Le Faucheur: "as if you chance to discourse of the separation, which the Sovereign Judge of the World will make between good and bad in the last Day of Judgment, placing the Justice on the right Hand and the Wicked

Conclusions

The principle of decorum should be prioritized above all other rules regarding bodily gesture. Deliberateness and control are key elements in every element of expression via the body, face and hands. The singer's controlled movements comply with those appropriate to the ages and social statuses of the characters they portray. By accompanying ideas and words with matching gestures and enlivening characters' emotions using "naturalistic" movements, singers complied with contemporary understandings of the science of body mechanics. In so doing, singers reinforced contemporary understandings of the social and scientific constructions of the world around them.

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on his Left: There 'tis not only allowable, but necessary to adjust your Gestures according to this Distinction; making one of them with the right Hand alone, and the other with the left alone" (197). Quintilian: "the other hand, when, to express our aversion, we thrust our hand out the left, the left shoulder must be brought forward in unison with the head, which will incline to the right. It is never correct to employ the left hand alone in gesture, though it will often conform its motion to that of the right, as…when we are counting our arguments on the fingers, or turn the palms of the hands to the let to express our horror of something, or thrust them out in front or spread them out to right and left, or lower them in apology or supplication…" (305).

CHAPTER FOUR

PHYSIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

In Chapters 2 and 3, I suggest that the visual elements of the body were considered to be integral components of singing technique during the seventeenth century. The former chapter shows that the body and voice were equal partners in the art of singing; the latter demonstrates that gestures were prescribed as a necessary component of the transmission of ideas in sung performances, providing an overview of the rules that singers followed in order to express musical phrases. This chapter makes an argument for the physiological necessity for the involvement of the body in sung performances. Through exploring literature on the anatomical connection between the body and voice written both during the seventeenth century and the present era, I suggest that the emphasis on the importance of the link between the two is not only philosophical; it exists as a fundamental component of human physiology.

Present Understandings of Vocalization

Before discussing theories about connections between the body and the voice, it is imperative to review the modern medical understanding of how the voice itself works. Before proceeding, I must remind the reader that modern understandings of the physiological processes involved in vocalization are speculative at best. The laryngoscope, the device used by doctors and therapists to observe the larynx in motion, is used only in clinical contexts, observing movements of the larynx in limited circumstances—a single vowel at a single pitch level. A doctor's office or research lab is a very different environment than a church sanctuary or a stage; factors like projection, connecting emotionally with the music and feedback from the audience all play roles in the body's ability to phonate.

Nonetheless, a basic understanding of the process of vocalization provides a context for discussions about the contributions of the body that appear later in this chapter.

The inner workings of the voice remained mysterious and largely invisible until the nineteenth century, when Johannes Müller performed experiments on human larynges attached to artificial bellows, discovering insights into the relationship between sub-glottal breath pressure and the activities of the vocal cords, which he published in his *Elements of Physiology* (1836). Vocal pedagogue Manuel Garcia invented the laryngoscope in 1845, a tool allowing him to look down his throat and make observations about the movements of his own larynx while singing; a version of this technique enhanced by computer visualization software remains in use by otolaryngology specialists today, allowing them to diagnose injuries of the vocal apparatus.[1] Figure 4.1 is an image of the vocal folds made visible through one such program:

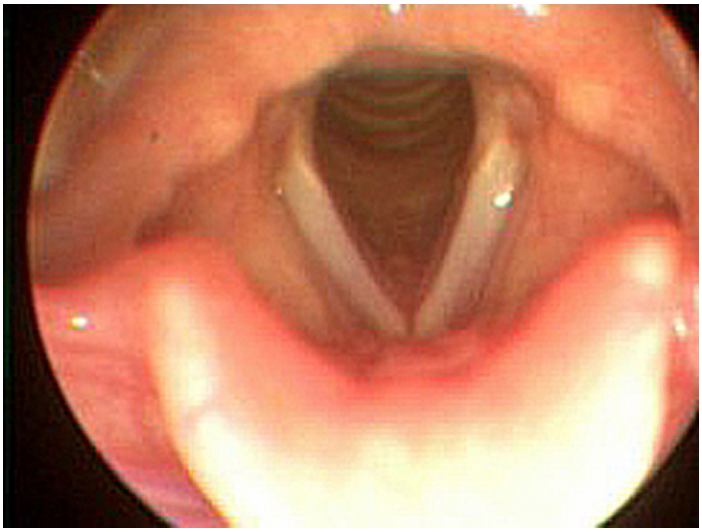

Figure 4.1 Vocal Folds[2]

[1] Marilyn Elizabeth Feller Somville, "Vowels and Consonants in Early Singing Style and Technique" (Ph. D. Dissertation: Stanford University, 1967), 10-13.
[2] Image of normal vocal cords, by the Milton J. Dance Jr. Head and Neck Center at the Greater Baltimore Medical Center, Baltimore < http://www.udel.edu/PR/UDaily/2008/jul/vocal073107.html> (accessed 25 July 2009).

Modern medical professionals classify the organs involved in vocalization as part of the respiratory system, whose structures include the nose, pharynx (throat), larynx (voice box), trachea (windpipe), bronchi and lungs, shown in Figure 4.2

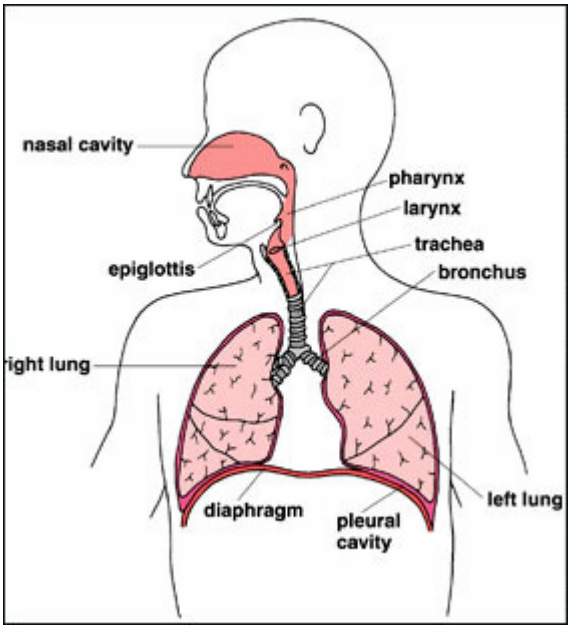

Figure 4.2 Respiratory System[3]

The primary function of the respiratory system is to supply oxygen to cells and to eliminate carbon dioxide released by cells from the body, excess amounts of which are toxic. The processes of inhalation and exhalation work in conjunction with the cardiovascular system to achieve these aims. The respiratory system also serves the important function of blocking food and water from entering into the respiratory tract; during the act of swallowing, the epiglottis, a piece of elastic cartilage, covers the larynx, preventing whatever body has entered the mouth from inserting itself into the trachea, instead steering it into the esophagus, through which it is transported to the digestive system. When items enter the larynx by mistake, the body responds with a cough reflex; in such moments, the diaphragm,

[3] Image by the University of Maryland Medical Center < http://www.umm.edu/respiratory/anatomy.htm> (accessed 25 July 2009).

intercostal muscles (muscles connecting the ribs), lungs and glottis work together to build concentrated air pressure inside the lungs. This pressure is so intense that the body eventually forces the air out at speeds of over 100 mph, expelling the material through the act of coughing before it enters the lungs.[4] The respiratory system also assists with actions that require the body to undergo excessive strain. Bringing together the ventricular folds (described in the next paragraph) traps the air in the lungs, building pressure in the thoracic cavity that assists with a range of activities outlined by Marilyn Somville: "sneezing, coughing, straining and helping to fix the upper body as a fulcrum during heavy lifting."[5] The above acts highlight the connection between the respiratory system and the body as a whole. Many of the structures involved in vocalization assist in life-sustaining activities such as breathing, coughing and straining to bear heavy loads.

Indeed, vocalization is only a secondary function of the structures embedded in the larynx. The main instrument involved in vocalization is the glottis, which is made up of two pairs of folds in the mucous membrane of the larynx: the ventricular folds, which are in the superior position, and the vocal folds, which are in the inferior position. Deep within this mucous membrane are bands of elastic ligaments stretched between pieces of rigid cartilage, strung up, as Tortora and Nielsen explain, like "guitar strings."[6] This cartilage is attached to intrinsic laryngeal muscles, which are also attached to the vocal folds. The space between the ventricular and vocal folds is called the *rima glottidis* (Figure 4.3).

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[4] Gerard J. Tortora and Nark T. Nielsen, *Principles of Human Anatomy,* 11th ed. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 758-759.
[5] Somville, 13-14. See also Tortora and Neilsen, 760.
[6] Tortora and Neilsen, 760.

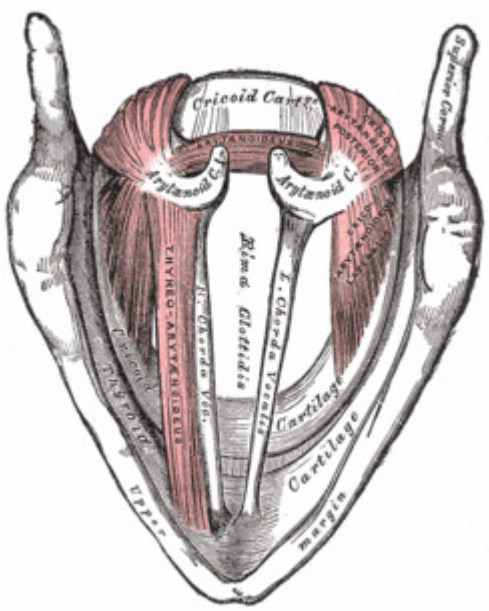

Figure 4.3 Parts of the Larynx (View from Above)

Contractions of the intrinsic laryngeal muscles pull the elastic ligaments tight and stretch the vocal folds, narrowing the *rima glottidis* and tightening the vocal cords. The vocal folds vibrate as air passes through the larynx, producing sound by creating waves of air in the column comprised of the pharynx, nasal cavity, sinuses and mouth (including the jaw, soft palate, tongue, teeth and lips). These structures act as resonating chambers, giving each human voice a unique quality; modifications in their size and shape create different vowel and consonant sounds, resulting in recognizable speech. Pitch is controlled by the speed at which the vocal cords vibrate; the more tightly they are pulled by the laryngeal muscles, the more quickly they vibrate, resulting in higher pitches. Dynamics are controlled by the volume of air passing through the glottis; the higher the air pressure, the louder the sound.[7]

Air used in speech or singing is sent through the glottis as a result of the processes of inspiration and expiration. Inspiration occurs when the diaphragm and intercostal muscles contract; this flattens the diaphragm and increases the size of the thoracic cavity. The

[7] The above description is paraphrased from Tortora and Neilsen, 760-761.

increased size of the cavity pulls the walls of the lungs outward, increasing their volume and decreasing the air pressure therein below that of the atmosphere. This difference between the air pressures in and outside of the body causes air to rush into the lungs. Exhalation reverses this procedure; the parts of the body that were stretched during inspiration relax, decreasing the size of the thoracic cavity and the volume of the lungs and making the air pressure greater inside the body than outside it. To maintain equilibrium, air rushes out of the body and into the atmosphere.[8] In normal breathing, the time required for inspiration and expiration are nearly equal, lasting 2-3 seconds each, with 16-18 breath cycles per minute.[9] There is an imbalance in singing, however; inhalation happens instantaneously and expiration is prolonged, with the performer monitoring the air flow and calling on reserve air to extend the expiration phase as long as possible.[10] Gordon Peterson has observed that during singing, expiration can last 50 times longer than inspiration.[11]

Our understanding of vocalization may never be complete. Studies of the voice tend to take place in isolated, clinical environments. We view the vocal apparatus in the act of vocalization with a laryngoscope, but tend only to visualize its inner workings in the context of its production of single pitches. Spectrographic analysis, which allows specialists to analyze the various component frequencies of sound produced vocally as time passes, only allows access to short moments in time: single pitches and syllables often recorded in the context of vocalises performed in music lessons.[12] In performed moments, complexity is

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[8] Tortora and Neilsen, 772-773.
[9] Philip Liberman, *Intonation, Perception and Language*, Research Monograph No. 58 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1967), 23. Liberman makes the interesting observation that this length of breath cycle roughly corresponds with the average sentence length of 2 seconds.
[10] Arend Bouhuys, Donald F. Proctor and Jene Mead, "Kinetic Aspects of Singing," *Journal of Applied Physiology* 21/2 (1966): 483-496.
[11] Gordon E. Peterson, "Breath Stream Dynamics" *Manual of Phonetics* edited by L. Kaiser (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1957), 139-148. See p. 141 in particular.
[12] See the web site of the National Center for Voice and Speech for more information: "The Spectrograph & Spectral Analysis" <http://www.ncvs.org/ncvs/tutorials/voiceprod/tutorial/spectral.html> (4 June 2009).

added by the more intricate activity the vocal apparatus is asked to undertake. Singers perform a variety of syllables and pitches colored by an infinite number of interpretive devices, and the emotions present in the piece at hand and those experienced by the performer impact vocalization in innumerable ways. Nonetheless, it is remarkable in the context of this study that the body is a key component in vocalization. The respiratory system plays a direct role in actions of the larynx, from blocking foreign objects from entering the vocal tract and supporting activities—such as coughing—which expel these dangerous items to sending air through the vocal folds in order to enable phonation. Without the breath, created by the body, the voice remains silent.

Seventeenth-Century Writing on Physiological Connections between the Body and Voice

During the seventeenth century, there was a keen interest in the inner workings of the human body. Public anatomies were all the rage during this time. At these events, to which the general public was often invited, the bodies of criminals were dissected in tandem with lectures describing the process for the purpose of training surgeons. Henry VIII legalized public dissections in England in1540, granting the Barber-Surgeons guild of London the right to cut open the bodies of four criminals each year, providing "instruction in sight learning and experience in the sayd science or facultie or surgery."[13] These dissections often took place in "anatomy theaters," spaces designed to provide all audience members with a clear, dramatic view of the act taking place. One such space is pictured in Figure 4.4, an engraving of the anatomy theater in Leiden sold as a souvenir at public dissections.

[13] Quoted on p. 42 of Kate Cregan, "Blood and Circuses," in *Images of the Corpse: from Renaissance to Cyberspace* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 39-62.

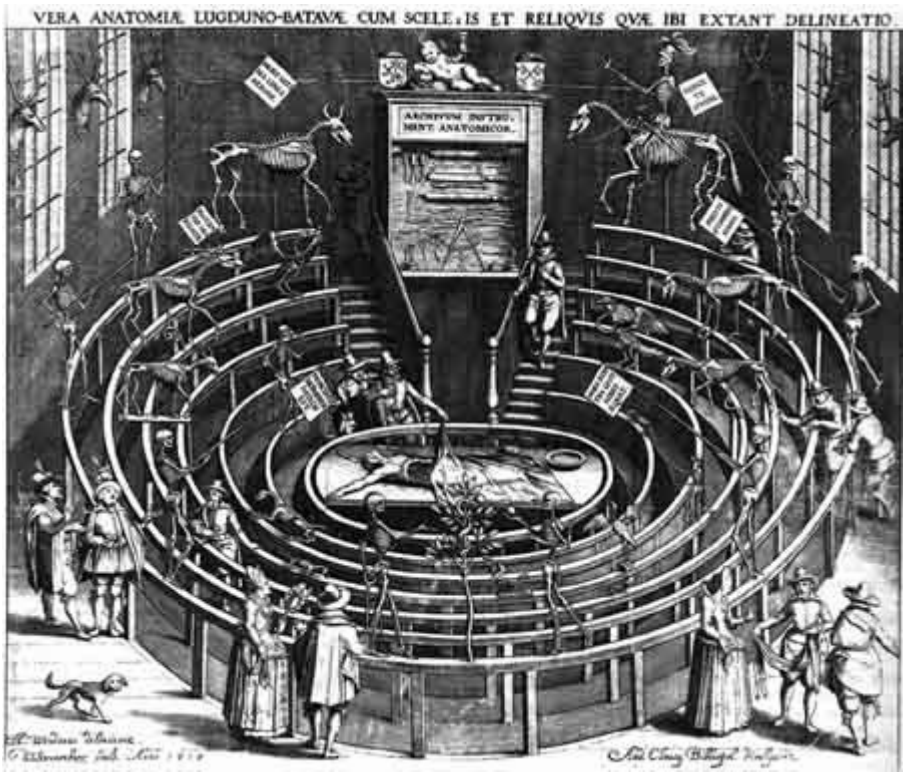

Figure 4.4 W. Swanenburg's Engraving of the Anatomy Theater in Leiden (1610)

Such theaters feature a central dissection platform surrounded by seats elevated by risers to enable visibility, which was ensured by large windows filling the spaces with natural light. Audience members were dressed and arranged according to rank, with apprentices seated furthest from the stage. Kate Cregan emphases the theatrical nature of public dissections, which took place over the course of several days so that the body would decay as part of the display. According to Cregan's analysis, factors like a theatrical space and an organized seating arrangement guaranteed that "the body was framed and represented, defined, monitored, and controlled. The audience who came to view the spectacle of the opened corpse was disciplined within the same dynamic. The anatomical imperative *nosce te ipsum*—'know thyself'—was a literal as well as a metaphorical injunction."[14]

[14] Cregan, 49.

The process of gaining self-knowledge through dissection was often a subject of visual art produced during the seventeenth century. Harmenszoon van Rijn Rembrandt's famous *Anatomy Lecture of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, pictured in Figure 4.5, is one such example. In this painting, Rembrandt depicts a master surgeon, clothed in black, who has made an incision in the left arm of a body laid bare on a central table. Several apprentices surround the body, studying the master surgeon's actions with the voyeuristic intensity of captivated audience members. As a result of such studies of the inner workings of the body, several anatomical treatises were published during the period, including Alexander Reed's *The Manuall of the Dissection of the Body of Man* (1638), Thomas Bartholin's *Bartholinus Anatomy* (1663), *Cerebri anatome* of Thomas Willis (1664) and John Browne's *Compleat Treatise of the Muscles as They Appear in the Human Bodie* (1683).

Figure 4.5 Harmenszoon van Rijn Rembrandt's*Anatomy Lecture of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (1632)

Figure 4.6 Cover of Andreas Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543)

The fascination with anatomy dates back to the fourteenth century, during which time dissection was introduced into the university curriculum.[15] Throughout the next few centuries, several works on human anatomy were published, culminating in *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543), a tome by Andreas Vesalius now considered to mark the beginning of

[15] Elizabeth Klever, ed., "Introduction," in *Images of the Corpse: from the Renaissance to Cyberspace* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), xii.

the modern anatomical tradition.[16] The cover plate of this volume, presented in Figure 4.6, features an anatomical theater in which a body being dissected is displayed prominently in the center; surgeons and excited onlookers watch the dissection, standing in the same regal, decorous postures of actors on stage or figures in a history painting. These figures stand in an orderly fashion, witnessing the dissection of a woman's body, which lies bare on an operating table.

Figure 4.7 Peter Paul Rubens's *Rape of the Sabine Women* (ca. 1635-40)

Compare Figure 4.6 with Peter Paul Rubens's *Rape of the Sabine Women* (c. 1635-40), in which women's bodies are carried away by Roman soldiers under the orders of King Romulus (Figure 4.7) The figures involved in violating the bodies of the women in this

[16] Andreas Vesalius *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem*, trans. William Frank Richardson and John Burd Carman (Norman Publishing, 2007).

painting are remarkably similar to those slicing open the woman's body in the engraving. Both scenes take place in front of classical columns upholding round arches and the figures in both images take remarkably similar poses as they either participate in or eagerly witness the acts of violation.

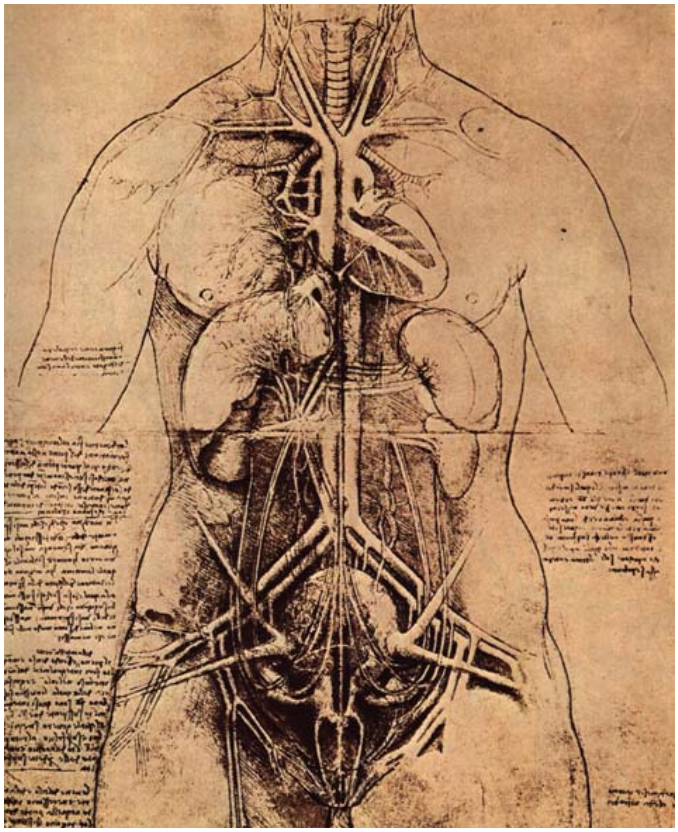

Figure 4.8 From Leonardo Da Vinci's Anatomical Notebooks (1510-1511)

Artists remained at the forefront of the movement to uncover the secrets of human anatomy, as their desire to depict "anatomically correct" bodies in their work required an understanding of the subsurface bones, muscles and organs giving the body its shape; Leonardo da Vinci is the classic example. Da Vinci devoted many years of his life to studying the human body, dissecting corpses at hospitals in Florence, Milan and Rome in

order to gain an understanding of the physical properties of the human body in detail.[17] Figure 4.8 provides one such example; this study of the inner organs and muscles of a female torso features copious notes: Observations made by Da Vinci and his contemporaries had an important impact on modern scientific understandings of the workings of the body. Jonathan Pevsner notes that Da Vinci made the first-ever discovery of the frontal sinus and pioneered the method of injecting hot wax into the brain to create casts of interior structures.[18] Birger Wandt notes that this artist was the first person to describe the modern approach to the long-axis contraction of ventricles.[19]

122 BOOK II. *Of the middle Veuter or Cavity.* Chap. II.

The FIGURES Explained.

This TABLE Represents the Larynx, with its Muscles and Gristles.

FIG. I.

A. *The Gristle cal'd* Shyroides *or Scutiformis, Sheild-fashioned.*
BBBB. *A Pair of common Muscles called* Sternothyroides.
CC. *Another pair of common Muscles called* Hyothyroides.

FIG. II.

A. *The Epiglottis lying yet hid under the Scutiformis.*
B. *The Scutiformis or Sheild-fashion'd Gristle.*
CC. *Its Processi.*
DD. *Two Muscles proper to the Larynx, of which that on the left Hand is removed from its place, that the Ring-fashion'd Gristle* E. *may be seen.*
F. *The Extuberancy of the Ring-fashion'd Gristle, or* Cartilago Annularis.
G. *A portion of the Aspera Arteria.*

FIG. III.

AAA. *The Bone Hyoides with three Extuberancies.*
B. *The Epiglottis.*
CC. *The Sheild-fashion'd Gristle, hollow on the Back-side.*
DD. *The two Muscles cal'd* Cucullares, *or the hinder pair of the* Cricoarythenoides *so called.*
E. *The hinder and Membranous part of the Aspera Arteria.*
FF. *The Muscles cal'd* Arytenoides, *by some the ninth pair.*

FIG. IV.

A. *The Concave part of Cartilago Scutiformis dilated.*
B. *The third pair of proper Muscles cal'd* Cricoarythenoides laterale.
C. *The first pair of proper Muscles.*
D. *The fourth pair cal'd* Thyroarythenoides internum.
EE. *Insertion of the recurrent Nerve.*
FF. *The hinder and Membranous part of the Aspera Arteria.*

The IX. TABLE.

FIG. V.

AA. *The Cartilago Thyroides or Scutiformis.*
BB. *The inferior processes thereof.*
C. *Its Concave Part.*

FIG. VI.

A. *The inside of the Cartilago Annularis.*
B. *Its lower and fore-side.*
C. *Its hinder and upper-side.*

FIG. VII.

A. B. *The Cartilago Arythenoides according to its hinder side joyned, as yet to the Annularis.*
C. *The broader and Back-part of the Annularis.*

FIG. VIII. IX.

Shews the Gristles which constitute the Arythenoides, Separate from the Annularis.

Page 122.

Figure 4.9 Larynx from Thomas Bartholin's *Anatomy* (1668)

[17] See Leonardo da Vinci, *Leonardo's Anatomical Drawings* (New York: Dover Publications, 2005).
[18] Jonathan Pevsner, "Leonardo Da Vinci's Contributions to Neuroscience," *Trends in Neuroscience* 25/4 (2002): 217-220.
[19] Birger Wandt, "Long-Axis Contraction of the Ventricles: A Modern Approach, but Described Already by Leonardo da Vinci," *Journal of the American Society of Echocardiography* 13/7 (2000): 699-706.

Within the early modern dissection tradition, there are several investigations of the workings of the respiratory system and vocal tract. Figure 4.9 is a table of the parts of the larynx from Thomas Bartholin's anatomy. Bartholin outlines the then-common understanding of how the voice worked. According to his argument, the lungs expel air, which straightens the "Chink," or entryway into the larynx; air blowing through the Chink has the same effect as air on a pipe, "as we perceive the wind to whistle through the Chink of a Dore," emitting a sigh upon exhalation.[20] Each human voice is distinguished as unique because of the following factors: 1) mouth position, which controls the vowel and consonant sounds produced; 2) percussion and modulation of the air "as well seen in Pipes," which would control the pitch and volume of the sound; 3) the size of the instruments involved in vocalization (windpipe, lungs and larynx), which would also contribute to the available range of pitches and dynamics; 4) how clearly the sound waves created reach the ears of the listener.[21] It is remarkable that Bartholin uses much of the same terminology as modern otolaryngologists to describe processes at work in the larynx; he understands, for example, that the epiglottis covers the "Chink," the opening through the larynx into the windpipe, during eating and drinking, preventing foreign bodies from entering the lungs.[22] Referencing Galen, Bartholin maintains that the individual qualities of the voice rely on the size of the larynx, which controls pitch, and the amount of air moving through the windpipe, which controls volume.[23] Modern otolaryngologists make a similar connection, though they

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[20] Thomas Bartholin, *Bartholinus Anatomy…In Four Books* (London: John Streater, 1668), 124.
[21] Number 4 depends on whether the sound reaches the ears of the listener "intire or mangled," which I take to mean unobstructed or obstructed by obstacles that would mutate the sound wave (Bartholin, 124).
[22] Bartholin writes "The fifth is called the Epiglottis, which covers and shuts the Chink, least a considerable quantity of meat and drink should fall into the Wesand (wind pipe or trachea), but that the Epiglottis being shut, they might pass down the Gullet" (123).
[23] Bartholin writes: "Its Magnitude varies according to the ages of the persons. For in younger persons the Larynx is strait which makes the voice shrill; in grown persons 'tis wider, and therefore the voice is bigger. To

understand that pitch is controlled by tightening or loosening the vocal folds. Bartholin's theory of the workings of the voice ultimately differs from the modern understanding of the processes in his explanation of the functions of the larynx. As described on pp. 111-114 of this chapter, modern otolaryngologists hold that vocalization is caused by stretching of the vocal folds, which narrows the *rima glottidis* and pulls the vocal cords taut. The vocal cords vibrate as air passes through the larynx, creating sound waves at pitches and volumes relative to the tension of the cords and the volume of air passing through the air column comprised by the pharynx, nasal cavity, sinuses and mouth. Early modern anatomists believed that vocalization was caused by a process similar to the sounding of a whistle; according to their theory, speech and song resulted from the larynx vibrating in the manner of the mouthpiece of a pipe. Mersenne's slant on this idea compares the glottis, which he also calls the "languette," with the reed on a flute.[24] The idea of the larynx as static mouthpiece may be contrasted with the modern understanding of vibrating vocal folds.

Several seventeenth-century vocal specialists and medical professionals notice tangible connections between the body and vocal tract. Bartholin identifies both remote and immediate organs involved in voice production; the former are the chest and lungs, while the latter are those in the mouth and throat, the glottis in particular.[25] John Browne and Mersenne confirm that breathing has an effect on sound production, emphasizing that the lungs and muscles in the chest play a role in controlling sound quality. Browne points out the importance of the breath stream in distinguishing between speech and song, noting that

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which also the length or shortness of the Larynx doth contribute…according to Galen there are two causes of a great Voice: the Largeness of the Aspera arteria, and the strong blowing out of the air" (121).

[24] Marin Mersenne, "Harmonie Universelle," trans. Edmund LeRoy (DMA Dissertation: The Juilliard School, 1978), 27.

[25] Bartholin, 122.

each requires a different amount of air pressure against the glottis.[26] Mersenne's list of components involved in vocal production extends far beyond the throat. Among the "number of parts that aid in forming the voice," which he believes provides the "number of the Muses," are the lungs and windpipe.[27] He suggests that breathing plays a role in relaying the passions of the soul to audiences. According to Mersenne, the passions of the soul are transmitted to the diaphragm, which conveys this emotion to the outside observer by changing the speed of respiration, thus impacting the quality of the voice.[28] The author asserts that vocal quality relies on the breath stream, stating that "the voice and sound follow the conditions and qualities of the objects that beat the air."[29] Mersenne attributes small voices to breathing that is "too short and infrequent" and shrill voices with "unequal" fluctuations of the breath stream.[30] Mersenne does not discuss the breath in isolation; rather, he insists that muscles throughout the chest are involved in inspiration and expiration, noting that 32 muscles are required for each act. He considers the chest "most necessary to the voice, because the chest must be enlarged so that the air be drawn in into the lungs and contracted to dispel the vapors."[31] Browne also understands that air does not pass through

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[26] Browne writes: "In Singing, we plainly discover that the Air is expell'd from the whole Capacity of the Lungs, with greater force than in common Expiration; but the Air being an elastick Body, as I before said, cannot be expell'd without pressing upon the Parts adjoining, and as the Force of Expulsion is greater or less, so likewise is the Pressure of the Air. And this may be still encreas'd by straitening the Passage of the Glottis, (as it is when we form an acute Sound) for by this means the Air cannot escape so freely, and thereby its reaction upon the Lungs must be greater. That the Pressure of the Air by this action is greater than in common Expiration, we may thus also prove; since by Singing we find an encrease of the Pulse, and since by Proposition V the Pulse, caeteris paribus, rises in proportion to the Gravity of the Air" (John Browne, *Compleat Treatise of the Muscles as They Appear in the Human Bodie and Arise in Dissection with Diverse Anatomical Observations Not Yet Discover'd* [London: Thomas Newcome, 1683], 13).

[27] Mersenne postulates that the number of mythological Muses comes from the number of parts involved in vocalization: the lungs, windpipe, larynx (including the glottis, which he compares to the reed on a wind instrument), palate, gargareon (upper part of the throat), tongue, four front teeth, air and mouth (27).

[28] Mersenne writes: "Finally it is called [Greek for "mind"], as if it were the seat of discretion, one is in perpetual delirium because of its great sympathy with the brain. Now this delirium and its symptoms of frenzy prove that this muscles it necessary to the voice since, when it is affected, the respiration is small and frequent and the voice shrill" (34).

[29] Mersenne, 141.

[30] Mersenne, 141.

[31] Mersenne, 28.

the glottis in isolation; rather, it depends on and has an effect on the muscles in the chest. He states that "in Singing, we plainly discover that the Air is expell'd from the whole Capacity of the Lungs, with greater force than in common Expiration; but the Air being an elastick Body, as I before said, cannot be expell'd without pressing upon the Parts adjoining, and as the Force of Expulsion is greater or less, so likewise is the Pressure of the Air."[32]

Several writers draw connections between temperament and the voice, insisting that imbalances in the finely-tuned humor system contribute to granting voices their unique qualities. Mersenne attributes voices with a dark color to an excess of "phlegm and other humors that hamper the organs of the voice."[33] Bacilly adds that a phlegmatic temperament creates voices with a "lifeless sweetness" lacking in "fire"—an animating disposition.[34] According to Mersenne, experiences that cool the body, such as fear, fright and excessive sleeplessness, cause a rough vocal timbre.[35] Bacilly attributes husky voices to a "bilious temperament [which] gives their singing fire and emotion, and above all, expressivity in the interpretation of words."[36] Imbalances in the humor system can threaten the ability of the body to vocalize in a healthy manner. Mersenne notes that women's bodies are particularly threatening to men's ability to develop or conserve their voices; he advises against enjoying

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[32] Browne, 13. Browne later adds that the speed of air controls the nature of glottal movement, thus controlling the quality of sound production: "The Gravity and Acuteness of the Sound depend upon a swift or slow Repercussion of the undulating Air, according as the Capacity of the Glottis is contracted or enlarg'd; for the Cartilaginous Sides, which from the Chink, can open or shut by innumerable ways, as the Muscles plac'd here act variously, so different sorts of Sounds are emitted; and thus by straitening the Passage of the Glottis, we encrease the Celerity of expelling the Air, and form an acute Sound: on the contrary, upon a greater opening of the Chink and slower Expulsion and Undulation of the Air does the Gravity of the Voice depend" (22-23).
[33] Mersenne, 142.
[34] Bénigne de Bacilly, *A Commentary Upon the Art of Proper Singing* (Paris, 1668), trans. Austin B. Caswell (Brooklyn: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968), 39.
[35] Mersenne, 143.
[36] Bacilly, 40.

"immoderate pleasures…particular that of women," as they upset the balance of the humors in the body, creating a lusty excess of heat.[37]

Just as seventeenth-century writers believed that the balance or imbalance of the humors of the body could affect the quality of the voice, they were convinced that the act of singing could create balance in the body. Writing on the medicinal qualities of singing, Browne makes several observations about the ability of this act to cure physical ailments. He maintains that song can combat excessive melancholy, prescribing the following:

> To remedy this Disease of the Mind, Singing seems to be particularly adapted, for by this Action we may possibly strike the Ear so agreeably as to give a Pleasure to the Soul, and at the same time we assemble the Ideas of the Tune, and reflect upon its Beauty and Harmony...in short, the Body that before was like a lifeless Log, or a Piece of inanimated Clay, will now be render'd brisk and active and Sensation and Motion acquire their utmost Perfection. Thus we may see what a vast Influence Singing has over the Mind of Man…[38]

According to Browne, singing causes "a plentiful and regular Secretion of [Animal] Spirits," thus causing the heart to pump blood through the body at increased speeds and promoting a body that functions well.[39] Browne prescribes singing specific melodies to "tune" the body, curing ailments that are caused by imbalances of the humors. Diseases caused by excess

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[37] Mersenne writes "One of the means of conserving or enlarging the voice consists in exercise, and in working the body, which ought to be worked up to a sweat before a meal. The other, to read and sing often, as is done in church choirs, and the third consists in the abstinence from all kinds of immoderate pleasures, and particular that of women, as Quintilian and Corneilus Celsus noted in the 25th [proposition] of his 7th book, where it is reported the custom of castrating [d'infibuler] children in order to preserve their voices…leaks and onions benefit the voice because they clean the throat; this happen similarly if one uses a grain of cole-wort mixed with sugar, or with Spanish licorice, or with tobacco syrup. It is believed also that a blade of lead placed on the stomach renders the voice cleaner and more agreeable" (144-145).

[38] Browne, 15-16.

[39] Browne writes "a plentiful and regular Secretion of Spirits, and if (as by Prop. II.) the Motion of the Heart and consequently the Circulation of the Blood depends upon the Influx of Spirits, Singing then must certainly be the Cause of a full and strong contraction of the Heart; whereby we may suppose that the Blood will be thrown out with a force sufficient to conquer all the Resistances it may meet with in its Passage through the Body…. The Motion and Fluidity of the Blood are still farther encreas'd by Singing, for by Prop VI. The Pressure of the Air is then greater than in common Expiration; and by Prop IV the Blood is communited in the Lungs by the Pressure of the Air, and by Prop V. the greater the Pressure of the Air is, the stronger and quicker will its Circulation be; and therefore Singing can't but wonderfully conduce to the Preservation of our Healths, and thus promotes a free Circulation" (18).

melancholy, for example, such as hypochondria and hysteria, may be cured by invigorating the spirits with "the Succession of the brisk and lively ideas of the Tune."[40] John Playford makes a similar argument, maintaining that "exercise of the Voice in Song" joined with "Exercise of the Limbs" will cure diseases like asthma and consumption, ultimately claiming that "the Mind, harmonically composed, is roused up at the Tunes o' the Musick."[41] Seybald Heyden adds that "Music has a truly singular power to please, in that it dispels a feeling of weariness born of labor and to refresh men exhausted from continued application."[42]

Browne suggests that singing is capable of healing the mentally ill. He observes the effects of sung music on victims of Tarantism, a disease caused by the bites of venomous spiders. This disease was a subject of much discussion in Italy between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was characterized by frenzied excitement and restlessness. Incidentally, the *tarantella*, a southern Italian folk dance, was once popularly but incorrectly considered to be a cure for this disease, prescribed by Athanasius Kircher in his *Magnes* (1641).[43] Browne writes:

> For in a Tarantism, where the Patients lie as in a Apoplexy, it is observed that however differently their Ears are modulated for this or that Instrument, this or that Tune, they all agree in this, to have the Notes run over with the greatest Swiftness imaginable, by which the Air being briskly and smartly vibrated, the Spirits flow with such Vigour and Activity into the Muscles, as strongly to incite them to dance.[44]

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[40] Browne, 28. He prescribes cures for other ailments in the following detail: "In detail, discusses how sounds can prevent diseases. One example: "Anger, Rage, Impatience, &c are attended by a violent and irregular Motion of the Spirits; on the contrary, a Defect of Spirits is the Consequence of Fear, Melancholy, Despair, &c each of which Excesses may produce Diseases particular to the Affection of the Spirits. For the Prevention therefore of the first, a soft Adagio will be most convenient, as by its languishing Strains it seems to be more particularly adapted to soften us into Temper; on the contrary, when the Soul is dejected, nothing can be ore conducive to its Elevation than a brisk Allegro" (42-43).
[41] John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London: 1674), 41.
[42] Seybald Heyden, *De arte canendi* (1540), trans. Clement A. Miller (American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 17.
[43] Erich Swandt, "Tarantella," *Grove Music Online*, ed L. Macy <http://www.grovemusiconline.com> (accessed 3 January 2009).
[44] Browne, 37.

Here, Browne has made observations similar to those discussed in Oliver Sacks's recent publication, the acclaimed *Musicophilia.* In Chapter 20 of this book, Sacks discusses the effects of music on patients suffering from *encephalitis lethargica*, a sleeping sickness wherein victims are immobile, frozen in a trancelike state. Sacks worked with post-encephalitic patients at the Beth Abraham Hospital in 1966, before medication was available for treating symptoms of immobility. He observes that music aided these patients in improving their mobility; when Sacks and therapist Kitty Stiles played music for these patients, their trancelike demeanor was replaced by free, fluid movement.[45]

Early modern writers observe correspondences between body size and voice quality, many of which are rooted in the theories of Galen and Hippocrates. Bacilly notices that body size corresponds with voice size, suggesting that vocal defects are more apparent in tall people that in short ones because of the relatively large size and strength of the voices of the former.[46] Large bodies create large voices, which have a greater "…*amount* of *tone* or *sonority* present in the voice," by which he means "that intangible quality which in some voices fills, or *nourishes* the ear better than the more delicate voices."[47] Bartholin makes a correlation between body size and laryngeal position, insisting that a person's size impacts the manner in which her glottis produces sound; children have straight larynxes, which create a "shrill" sound, while the wider larynxes of adults create "bigger" voices.[48] Bacilly observes that the relative sizes of men and women's bodies result in voices with different qualities. According to Bacilly, high voices are more "successful in effective performance" than low ones, because of "the fact that a greater number of the emotions or passions will appear to good

[45] See Oliver Sacks, "Kinetic Melody: Parkinson's Disease and Music Therapy," in *Musicophilia: Tales of Music and the Brain* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 248-258.
[46] Bacilly observes that "just as physical defects are more apparent in a tall person than in a person of medium height, vocal defects are more apparent in big voices" (42). He later qualifies this statement, warning that we should "not confuse the word small with the word weak" (44).
[47] Bacilly, 47.
[48] Bartholin, 121.

advantage in the higher voice ranges than the lower ones." He adds that "the bass voice is suitable for almost nothing but the emotion of anger…."[49] Bacilly does not insist that high voices are wholly superior to low ones, however; he stresses "the fact that men have greater vigor and strength in their singing and more talent for performing the accents and passions of music."[50] In his analysis, both high and low voices have merits; voices with relatively high ranges excel in realms of expressing the passions while voices with low ranges are stronger and more vigorous.

Franz Lang understands that movements of the body are related to vocal expression, insisting that both acts work in tandem to stimulate audiences. He writes "It is not merely through vocal inflection or through the use of a particular part of the body, but through coordination of all facets of the body that an audience is aroused or calmed in the theater…. From my observation, I will call stage movement the harmonious blending of the whole body and voice in a way that will arouse emotions."[51] The body and voice were thus interconnected; each had a tangible impact on the possessor's ability to manipulate the other effectively.

Modern Research Corresponding with Seventeenth-Century Ideas

Modern medical researchers have made discoveries that interact with seventeenth-century observations about connections between the body and the voice in suggestive ways. This section provides an overview of several modern observations of connections between movements and positions of body and the ability of the voice to phonate.

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[49] Bacilly, 45.
[50] Bacilly, 46.
[51] Franz Lang. *Dissertatio de actione scenica, cum figures eandem explicantibus, et observationibus quibusdam de arte comica..Accessserunt imagines symbolicae pro exhibitione e vesitu theatrali* (Monachii: Mariae Magdalenae Riedlin, 1727), 11-12. Quoted in Ronald G. Engle, "Lang's Discourse on Stage Movement," *Educational Theatre Journal 22:2* (May 1970): 184.

Vocalization relies on muscles in the chest that control the flow of the breath. Voice teachers insist that proper breath control is one of the most crucial steps to mastering singing technique; as Robert C. White points out, it allows for "the minimalization of tension in the muscles of the throat and cannot be separated from the successful expression of the musical phrase."[52] David Mason describes a connection between posture and the singer's ability to breathe well. In order to enable the muscles involved in inhalation and exhalation to work in the most efficient way possible, he suggests singing with an erect, loose posture with the chest held high, the sternum dropped and the arms hanging from the sockets. The pelvis should be tipped forward so that the buttocks are tipped downward, weight is on the balls of the feet and the muscles are relaxed. This stance allows the muscles of the diaphragm to move freely. Inhalation should be deep, with the lower ribs expanding to allow the diaphragm to descend.[53]

Holding the chest in an upright, relaxed posture while breathing plays a key role in assuring that the larynx can function most efficiently. The ability of the larynx to maintain a neutral position in the throat requires muscles connecting to the shoulders and sternum to hold it down and back. These muscles are required to counterbalance those in the head, which exert an upward force on the larynx, pulling it towards the tongue, palate and cranium. Poor posture could result in a downward force in the chest too weak to oppose the upward force in the head, preventing an equilibrium that allows the larynx to function as it should. Mason emphasizes the importance of singing with an erect chest, warning that "the downward pulling muscles cannot function if the chest is not kept high and wide."[54] Without this balance of forces, the larynx may be positioned too low or high in the throat,

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[52] Robert C. White, Jr. "On the Teaching of Breathing for the Singing Voice," *Journal of Voice* 2/1 (March 1988): 26-29.
[53] David Mason. *The Singing Voice* (London: Channel Four Television, 1984), 2.
[54] Mason, 2.

creating an overly dull or squeaky sound. Mason's observations support seventeenth-century writers' insistence on good posture, outlined in Chapter 3, such as Butler's call for a "decent erect posture of the bodie,"[55] Wilson's insistence that the head be "holden upright"[56] and Le Faucheur's criticism of those who "thrust out the *Belly* and throw back the *Head*."[57]

Ernesto Bruno *et al.* have discovered a correlation between posture and healthy vocal production; they assert that unless the muscles of the upper body are relaxed, avoiding a hypertonic state,[58] pressure asserted by tense muscles in the back could cause the head to jut forward, which would restrict the motions of mechanisms inside the larynx.[59] Their discovery suggests that relaxation fosters circumstances ripe for unimpeded vocalization; a lack of tension enables the breath to move freely and to work with the glottis to produce a present, vibrant vocal sound. Christie Block, a voice therapist and swallowing specialist with the New York Otolaryngology Group, has observed a connection between movement and muscular relaxation. Block trains clients to prepare their bodies for vocalization through movement therapy; exercises like circling the shoulders backwards and forward and stretching and rolling the neck achieve "relaxation…to get the body in a better position to do vocalizing tasks."[60] Block has found that movement while phonating can often contribute to maintaining relaxation; keeping the limbs and torso still sometimes creates tension in the upper body, which in turn hinders the ability of the larynx to function. The idea of motion contributing to relaxation parallels the seventeenth-century idea that motion

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[55] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Music in Singing and Setting* (London, 1636), 97.
[56] Thomas Wilson, *Wilson's Art of Rhetorique 1560*, ed. G. H. Mair (New York: Clarendon Press, 1909), 221.
[57] Michel Le Faucheur, *An Essay upon the Actions of an Orator as to His Pronunciation and Gesture Useful Both for Divines and Lawyers, and Necessary for all Young Gentlemen, that Study How to Speak Well in Publick Done Out of French* (London: Nicolas Cox, 1680), 194.
[58] A hypertonic muscle is exceedingly tight.
[59] Ernesto Bruno, Alessandro De Padova, Bianca Napolitano,
Patrizia Marroni, Raffaella Batelli, Fabrizio Ottaviani and Marco Alessandrini, "Voice Disorders and Postureography," *Journal of Voice* 21/1 (2007): 71-75.
[60] Christie Block, Interview on 9 December 2008.

was the healthiest, most normal state of the human body. Browne prescribes motion for healing the body, even pointing out its importance in the functionality of the lungs, which helps achieve a more efficient use of the breath, writing "We plainly find, that by frequently using any particular Motion of any Part of our Body, that that Party by moderate Exercise gains Strength and Agility in its Action; with the same Reason that we may suppose the Lungs to be in the same manner affected."[61]

While Butler, Browne, Le Faucheur and Wilson's treatises lack images depicting models of "good" posture, paintings of singers completed in the seventeenth century provide clues regarding positions of the body that would have enabled the production of a vibrant, agile vocal sound. Claude Vignon's *The Young Singer* (France, 1623), Gerard ter Borch's *Concert* (The Netherlands, 1675), ter Borch's *A Singing Practice* and Sacchi's *Pasqualini Crowned by Apollo* (Rome, 1641) each depict singers who hold themselves with similar postures. Whether sitting or standing, the singers in Figure 4.10-4.13 share tall and erect postures, heads held aloft and relaxed shoulders.

[61] Browne, 24.

Figure 4.10 Claude Vignon's *The Young Singer* (1623)

Figure 4.11 Gerard ter Borch's *Concert* (1675)

Figure 4.12 Gerard ter Borch's *A Singing Practice*

Figure 4.13 Andrea Sacchi's *Marcantonio Pasqualini Crowned by Apollo* (1641)

The postures of the singers in these images is remarkably similar to what modern medical researchers view as the "normal" position of the body, pictured in Figure 4.14 A.

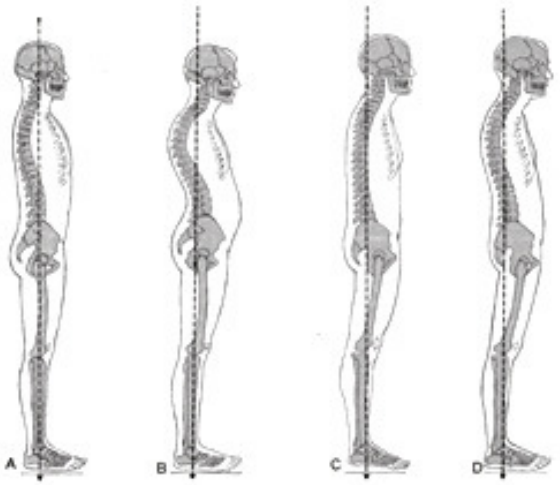

Figure 4.14 Normal Bodily Alignment and the Three Major Deviations[62]

The posture in Figure 14.A is promoted as normal and healthy; this stance features an upright torso, relaxed shoulders, a slightly curved spine and an erect head. Regarding singing, this posture enables the larynx and muscles involved in breathing to move without restriction. Deviant postures feature abnormal spinal curvature and the "jutting forward" of the head (B), a flattening of the back (C) and sway back posture with hypertension in the knees (D).[63]

A study by Hoit, Plassman, Lansing and Hixon uncovers a correlation between the breath and vocal timbre. The human body is a remarkably flexible instrument, which finds a way to maintain a steady breath stream in every position. Nonetheless, as Hoit points out, each posture of the body requires the use of different muscles to achieve a steady use of

[62]Diagram from Florence Peterson Kendall, Elizabeth Kendall McCreary, Patricia Geise Provance, Mary McIntyre Rodgers, and William Anthony Romani, *Muscles: Testing and Function*, 5th ed. (Baltimore, MD: Lippincott Williams and Wilkins, 2005).
[63] See Barbara M. Wilson Arboleda and Arlette L. Frederick, "Considerations for Maintenance of Postural Alignment for Voice Production," *Journal of Voice* 22/1 (2008): 90-99, especially 93.

air.[64] Hoit *et al.* have proven that different muscular "solutions" to the problem of various postures creates different vocal sounds. In their study, these researchers investigated the ability of the abdominal muscles to support breathing in different bodily positions, measuring EMG activity—the electrical potential of contracting cells—of the muscles involved in breathing in test subjects phonating in different positions.[65] They discovered that holding the body in an upright position, such as that discussed in the preceding paragraphs, results in a superior ability to breathe, with the highest level of EMG activity and greatest control over subglottal activity. Knowing this information, it is conceivable that singing while holding the body in an upright posture could very well play a role in enabling a controlled, present and vibrant vocal sound. Singing from a slumped posture would limit the body's ability to breathe and use the breath efficiently, contributing to a relatively dull sound. Block has observed a correlation between posture and vocal timbre; she has noticed that singers who are asked regularly to sing in poor postural positions tend to develop vocal problems over time. According to her observations over years of working with people who rely on their voices for their livelihoods, there are infinite factors involved in vocal problems, and it is impossible to pinpoint posture as the single most definitive factor in healthy or poor vocalization. Nonetheless, she has observed that there is a remarkable correlation between poor posture and vocal problems.[66] Along those lines, hundreds of years of anecdotal evidence in the form of singing teachers instructing their students to "stand up straight" cannot be ignored. This issue is of increasing interest to researchers. David Howard, Personal Chair in Music Technology and head of the Audio Lab at York University, is

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[64] Jeannette D. Hoit, "Influence of Body Position on Breathing and Its Implications for the Evaluation and Treatment of Speech and Voice Disorders," *Journal of Voice* 9/4 (1995) 341-347. Hoit discusses modifications in the muscles used to achieve a steady breath stream from upright positions and a position lying on the ground. (341).

[65] J. D. Hoit, B. L. Plassman, R. W. Lansing and T. J. Hixon, "Abdominal muscle activity during speech production," *Journal of Applied Physiology* 65 (1988): 2656-2664.

[66] Block.

currently conceiving a project that will use spectrographic analysis to investigate the impact of various postures and movements on the acoustic properties of vocalization.[67] Though only in the conceptual stage, this project will undoubtedly uncover new ways to discuss the relationship between movement and sound production.

While a direct, tangible connection between posture and vocal timbre remains unproven and virtually unexplored, the correlation of posture and the ability to vocalize freely has been well documented. Singing well depends on a countless number of factors, both physical and psychological. Nonetheless, the idea that posture could make a contribution to tone color is a provocative one.

What Does This Suggest for Performance Practice?

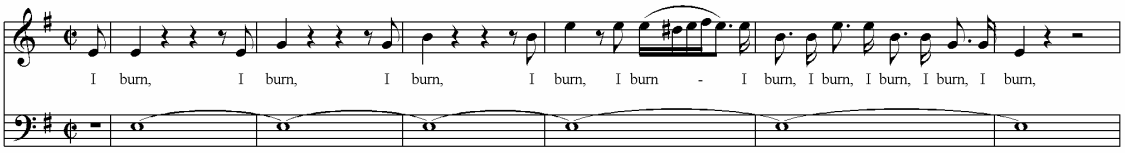
On the most basic level, we may conclude that posture actively contributes to the body's ability to create the sound ideal advocated by seventeenth-century singers. The above research suggests that the production of a vibrant vocal sound is aided by an upright, relaxed posture. Both relaxation and normal posture create preferable conditions for singing by enabling the production of a steady air stream, which is capable of consistently monitoring the air flowing through the larynx. This, in turn, allows the larynx to produce sound freely, enabling the brilliant tone color and agility advocated for performing seventeenth-century music.

The above studies provide interesting evidence from which one might speculate that gesture and movement could themselves play a role in enabling a brilliant, agile vocal sound. Choreographing the music with various postures and gestures prevents the body from remaining stationary; as such, the movement required to shift among various positions could play a role in avoiding tension that could be detrimental to healthy vocalization. The role of

[67] For more on the Audio Lab, see <http://www.elec.york.ac.uk/research/intSys/audio.html>.

motion itself is important to acknowledge in the context of choreography and gesture. Music is not stationary; likewise, gesture moves through time and space. Actions connecting gestures and postures could impact the way that the singer's voice transitions among notes, influencing factors like timing, dynamics and intensity.

Additionally, there are suggestions of a direct relationship between posture and vocal timbre. Standing in an erect posture allows the breath to flow freely, enabling an active present sound; by contrast, flawed postures such as slumping could impede the breath flow, contributing to a timbre that is less-than-perfect. Seventeenth-century music requires the singer to match vocal timbre to textual affect; a beautiful vocal sound was not ideal for every musical moment. Moreover, a beautiful sound *per se* was not the ideal then as it is today; delivery of the text was of primary importance. So, slouching could contribute to producing a vocal timbre that is appropriate for lyrics focused on emotions like sadness or anger. We may return to John Eccles's "I burn" for an example. The opening phrase in this piece repeats the words "I burn," ascending and descending an octave, as though the speaker attempts unsuccessfully to escape a tormented state of mind (Example 4.1).



Example 4.1 "I burn," by John Eccles (mm. 1-6)

Slouching in defeat during the final iterations of "I burn" could constrict the diaphragm and larynx, contributing to the production of relatively harsh vocal sound punctuating the end of this phrase. In such a case, the body and the voice would work in tandem to produce both visual and sonic images of despair or melancholy. The body could thus contribute to the ability of the voice to imitate the affect present in the text.

Even though it may be impossible to pinpoint the precise contribution posture makes to vocalization, we must acknowledge its intangible effects on the performer and the audience. After all, posture often plays an important psychological role in characterization. Seventeenth-century singers were encouraged to suit movements and postures of the body to the character and mood at hand (see Chapter 3 pp. 90-92). Postures representing the various affections were well documented in emblem books and other sources providing a visual vocabulary of human emotion. Melancholy, for example, is typically depicted with slumped shoulders and a head arching towards the ground; Motte's edition of Ripa's *Iconlogia* provides one such example (Figure 4.15).

Figure 4.15 Cesare Ripa's *Melancholy* (1709)

Performing a morose passage while standing in this defeated posture contributes in numerous ways to the presentation of sadness in the context of performance. Bowing the neck and shoulders forward significantly could constrict motions of both the breath stream

and the larynx, preventing the production of the most vibrant sound possible. Additionally, standing in this way might assist the singer in adopting the mindset of the piece she is performing, possessing the affection contained in the music more fully through the physical act of assuming a melancholic posture. Let us not forget the impact of sight in forging a relationship between the emotion being performed and the perception of the audience; after all, observing the singer standing in this way signifies to the audience that what is being portrayed through sound is fundamentally sad. It is a combination of these factors—visible, audible, physical and psychological—acting on both the performer and audience that create the illusion of melancholy.

CHAPTER FIVE

THREE CASE STUDIES

Singing techniques in the seventeenth century varied according to date, geographical location and performance context. The goal of vocal music in this period—whether we are concerned with the music *itself* (the composition) or the music as it is transmitted by performers—was ultimately to express the affections contained in the text in a way that was effective enough to move the audience's emotions. Texts compiled for various performance settings express a range of affects, and audiences with preferences dictated by the mores of people speaking different languages in different places at different historical moments dictate musical settings with disparate compositional styles and performances transmitted via various singing techniques. The musical and performance-practice vocabulary of a mad song written by Henry Purcell near the end of the century, for example, is radically different from that required to transmit one of Jacopo Peri's monodies.

If compositional and performance techniques varied thus, it follows that the movements used by singers to express music visually differed according to performance context. In this chapter, I will explore the variety of movement available to seventeenth-century singers in disparate settings. I will read pieces from different geographical locations written at various moments in time for performance in three individual venues in terms of gesture. First, I will place each piece in its respective environment, describing the conventions of the genre to which it belongs. I will then discuss possibilities for staging the piece suggested by the conventions of its genre and musical structure.

Italian Solo Cantata

The cantata was the most popular form of chamber music in seventeenth-century Italy. Scored for a small number of singers and continuo, cantatas are pieces written for

performance in intimate situations before learned audiences, such as Roman *conversazioni* in private palaces or meetings of Venetian academies.[1] Their texts are poetic and highly literary, ranging from typical amatory themes like Barbara Strozzi's *Begli occhi* (1654) to philosophical subjects like Giacomo Carissimi's *A piè d'un verde alloro* (ca. 1650), a debate between Heraclitus and Democritus.[2] Cantatas are commonly comprised of alternating sections or movements of recitative, arioso and aria, with texts set in a style that fosters a heightened awareness of their form and meaning through musical devices for the advantage of their erudite listeners.

The exchanges among artists and intellectuals that characterized the academies at which cantatas were performed are depicted in several pieces of art produced during the seventeenth century. Salvatore Rosa's engraving of Plato's academy and a detail from Dumesnil's painting of Queen Christina of Sweden meeting with a group of intellectuals including Descartes are two such examples. The attention of most figures in these paintings is focused on one person, who is apparently introducing an idea. In Rosa's piece (Figure 5.1), the figures depicted therein, including Plato—who is seated in the center—look toward a bearded man on the right who is leaning against a tree. In Dumesnil's painting (Figure 5.2), most figures look towards the man pointing at a map on the central table—René Descartes. Gestures help focus the viewer's gaze on both Descartes and the figure leaning against the tree; the former points towards a map on the table, while the latter opens his right hand, emphasizing an idea. Other figures in Dumesnil's painting gesticulate. The man in the black robe on the right points towards the ceiling and the women at the table—Queen

[1] For more on these academies, see Roger Freitas, "Singing and Playing: The Italian Cantata and the Rage for Wit," *Music and Letters* 82 (2001): 509-42.
[2] Robert R. Holzer, "Music and Poetry in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Settings of the Canzonetta and Cantata Texts of Francesco Balducci, Domenico Benigni, Francesco Melosio and Antonio Abati" (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1990). See also Colin Timms, "Cantata: The Italian Cantata Before 1800," *Grove Music Online*, ed L. Macy <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 3 March 2009).

Christina on the left and the blonde woman in the center—move their hands as if conversation with Descartes.

Figure 5.1 Salvatore Rosa, *The Academy of Plato* (1662)

Figure 5.2 Detail of *Christina of Sweden with Descartes* by Pierre-Louis Dumesnil the Younger (1698-1781)

These paintings suggest that rhetorical discourse, the focal point of academy meetings, was accompanied by a particular type of gesture: one which was refined and restrained. None of the limbs of any of the figures in these images are positioned in an extreme or excessive manner; the arms and legs of the figures remain firmly within the boundaries of their torsos, and gestures are precise, maintaining the sense of decorum that was so prized in treatises providing instructions on singing, acting and rhetorical discourse (see Chapter 3, pp. 83-88). Gestures are conversational and intimate rather than theatrical in scale. The gestural vocabulary present in these images suggests that the poetic and musical

ideas put forth in cantatas written for performance in academies were projected with gestures that were refined, scaled and controlled. This is not to say that pieces performed in such settings were not sometimes dramatic; indeed, texts like that of Monteverdi's *Il Combattimento di Tancrede e Clorinda* (1624) are highly theatrical, and would likely have been performed with a range of active, dramatic movements. Nonetheless, the scale of the gestures in a chamber music setting would remain smaller than those prevalent in operatic and theatrical contexts.

One of the most prolific composers of cantatas in mid-seventeenth-century Italy was the Venetian Barbara Strozzi, who scored a great majority of her works for solo soprano and continuo. The intimate, lyrical nature and unified vocal style among these pieces suggests that Strozzi wrote them for herself to perform at meetings of the *Accademia degli Unisoni* in the home of her adoptive father, Giulio Strozzi. *Le veglie de' Signori Unisoni*, published by this society in 1638, details Barbara Strozzi's important role in its meetings; Strozzi effectively functioned as the mistress of ceremonies, suggesting topics—mostly relating to love—for discussion among the members, judging the winners of philosophical debates and performing compositions related to the subject matter of the day.

Barbara Strozzi's physical body was an important part of these meetings. As David and Ellen Rosand have suggested in their analysis of a portrait by Bernardo Strozzi of an unidentified woman believed to be Barbara (pictured in Figure 5.3), this composer's sexuality was fundamentally connected with her role as muse. The Rosands note that "her position readily evoked that association between music-making and sexual license so well documented in cinquecento Venice."[3] They suggest that Strozzi's choices of amorous texts

[3] David Rosand and Ellen Rosand, "Barbara di Santa Sofia and Il Prete Genovese: On the Identity of a Portrait by Bernardo Strozzi," *The Art Bulletin* 63/2 (June 1981): 249-258, 252.

for her cantatas—which she herself performed—"confirm this association."[4] The portrait hints that the composer's allure rests in her physicality. The woman's arms and chest are bare, with voluptuous breasts spilling over a loose top. She is clothed in sensuous fabrics in a variety of textures—silk, satin and lace—and her hair, adorned with a blooming flower, is loose, all features alluding to the sense of touch.

Figure 5.3 Bernado Strozzi's *The Gamba Player* (1630)

Moralità amorosa, a solo cantata published in Strozzi's third book of works (*Cantate e ariette* [1654]), is related to the idea of this composer's body serving as the focal point of her power. The piece is a setting of an anonymous sonnet ruminating on the marvelous-yet-ephemeral nature of female beauty. The poet begins by describing the actions his beloved takes to beautify herself in the morning, drawing attention to her physical body in sensuous terms. The beloved, described as the sun, rises with the dawn ("sorge il mio sol," line 1) in order to brush and treat her hair with perfumes and glazes, transforming herself into an

[4] Rosand, 253.

object of beauty. She is so successful at adorning herself that the speaker is entranced; his heart is enflamed by the effects of her tools ("In catene di foco il cor mi lega," line 11). The spell of the lover's gleaming hair is broken, however, in the final three lines of the sonnet, in which the speaker marvels at the fact that beauty fades quickly ("se si dissolve la bellezza in brev'ora," lines 12-14). The beloved's beauty, endowed by nature and maintained through the painstaking process of adorning herself with color and fragrance, is at once temporary and illusory, both subject to the limitations of age and dependent on artificial tools whose effects are easily washed away.

The speaker uses both ephemeral and solid terms to describe his beloved's attempts to highlight and augment her natural beauty and to describe his own reaction to it. The beloved makes herself attractive by applying powders and perfume to her hair, enhancing its color and creating an alluring scent. Ashes and fumes have transformed her natural body into a thing of artificial beauty, entwining the speaker's heart in chains of fire. The poet plays on antitheses between corporal entities (ashes and chains) and ephemeral ones (fumes and fire), emphasizing both the tangible effects beauty has on his opinion of the beloved and its transitory artifice.

Moralità amorosa	**Amorous morality**
Sorge il mio sol con mattutini albori	My sun arises early in the morning,
E intento a cultivar beltà divine,	And, intent on cultivating her divine beauty,
Con profumi odorosi incense il crine	She incenses her hair with fragrant perfumes
Per aditar altrui come s'adori.	To invite others to worship her.
Poscia con sottilissimi candori	Then, she spreads every strand
Sparge dell' aureo capo ogni confine,	Of her golden hair with finest white powders,
Che di polve di cipri argente e brine	Which serve to glaze her golden hair
Fanno officio di smalto in su quegli ori.	With powdery highlights of silver and frost.
Mentre così la bella man s'impiega	And while her expert hand is thus employed
E fra ceneri e fumi il crine involve,	In transforming her head with ashes and fumes,
In catene di foco il cor mi lega.	She binds my heart in chains of fire.
Che meraviglia è poi se si dissolve	Small wonder, then, that beauty fades so quickly,

La bellezza in brev'ora e chi mi nega Che fugace non sia, s'è fumo e polve!	And who can deny that it is fleeting, Since it is just smoke and powder![5]

The title and content of the poem recall Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, three books with which Strozzi's education would have rendered her familiar. While Ovid's work provides satirical instructions on the art of loving, the cantata's title promises insight into the underlying truth concerning love and its object, beauty—not unlike the idea of *moralitas* underlying classical myth. Both works are focused on the ephemeral nature of beauty, maintaining that it may only be preserved through artificial means. Ovid's third book uses terms similar to those present in the cantata to encourage women to nourish their beauty. With his characteristic wit, he makes an analogy between beauty and fruit on the vine, both of which, if remained uncared for, will wither.

Ordior a cultu; cultis bene Liber ab uvit Provenit, et culto stat seges alta solo Forma dei munus: forma quota quaeque supervit? Pars vestrum tali munere magna caret. Cura dabit faciem; facies neglecta peribit Idaliae similis sit licet illa deae. (101-106)	I begin with cultivation; good libation comes from the Cultivated grape, and the tall crop stands in cultivated soil. Beauty is a gift from the goddess; how many can boast it? A great percentage of you all lack this great gift. Care will give beauty; a neglected face will perish Even though it may be similar to that Idalian goddess.

Ovid continues by providing instructions for women who wish to use their beauty to attract men. Because men are captivated by ornaments ("munditiis capimur"), women should never be without carefully styled hair ("non sint sine lege capilli," 133). Beauty is granted and denied by the hand—that means it is fundamentally artificial ("admotae formam dantque negantque manus," 134). Later in the poem, Ovid addresses makeup, the subject of his *Medicamina Faciei Femineae* (translated either as *Remedy* or *Cosmetic for the Female Face*), a treatise based on the premise that "culta placent" (ornaments give pleasure, line 5). For Ovid, cosmetics offer protection (*praesidium*) against injured beauty (*laesae figurae*, line 207). They have a transformative power, not unlike the mythological transformations that

[5] Translation by Barbara Russano Hanning.

comprise his *Metamorphoses*. Strozzi and the humanistic circle of which she was a part would undoubtedly have been familiar with themes of transformation and love prevalent throughout this work, which was one of the most influential books in western literary history. Pygmalion is a particularly fitting example of both themes. This sculptor fashioned a woman of ivory more beautiful than any naturally-born female. He fell in love with his creation, adorning it with first with natural gifts—stones, shells and flowers—and then with manmade ornaments—clothing and jewels—until she so resembled a living woman that he laid her on a marriage bed and kissed her until the goddess Venus transformed her hardness into flesh. Pygmalion preferred a living companion—however impermanent her beauty might be—to cold statue whose attributes would never falter.

An interesting paradox is that while Ovid warns against women making the transformation from natural to artificial beauty visible, the speaker in Strozzi's cantata finds this process marvelous. Ovid is critical of the idea that men might be privy to knowledge regarding the source of female beauty, proposing instead that women should protect the illusion that the colors, shapes and scents created by cosmetics are natural.

Tu quoque dum coleris, nos te dormire putemus;	Therefore, while you cultivate, we think you are asleep;
Aptius a summa conspiciere manu.	You are fit to be seen because of your greatest hand.
Cur mihi nota tuo causa est candoris in ore?	Why should I know the cause of your radiance?
Claude forem thalami! quid rude prodis opus?	Shut the bedroom door! Why do you show unfinished work?
Multa viros nescire decet; pars maxima rerum	There is much that men should not know; most things
Offendat, si non interiora tegas	Offend if you do not conceal their origins.
(225-230)	

By contrast, the speaker in Strozzi's cantata revels in the process undertaken by the beloved in order to adorn herself. He describes the way she arranges, colors and perfumes her hair in vivid detail, deliberately drawing the reader's attention to the fact that the effects of her efforts are artificial, a temporary mask shielding the beholder from time and nature. The

complex relationship among nature, beauty, art and artifice is transparent to all who experience the piece: speaker and beloved, poet and composer, singer and audience.

Strozzi's musical setting of this poem (Example 5.1) reflects a similar play on beauty and artifice. Shifts between aria and recitative—the latter a deliberate attempt to make music mimic natural speech and the former an artificial expansion of speech—align with moments at which the listener is asked to be aware of and willingly suspend disbelief in the illusory nature of the beloved's allure. Recitative characterizes mm. 110-118, which offer a setting of the poem's last three lines, wherein the narrator explains that the beloved's allure is temporary. At this moment, he is fully aware of the contribution of artifice to beauty; this awareness is encompassed in his performance of this line in a style meant to emulate natural speech. Earlier in the piece, when the speaker focuses on vivid descriptions of the beloved's beauty rather than musing on its artificial nature, the music is a lyrical aria (mm. 39-109). Just as the line between nature and artifice is particularly fine, it is sometimes difficult to determine how to classify Strozzi's musical writing. Measures 32-28 provide an example; here, the singer performs sequential melismatic figures as she repeats the word "sparge," which are echoed by the bass. These figures "scatter" the regularity of the preceding three measures, which were marked by melodic lyricism and regular movement, illustrating the content of the poetry with a musical gesture. The melismatic, sequential nature of the vocal line, however, makes recitative seem like an equally inadequate label. We experience a compositional style that rests somewhere between the two extremes. As the beloved alters her appearance with the use of artificial tools, the speaker's words and communication style are likewise in a state of transformative flux.

Strozzi also exploits the affective qualities of seventeenth-century harmony in order emphasize the dichotomy between art and nature. Eric Chafe's study of the musical

language of emerging tonality in Claudio Monteverdi's work provides a framework for discussing Strozzi, who was roughly a generation younger than this innovative composer. Chafe acknowledges that Monteverdi's music is "tonal, not modal," but with a substantially different tonal organization than that which emerges in later music.[6] His analysis relies on Athanasius Kircher (*Musurgia universalis*, 1650), who reinterpreted modal theory in a partially tonal framework.

Like the pieces by Monteverdi on which Chafe focuses, *Moralità amorosa* is neither tonal nor modal. Tim Carter emphasizes the modal/tonal ambiguity of this repertoire: "for seventeenth-century music, issues of tonal structure are complex and yet to be fully resolved."[7] Punctuation of poetic lines is often emphasized with harmonic motion resembling perfect authentic cadences. The end of each section of music coincides with a period in the poetry. These moments are marked with harmonic motion related by fifths: the end of part 1 features motion from E major to A minor (mm. 25-26), part 2 from E to A (mm. 73-74), part 3 from G major to C major (mm. 108-109) and part 4 from E to A (mm. 116-117). Nonetheless, the inclusion of pitches outside of particular keys challenges the classification of the piece as tonal. The opening phrase, an ascending melisma on the word "sorge," provides an example of such ambiguity (mm. 1-3). This word is supported by a sustained A in the bass, implying that the melody should be accompanied by an A-minor triad. The melody, however, which begins on E, is followed by F# and G#, a series of notes that would indicate the key of E major in the modern tonal system, except that all following Cs and Ds are natural, not sharp. The opening melodic phrase emphasizes both E and A, with durational accents on these pitches in each measure; ultimately, the phrase ends on A,

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[6] Eric Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), xiv.
[7] Tim Carter," The Search for Musical Meaning," in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (New York: Cambridge Unviersity Press, 2005), 170.

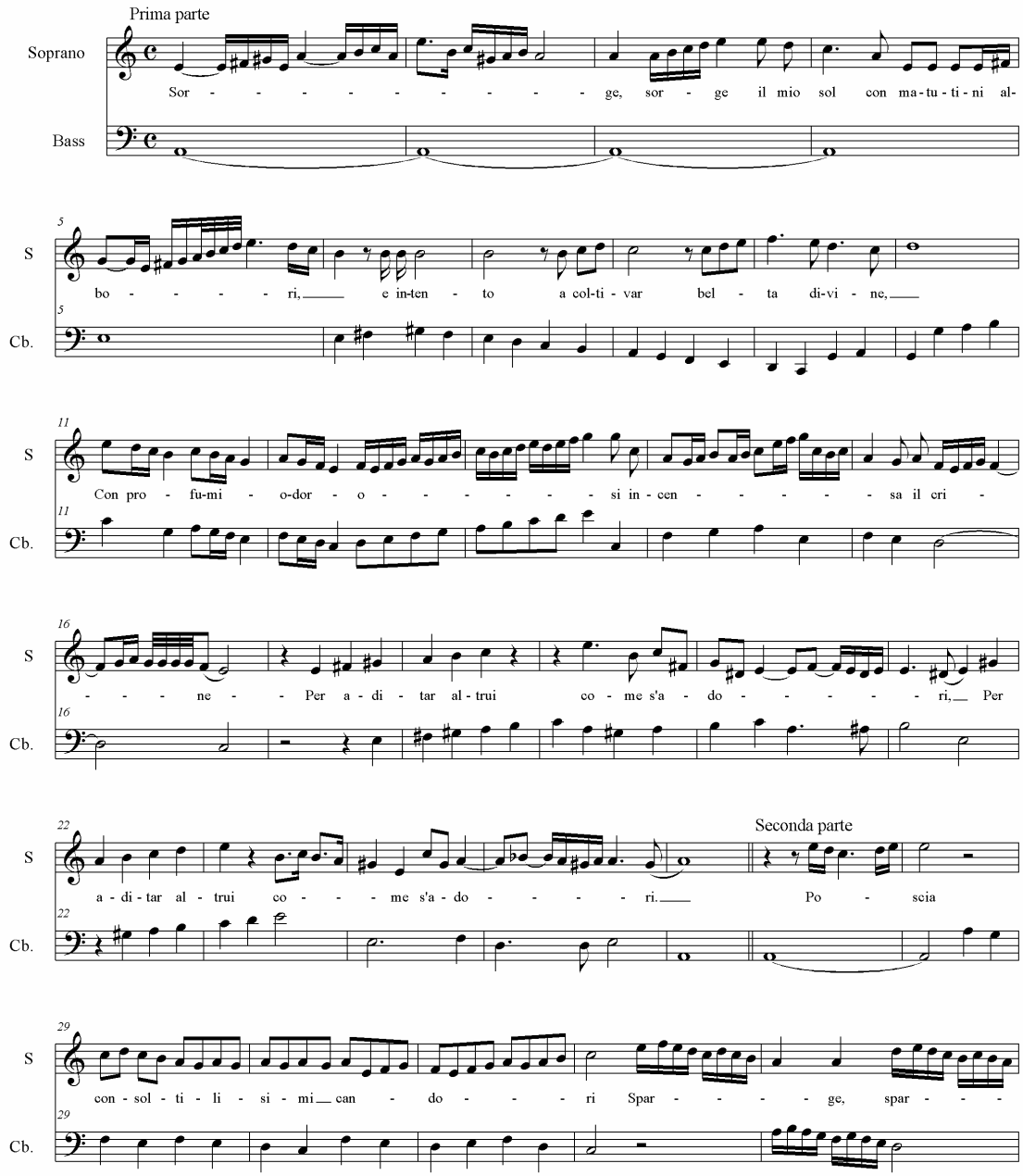

Figure 5.1 Strozzi's *Moralità amorosa*

fixing this note as its center. Ambiguity remains throughout part 1. Although the section ends with emphasis on A, F# and G# retain a presence throughout and, along with the inflection on D# in mm. 20-21, these pitches allude to E as center in mm. 4-6 and 17-21; m. 21 even features cadential movement from B major to E.

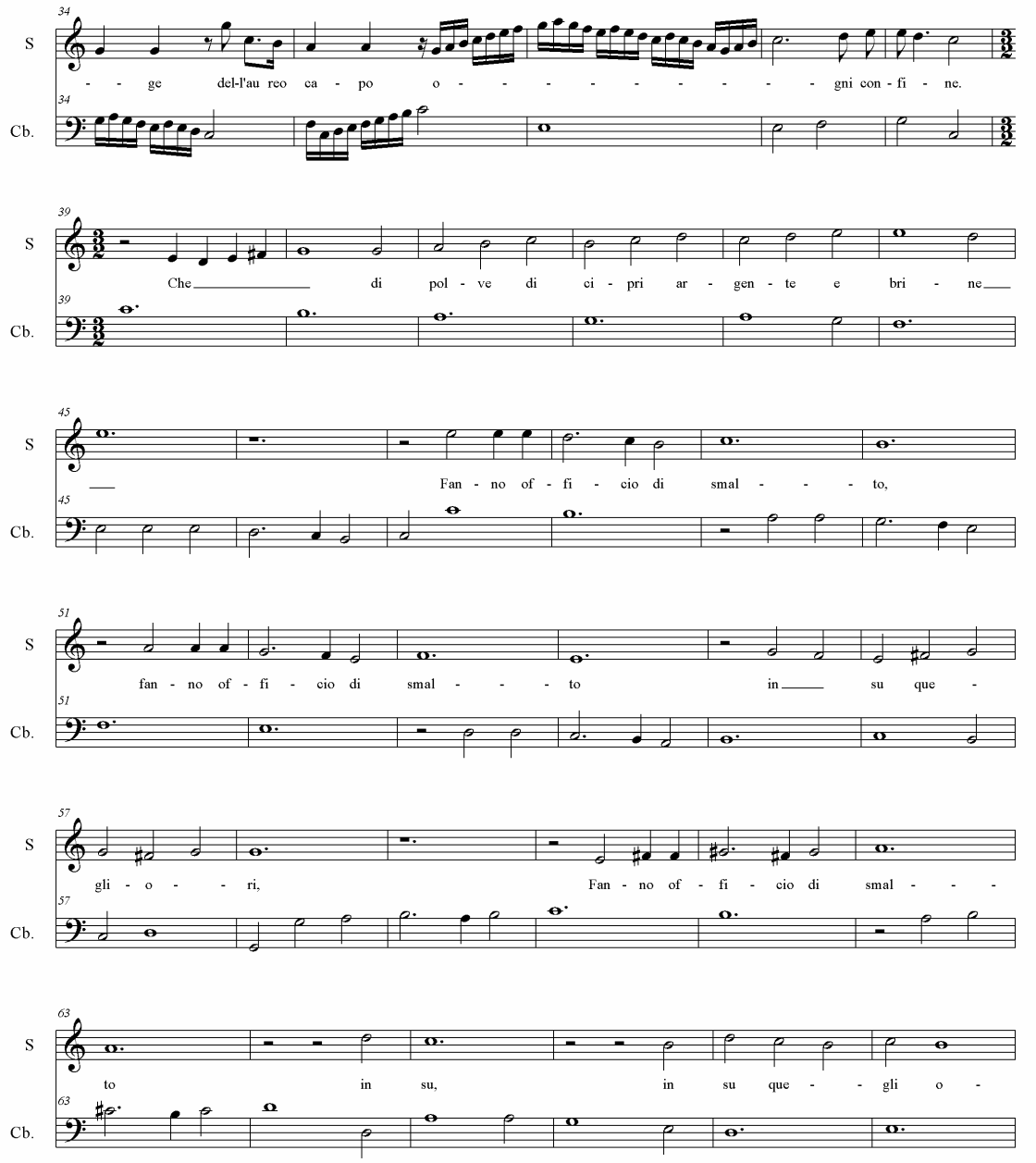

Figure 5.1 *(continued)*

Rather than belonging to a particular key, Strozzi's pitch collection is defined within the limits of what Eric Chafe defines as *cantus durus*, harmonies built on the C, F and G (natural, soft and hard) hexachords.[8] In the seventeenth century, *cantus mollis* (harmonies built on the

[8] Chafe, 44-49.

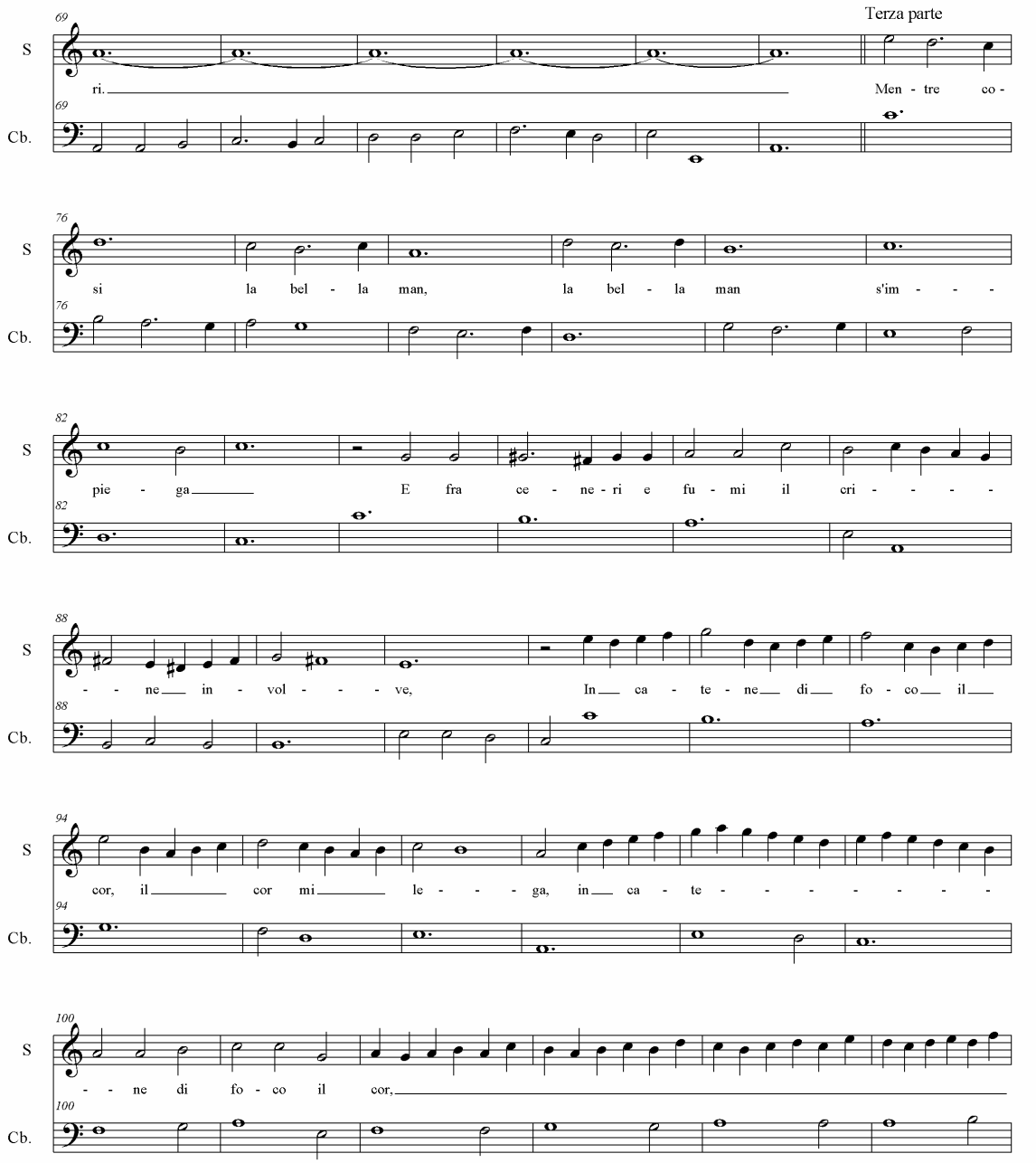

Figure 5.1 (*continued*)

soft, natural and transposed soft [B flat] hexachords) and *durus* were believed to denote two large affective areas; *cantus mollis* suggested ideas such as submission and sweetness, whereas *cantus durus* was appropriate for such sentiments as harshness or yearning.[9] *Cantus durus* and

[9] Kurtzman, 197.

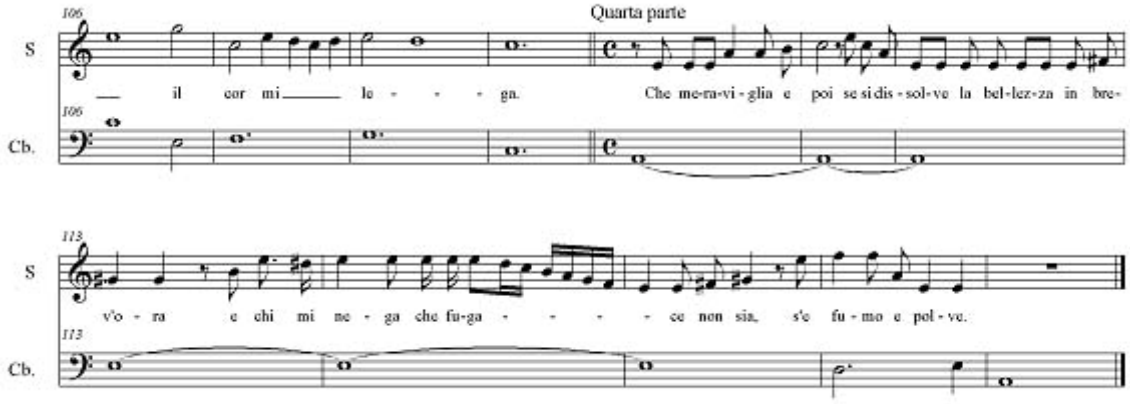

Figure 5.1 (*continued*)

mollis were indicated by the presence or absence of B flat in the key signature; only the latter possessed this note.[10] *Cantus durus* is also used in madrigals by Monteverdi that evoke ardor and desire. Analyzing Monteverdi's use of *cantus durus* in a setting of *Voi pur da me partire, anima dura*, Chafe comments that "in much of the poetry set by Monteverdi expressions of hardness such as *dura*, *durezza*, *rigida*, and the like are the most pejorative that can be applied to a woman, for they imply an attitude that is contrary to nature."[11] In this context, Strozzi's use of *cantus durus* is a particularly interesting choice for a piece addressing the process a woman undergoes to augment her beauty through artifice and thereby arouse her lover. Positioning the piece within the boundaries of *cantus durus* also implies that artifice has a harsh nature, for it deceives the viewer into believing a reality that proves ultimately to be transient.

[10] Gregory Barnett, "Tonal Organization in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 407-455. See p. 410 in particular.
[11] Chafe, 97.

Just as the text is centered on the duality of nature and artifice, Strozzi's setting relies on a polarity between the A-minor and C-major modes.[12] Sections of music in which the speaker describes the artificial nature of the beloved's allure are centered on A; this occurs in part 1 (mm. 1-26), in which the speaker outlines the beloved's beautification process, and part 4 (mm. 110-117), wherein the speaker directly addresses the fleeting nature of artificial beauty. Part 2 (mm. 27-74) is less direct; although the text continues to describe the beloved as she glazes her hair, the music transitions from centering on A to focusing on C, with a cadence on C in m. 38. Although the subsequent aria (mm. 39 ff.) begins in C, it features a notable relapse into A in m. 69, which is sustained in the melody while the bass moves, ultimately concluding the section with cadential motion from E to A. Part 3 (mm. 75-109) is a setting of the only section of the poem in which the speaker relishes the impact of the beloved's beauty rather than merely describing it; in this section, the music is generally centered on C, a tonal area that is distinct from that which characterized parts 1 and 4. This section does emphasize other harmonic areas; for example, mm. 88-89 feature movement from B to E and mm. 95-96 contain cadential movement towards A. Nonetheless, C is reestablished as the tonal center in mm. 98-99 and the section ends with a cadence on C in mm. 108-109.[13]

The duality between A and C corresponds with the nature of the speaker's text—namely, his level of awareness of the artificial nature of the beloved's beauty at any moment in time. As the speaker draws attention to artifice in parts 1 and 2, the music centers on A, which employs F# and G#. Here, Strozzi focuses on a relatively sharp area of *cantus durus* to

[12] Chafe makes the point that minor and major modes became increasingly identifiable as such during this time (36).

[13] This duality between A and C bears a resemblance to the tonal organization of Monteverdi's *Voi pur da me partire, anima dura*. Chafe observes that this madrigal is in *durus* a minor mode: the piece remains in *cantus durus*, emphasizing a-minor and its relationship to its dominant E. Chafe notes a secondary emphasis on C and its dominant G. The composer exploits the dichotomy between these two areas for expressive and structural ends (97-101).

exploit the harsher qualities of the system, often making use of harmonies that include sharps. As Chafe explains in the context of Monteverdi's fourth book of madrigals (1603), "the *durus* idea is connected specifically, though not exclusively, to compositions in the a-minor mode, which is treated as sharper than the other modes."[14] In the ensuing lines, the speaker gradually becomes enchanted by the beloved's actions. Rather than focusing on the intent with which the beloved beautifies herself, he describes the effects of the transformation, both on her body and his emotions. As this happens, the music gradually transitions towards a center on C with fewer accidentals; it remains in this relatively natural area of *cantus durus* in the second half of part 2 and for the duration of part 3. The piece shifts abruptly back to A at the beginning of part 4, a setting of lines 12-14. These lines provide the "turn" in the poem, wherein the speaker muses on the artificial nature of the beauty that has so transfixed him. The bass line is effectively frozen, remaining on sustained notes while the singer performs in unadorned recitative.[15] It is marked by static tonalities, with the singer tending to remain at intervals of octaves or fifths against the bass. This is the shortest section in the piece; it is syllabic, save the setting of the word "fugace," which features a quick melisma descending an octave (mm. 114-115). The section's syllabic nature allows the words to end as soon as they are sounded; the singer thus experiences and forces the audience to feel the ephemeral quality that underlies these poetic lines: both the beloved's beauty and the beautiful music with which the singer represents its effects decay as soon as they are created. The section ends abruptly, with the singer leaping down a ninth between the words "fumo" and "polve" on a weak beat in m. 116, completing her vocal line

[14] Chafe 54-55.

[15] Gary Tomlinson might interpret this section of the piece as "representing" the hollow nature of the message presented in its text through musical shapes. See Gary Tomlinson, "An Archaeology of Poetic Furor: 1500-1650," in *Music in Renaissance Magic: Towards a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 189-228. Tomlinson's argument about the shift from musical "resemblance" to "representation" in the seventeenth century is not universally accepted. See, for example, Karol Berger, "Essay Review, Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*," *Journal of Musicology* 13/3 (Summer 1995): 404-423.

and dying out before the bass line reaches the final cadence on a strong beat. The singer's vocal line ends on E, the fifth of the chord, and is absent when the bass resolves, completing a cadence on A; the result is an ending that fades away, a fate similar to that which the subject of the poem will soon suffer.

Performing the piece with gestures would add another layer to its meaning, rendering its musical and poetic structures visible. The refined poses of the figures depicted in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 suggest that the gestures used in seventeenth-century academy meetings were subtle and subdued, maintaining decorum of countenance and action that was so prized during this time and achieving a sense of elevated naturalism, avoiding excessiveness in postures and movement. Nonetheless, within this decorous aesthetic, subtle shifts in posture and body weight would speak volumes about the singer's relationship to the subject of the composition: the delicate line between art and artifice. It is possible, without prescribing gestures, to think about how applying some of the general principles of movement outlined in Chapter 3 would impact the singer's ability to render musical and thematic structure visible. After all, the gestural system of this period was highly artificial in itself, being comprised of movements cultivated to imitate an idealized version of nature.

As addressed in Chapter 3, the principle of retaining harmony among speech (or music), idea and action holds that words and movements should be suited to the ideas they express (see pp. 90-92). In *Moralità amorosa,* Strozzi achieves a unification of speech and thought, both on small and large scales. Individual words are set with figures that illuminate their meanings, and emotions spanning sections of music are embodied by the nature of the vocal melody, harmony and rhythm. The poem's structure is an arc moving from a description of an awareness of the role of artifice in female beauty, to the experience of being taken in by this artifice, and finally to the realization that artifice and natural beauty are

both short-lived. As such, Strozzi's musical setting begins with writing in a style that is difficult to classify as either recitative or aria, but one that is centered on A. The music is gradually transformed into lyrical aria reveling in the beloved's artifice that moves to a center on C. Finally, as the narrator reflects on beauty's fleeting nature, the setting abruptly shifts to stark recitative centered on A. Suiting action to idea would require creating a similar trajectory with physical gesture.

In my interpretation, the singer could reflect the speaker's evolving relationship to artifice by creating a polarity between naturalistic and artificial gestures. One option would be to follow the arc of the text and music, rendering recitative in a relatively naturalistic way—with a neutral body center and subtle gestures on a small scale—an aria more artificially—with weight shifted forward and stylized gestures of indication that represent the meaning of key words. Sweeping the face to indicate beauty in m. 77 before pointing to the hand in m. 78 would be one of many places where indicative gestures could be used to call attention to the layers of artifice at play in this section of the piece.

Another option would be performing the piece with gestures that reflect the narrator's ever-transforming relationship to his beloved. This could mean that sections where the speaker is aware of the beloved's artifice would be performed with formal gestures of indication, illustrating words like "sparge" (mm. 1-3) by moving her right hand up towards the ceiling in time with the melisma and "dissolve" (mm. 111-112) with a sweep of the hand miming an act of disappearance. On the other hand, sections of the piece in which the speaker is enraptured by the beloved's beauty could be reflected by the use of more naturalistic gesture. The singer's posture and facial expressions could soften, and she could replace indicating gestures with gestures of response. Gestures like "admiror" (D in

Appendix 4), which Bulwer explains "is an expression importing a trancendency of praise,"[16] performed during the "cor" melisma (mm. 103-109) while holding the body in an erect, open posture would both show the animating effects of the beloved's beauty on the narrator and draw attention to the beauty of the singer's own voice and body. The singer's eyes might be directed towards the imaginary beloved, allowing the audience to picture her source of inspiration. They might also be directed towards the members of the audience, alluring and animating them with graceful movements and inspiring them to feel the same admiration for herself as the narrator expresses for the beloved.

Depending on which approach the singer might decide to take, single words could be performed with a range of movements. The word "fugace," the lone melisma in section four, provides an excellent example (mm. 114-115). If this section were to be performed in a more artificial movement style, the singer might accompany this word with a gesture indicating the act of fleeing. If, on the other hand, the singer chose to accompany recitative with gestures mirroring its more naturalistic musical style, she could use a gesture responding to the negative effect of beauty's flight. "Despero" (H in Appendix 4) is one possibility. Both alternatives allow the singer to use her body to represent the textual and musical shape of the piece.

We must remember that Barbara Strozzi's body and voice were important elements in meetings of the *Academia degli Incogniti*. She wrote cantatas to showcase her own compositional and singing talents, and this piece would have likely been premiered by its composer herself. Therefore, it is impossible to ignore an interesting subtext: that the poet's discussion of the beloved's beauty would allow the singer to self-reference her own art. A singer, after all, has much in common with a woman; both are endowed with natural gifts

[16] John Bulwer, *Chironomia* (London, 1644), 161.

that may be enhanced by cultivation. In the case of the singer, practice and training enable the development of vocalization and ornamentation techniques that dazzle the senses of the listener. In the case of a woman, cosmetics perfect nature's endowments. Sound fades as soon as it is created, and a singer's body, a slave to time and age, is her instrument. The age of a voice may be concealed by technique, just as graying hair may be masked with dye and sweetened by perfume. Eventually, however, youth, health and the ability to produce an agile vocal sound fade. Sound and physicality are combined in the singer in a way that constantly reinforces the fleeting and artificial nature of her craft; a singer's ability to produce sound—a finite medium—depends on the health and vitality of her physical body, which is limited by time and age. Performing this piece, whose focus is on the ephemeral nature of beauty, with postures and gestures that make the audience aware of the singer's body calls attention to the roles of both nature and artifice in both the singer's body and voice. This performance style reminds us that the singer is herself a fragile, fleeting instrument whose ability to stir the passions in her listeners rests solely in her finite body. Without calling attention to the body as a whole, the central message of the piece is lost.

French Recitative

Tragédie en musique was a genre invented by Jean-Baptiste Lully, who aimed to create a uniquely "French" operatic tradition with an identity distinct from Italian opera. Birthed with *Cadmus et Hermione* in 1673, the genre was conceived during the peak of the popularity of French classical tragedy, a form in which the art of classical declamation was raised to its highest level. The genre was thus intimately related to classical tragedy in both pedigree and form. Lully's librettists were at the forefront of tragedic writing; the composer collaborated with Molière on *comédie-ballets* in 1664 and developed operas with Thomas Corneille, Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle and Philippe Quinault, his most frequent partner. In turn, Lully

translated declamation techniques that were a fundamental component of classical tragedy into the music of his operas.

Declamation was of paramount importance in seventeenth-century French classical tragedy. Actors performed tragic texts—typically on historical or mythological subjects in five acts comprised of twelve-syllable alexandrine lines—in a lofty, stylized manner. Rather than grouping speech according to sentences, speakers performed verse so that listeners were acutely aware of poetic lines. Pitch manipulation was one method used to make lines identifiable; the pitch of the voice followed an arc along each line, starting at a relatively low pitch and rising gradually, peaking in the middle of the line and falling again towards its end. The final syllable in each line, called the *rime*, was the strongest, and was thus emphasized to draw attention to the rhyme scheme. Pausing provided another technique for drawing attention to poetic structure; speakers would rest briefly at the end of each line and within each line at the caesura. Pauses were held for different lengths of time, varying according to their importance. A period, for example, would require a longer pause than a comma. Within lines, individual words were shaded with sounds echoing their meanings; "horreur," for example, could be performed with a dark vocal timbre and a low pitch that trembles as if in fear.[17] The use of pitch was so precise and controlled that it was sometimes captured in writing; Molière is known for creating a method of notating his verse so that it might always be recited in the same way.[18] Simultaneous with this complex vocal inflection, performers illustrated verse with exaggerated facial expressions and movements of the body illustrating their characters' reactions to events on and offstage.

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[17] For an overview of recitation, see Jean-Claude Milner and François Regnault, *Dire le vers, courte traité à l'intention des acteurs et des amateurs d'alexandrins* (Paris: Seuil, 1987). See also Patricia Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator: The Phrasing and Rhetoric of the Melody in French Baroque Airs* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2001).
[18] Jean-Baptiste Dubos, *Reflexions critiques sur la poesie et sur la pienture, Vol. 3* (Paris: Pissot, 1770), 346.

Christopher Gossip suggests that this complex recitation style developed in response to the conditions of theatrical sets, on which physical movement was nearly impossible. According to Gossip, performance spaces were often crowded by props and the placement of audience members onstage; these conditions prohibited actors from moving excessively, requiring them to focus on movements of the face and arms and fluctuations in the pitch and rhythm of the voice.[19] Gestures were also exaggerated so that they might be made visible in poor lighting conditions. Gossip proposes that the declamatory style was derived in response "in part, to the need to reach out to the audience, both the style itself and the tirades which it conveyed going back to the earliest days of French tragedy."[20] The theatricality of declamatory gesture is visible in Figures 5.4 and 5.5, an engraving of the stage design for Pierre Corneille's *Andromeda* by Chaveau (1651) and the frontispiece of Jean Racine's *Andromache* (1676). These images present both large- and small-scale scenes from tragedies; the dramatic scope of gesture is visible from up close and afar. Figures in the engravings assume statuesque poses, creating balanced pictures through careful arrangement and focus of arms, legs and gazes.

[19] Christopher J. Gossip, *An Introduction to French Classical Tragedy* (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd. 1981), 20-34. See also Barbara G. Mittman, *Spectators on the Paris State in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984).
[20] Gossip, 30.

Figure 5.4 Engraving of Pierre Corneille's *Andromeda* by Chaveau (1651)

Figure 5.5 Frontispiece of Jean Racine's *Andromache* (1676)

Lully was intimately familiar with declamation practices at the Comèdie Française, having studied the way in which the actress Marie Champmeslé performed the works of Racine. Indeed, recitative written by Lully is declamatory, virtually free of ornamentation or melisma, instead focusing the listener's attention on the structure and content of the poetic text. Much has been made of this connection, and Lois Rosow is frequently cited for demonstrating how Lully's recitative was composed to highlight poetic structure and principles of declamation. Rosow shows how Lully uses harmonic motion and rhythm to call attention to end rhyme, placing the caesura and *rime* on downbeats and eliding the latter with cadences, an act signifying the end of each poetic line.[21] Lully also goes to great lengths to reflect the poetic feet in his musical setting, changing meter frequently. Though, as Rosow notes, the nature of French poetry is theoretically non-metrical, the focus on end rhyme results in prevalent anapests and iambs, reflected in the music by notes with appropriately short and long values.[22] Georges Lote, an early twentieth-century linguist and historian of poetic theory, used Lully's recitatives to investigate the use of pitch in the declamation of Racine's works.[23] The fact that a linguist would rely on Lully's music to reach an understanding of contemporary acting technique is a testament to the close association between the composer's work and spoken declamation!

The famed Act-II recitative performed by the title character in *Armide* (1686) is perhaps the most extreme example of Lully's mastery of declamatory techniques in musical structure. Lully manipulates and elevates techniques of declamation at the most charged

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[21] Lois Rosow, "Baroque French Recitative as an Expression of Tragic Declamation," *Early Music* 11/4 (October 1983): 468-479.
[22] Rosow, 469.
[23] Georges Lote, "La declamation du vers français à la fin du XVII^{e} siècle," *Revue de phonétique*, 2 (1912): 330-349.

moment in the opera to show the range and intensity of Armide's emotions. At this moment in the opera, Armide—an enchantress from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581)—has trapped the Christian crusader Renaud (Rinaldo) with a sleeping spell. Armide approaches the sleeping knight with a dagger, intent on killing him, because he has rescued the crusaders she had previously taken captive. However, when she beholds the face of her enemy, Armide is herself enchanted; she decides that casting a spell causing Renaud to return her love would be a punishment more appropriate than death. The text and translation follow:

1 Enfin, il est en in ma puissance,	At last, he is under my power,
Ce fatal ennemi, ce superbe vainqueur.	This mortal enemy, this proud conquerer.
Le charme du sommeil le livre à ma vengeance.	Sleep's spell delivers him to my revenge.
Je vais percer son invincible coeur.	I will pierce his invincible heart.
Par lui, tous mes captifs sont sortis d'esclavage,	By him, all my captives were freed from slavery,
Qu'il éprouve toute ma rage…	Let him suffer all my rage…
7 Quel trouble me saisit, qui me fait hésiter?	What trouble seizes me and makes me hesitate?
Qu'est-ce qu'en sa faveur la pitié me veut dire?	What can pity tell me on his behalf?
Frappons…Ciel! Qui peut m'arrêter?	Let me hit! Heavens! Who could stop me?
Achevons…Je frémis!	Let me finish it…I shudder!
Vengeons-nous…Je soupire!	Let me be avenged…I sigh!
Est-ce ainsi que je dois me venger aujourd'hui!	Is this the way I will be avenged today?
Ma colère s'éteint quand j'approche de lui!	My anger wanes when I come near him.
Plus je le vois, plus ma vengeance est vaine.	The more I see him, the weaker is my revenge.
14 Mon bras tremblant se refuse à ma haine.	My trembling arm fails my anger.
Ah! Quelle cruauté de lui ravir le jour!	Ah! How cruel it is to take his life!
A ce jeune héros tout cède sur la terre.	To this young hero, everything on earth gives way.
Qui croirait qu'il fût né seulement pour la guerre?	Who would believe that he was born only for war?
Il semble être fait pour l'Amour.	He seems made but for love.
Ne puis-je me venger à moins qu'il ne périsse?	Can I not be avenged without his perishing?
Hé! Ne suffit-il pas que l'Amour le punisse?	Would love not be enough punishment?
21 Puisqu'il n'a pu trouver mes yeux assez charmants,	Since he has not found in my eyes enough charms,
Qu'il m'aime au moins par mes enchantements,	Let him at least love me by my spell,
Que s'il se peut, je le haïsse.	So that I may hate him, if that is possible.[24]

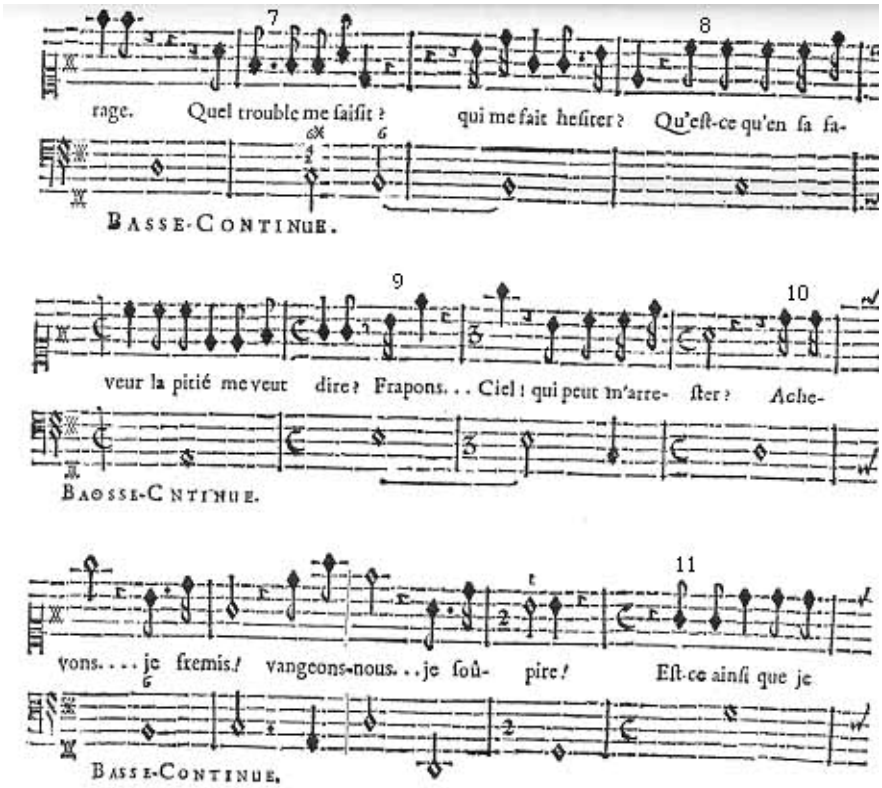
[24] Translation by Louis Forget and Huston Simmons, with my own emendations. Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Armide*, Naxos 8.660209-10-CD.

Nicolas Poussin's rendition of this moment, shown in Figure 5.6, captures the opposing forces of hate and love that characterize this scene. Armide kneels near Renaud, a knife bared in her right hand. Renaud is visibly helpless; his helmet is on the ground so that his head lies open and vulnerable, and his hand does not touch the formidable sword sheathed on his hip. Though Armide's right hand is ready to strike, with fingers curled around the knife and tension radiating through her right arm, her left arm is soft, its fingers delicately stroking Renaud's hair. A winged *putto*—suggestive of Cupid—restrains Armide's right arm. Thus, we see the drama of the scene unfold. In this singular moment, Armide fluctuates between rage and desire for Renaud, and Cupid's intervention alerts the viewer that love will soon prevail.

Figure 5.6 Nicolas Poussin's *Armide et Renaud* (1626-28)

Lully sets this text using techniques that mirror declamation taking place in contemporary productions of tragedies, though at this moment, intensity of word and

emotion is heightened considerably due to the nature of the situation. The text is syllabic, with ornaments notated only on a few specific words. "Soûpire" (sigh) is a particularly vivid example; a trill is indicated over this verb, instructing the singer to perform it with a trembling sound expressing the intense emotion it signifies. The musical context in which "soûpire" is located reflects the typical pitch shape and rhythmic patterns of tragic theatrical poetry. "Soûpire" is the last word in line 10, serving as the final and strongest word in a set of interlaced rhyming couplets. Lully gives several of these lines a melodic shape that rises and falls in the arc pattern typical of classical declamation (Example 5.2).



Example 5.2 Excerpt from *Armide* (Act II, scene 5, lines 7-10)[25]

Line 9 begins on B and moves up to G before descending to A. Line 10 begins on D and rises to G before falling to G on "frémis," then rises to A before falling to B on "soupire."

[25] Numbers in the facsimile indicate poetic lines, and are my addition.

The pitch descent at the end of each poetic line puts the melodic focus on the final word. Line 8 is an exception; although the overall melodic arc of this line moves upwards from C to E and returns to G, the final note is approached by an ascent, an appropriate gesture for a question. In addition, caesurae—short pauses within each line—are present in Lully's musical settings. In line 7, for example, Lully inserts a rest between the two questions, providing a musical gap in the place where an actor would be trained to pause. Line 10 provides a more extreme example; this line presents four distinct ideas as Armide fluctuates between attempts to kill Renaud and hesitation caused by her affection for him. Each of these ideas would require the actor to recite it with a different dramatic intention. In response to this convention, Lully separates these musical ideas with rests. The effect of a caesura between the words "frémis" and "vengeons-nous" is created by two melodic arcs: movement from D to G and back to the G an octave lower on the phrase "Achevons…je frémis" and movement from E to A and down to B on the phrase "Vengeons-nous je soûpire."

Lully uses pitch duration as a method of setting up a hierarchy among these lines; by forcing the singer to spend more time on important words, he makes the rhyme scheme apparent. In the above excerpt, the final syllable in each line (or penultimate syllable if the final word ends with a weak *e*) is emphasized with an agogic accent and lines follow the natural anacrustic flow of the French language. The final syllable in the word "hesiter" is set with a quarter note in the context of a line filled with sixteenth and eighth notes. "Dire" is emphasized with a quarter note in a similar context. The final syllable of "arrester" is notated with a half note, the longest duration in its line; "soupire" functions in the same manner. By Lully's manipulation of metrical groupings, the final syllable in each line is emphasized, drawing attention to these syllables and their relationship to one another: an

ABAB rhyme scheme. All of these syllables occur on downbeats and coincide with chord changes. The final syllables in lines 9 and 10 are emphasized more heavily than those in 7 and 8, with half notes instead of quarter notes; this makes their appearance, which completes the rhyme pattern, significant.

While Rosow and others have pointed out Lully's transposition of declamation techniques into *tragédies en musique*, they gloss over another component of French tragedy that Lully composed into his works. Gestures of the face and body were of paramount importance in classical declamation; they were equally important in performances of Lully's theatrical works. Contemporary reports of performances of these works provide confirmation. Evrard Titon du Tillet describes Marie le Rochois's performance of the Act II, scene 5 monologue, drawing particular attention to the actress's facial and bodily gestures:

> What rapture to see her in the fifth scene of the second act—sword in hand ready to pierce Renaud's breast as he lay sleeping on a bed of moss! Rage animated her features, love took possession of her heart; first one then the other acted upon her in turn, until pity and tenderness won out at the end and love remained the victor. What true and beautiful poses! How many different movements and expressions in her eyes and on her face during this monologue…[26]

Tillet describes the range of emotions portrayed by Rochois. Her method of making the conflict between rage and love visible mirrors the struggle present in Poussin's painting; like Poussin's "Armide," Rochois uses a variety of movements and expressions to transmit disparate passions. Lully's score uses a variety of techniques to make this complex series of emotions apparent to the singer, creating subtle musical shifts between love and hate and even suggesting shifts in the magnitude of gestures and expressions with which each is expressed.

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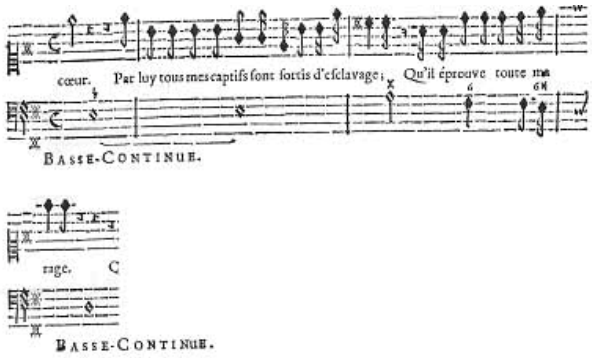
[26] Évrard Titon du Tillet, "From the First Supplement to *The Parnassus of France,*" in *Source Readings in Music History, Revised Edition*, ed. Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), 792.

Lully divides the text musically into three sections, each representing one of the emotions depicted in Rochois's performance as described by Tillet. The first section contains lines 1-6, in which Armide explains her goal: to kill Renaud so that his death might atone for his having released the knights she had held captive. Lully has set these lines with decisive musical gestures, alluding to the strength and resolve of Armide's rage. There is little harmonic movement in the bass aside from strong cadences at the end of each line of text; the result is a spotlight on these strong cadences, which calls attention to the decisive nature of the poetry. Each line of poetry in this section presents a singular, focused idea that is carried through until its end; Armide describes Renaud's position in her power and how and why she plans to punish him. At the end of each line is a strong, important word highlighting Renaud's relationship to Armide and her reaction to this relationship; words like "puissance," "vainqueur," "vengeance" and "rage" emphasize both the cause and magnitude of Armide's heated desire for revenge. The force of each line is preserved in the self-contained structure of Lully's setting. The melody moves towards the last word in each line, which tends to occur simultaneously with a cadence and agogic accent on the highest or lowest note in the line. The final line in this series provides an example of Armide's musical focus; the melody fittingly moves upwards towards the climactic word "rage," which coincides with a cadence in D major (Example 5.3).



Example 5.3 Excerpt from *Armide* (Act II, scene v, line 5)

The direct musical setting of the poetry in this section indicates that Armide is fixed on a singular goal: translating her rage into the action of murdering Renaud. Thus, Lully's music suggests a staging that is similarly focused. The singer's attention would likely be fixed on Renaud, with weight forward—directed towards her victim—and an erect posture. Her face would be drawn in anger, a passion which, according to Charles Le Brun, is agitation resulting from the passions of "Grief and Boldness," or rage, an elevated form of this passion.[27] In these expressions, Le Brun explains that tension permeates the muscles of the face, with furled eyebrows and lips pressed together so that they form "a kind of cruel and disdainful grin"[28] (Figure 5.7). Le Brun calls particular attention to the physical tension that accompanies these passions, maintaining that the person experiencing them will "grind his teeth," experience the swelling of veins in the forehead and temples and have a neck that is "strained and puffed up."[29]

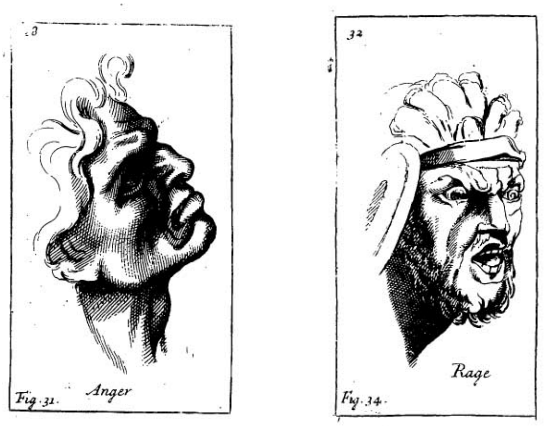


Figure 5.7 Charles Le Brun's *Anger* and *Rage* (1701)

[27] Charles Le Brun, *The Conference of Monsieur Charles Le Brun, Chief Painter to the French King, Chancellor and Director of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture; Upon Expression, General and Particular* (London: John Smith, 1701), 10. Although this version of the treatise—an English translation—was published in the early eighteenth century, the work was in circulation much earlier. Stephanie Ross describes the nature and dissemination of his ideas, suggesting that he may have discussed them in lectures as early as 1668: Stephanie Ross, "Painting the Passions: Charles LeBrun's *Conférence sur l'expression*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45/1 (January-March 1994): 25-47.

[28] Le Brun, 28.

[29] Le Brun, 28.

This tension depicted in the faces in Figure 5.7 would extend throughout the singer's entire body, with the intensity of her reaction to Renaud radiating through every gesture of her limbs. To emphasize the words Lully highlights at the end of each line, the singer would perform heavy, even violent gestures of indication or response to draw attention to the knight or to illustrate her reaction to his actions. "Rage," for example, might be emphasized with "minor" (Y in Appendix 4) or "explodo" (G in Appendix 4), both gestures corresponding with anger.

In section two, love begins to undermine the focus of Armide's rage. This section—lines 7-14—features a woman who is no longer single minded in her attempt to kill her enemy. Rather than lines presenting singular ideas, the poetic lines in this section are volatile, changing direction as Armide fluctuates between the desire for vengeance and a burgeoning love for Renaud. Line 10 is a particularly telling example (see Example 5.2); here, Armide alternates between encouraging herself to attack and drawing attention to her own uncertainty. She begins this line with "achevons," an order that she kill the knight; she immediately follows this command with "je frémis" (I tremble), calling attention to the fact that love causes her to hesitate. She immediately attempts to continue her mission, calling "vengeons-nous" (vengeance), before backing away with the statement "je soupire" (I sigh). Interestingly enough, "soupire" is set with a descending third, a typical Italianate gesture representing a sigh.

Lully's setting of these words is less stable than that in section 1. Rather than musical lines that emphasize single words, which, in turn, represent individual ideas, the music calls attention to the fluctuation of Armide's emotions. This line has three cadences, shifting tonalities as the focus of Armide's emotions changes. The most important syllable of each idea is emphasized with a cadence; "achevons" closes on G major, "je fremis" on C

major, "vangeons-nous" on D major and "je soupier" on G major (refer back to Example 5.2). Thus, a cadence corresponds with each change in Armide's attitude towards Renaud. Lully requires the singer to perform each section of the phrase at a different pitch level, creating a distinction between the intensity required for each part of the line. Words depicting Armide's rage are in a high register, while sections representing desire are performed at relatively low pitches; "frapons…Ciel!" and "achevons" culminate on high G, while "qui puet m'arrester" and "je fremis" end on low A and G, respectively. These pitch areas associate different emotional stages with different areas of the vocal register, calling for the singer to perform each segment of the phrase with a unique level of physical tension reflected in movements of her body. Within this short phrase, the singer would move rapidly between the tense posture of an enraged woman and the gentle, tentative posture of a woman in love.

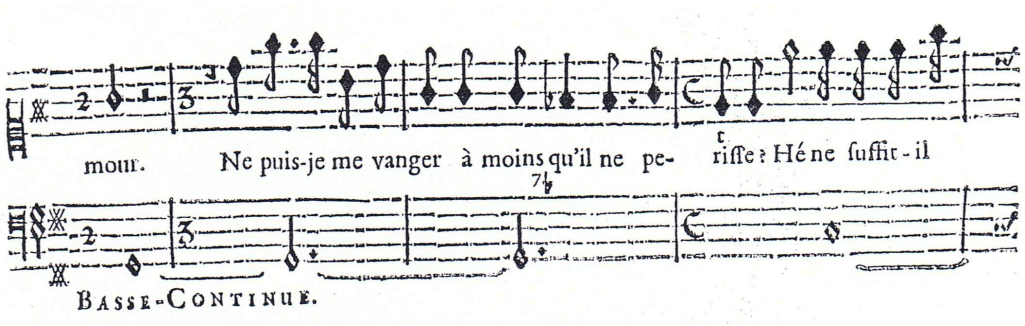
Because ideas change more frequently in section two, the harmonic rhythm and pitch range are active and volatile. The combination of these factors results in less stability, asking the singer to alternate between actions indicating resolve for revenge and desire. Le Brun's depiction of "desire" is softer than "rage," with eyebrows relaxed and facial muscles directed towards the addressee in an inviting rather than a hostile way (Figure 5.8); this softness could radiate throughout the entire body on words that indicate Armide's love towards Renaud. According to Le Brun, "desire" is an animated extension of the passion of love, which he calls "soft and simple," with the head "gently turn'd towards the Object" and the mouth slightly open and moist, caused by the "Vapours airing from the Hart."[30]

[30] Le Brun, 14-15.

Figure 5.8 Charles Le Brun's *Desire* (1701)

Alternating between physical stances rooted in Le Brun's depictions of "rage" and "desire" on phrases that betray these different emotions in this section of the recitative would result in rapid shifts between visible tension and relaxation. The end product would be a section that alternates physically between hardness and softness, the two poles between which Armide shifts both textually and musically.

The final section of the recitative—lines 15 through 22—presents the triumph of desire over rage. This section reflects a return to stability, though now the reigning emotion is love rather than anger. Instead of presenting shifting emotions, lines in this section present consistent ideas, which are focused on the concept that love would be as fitting a punishment for Renaud as death. Lully's musical setting reflects a similar stability, with a harmonic rhythm similar to that in section 1; each line tends to feature a single cadence on the ultimate word, putting the focus on the part of the line that reflects its strongest idea. Line 19 is one such example; this line features a perfect cadence in C major on the second syllable of "périsse," which also requires a trill and receives a tonic accent on E, the lowest pitch in the line (Example 5.4).



Example 5.4 Excerpt from *Armide* (Act II, scene v, line 16)

This stability requires staging that remains within the physical realm of desire, with the singer's face maintaining a gentler, loving expression and her body a relaxed posture, focused towards Renaud. Indicating and responding gestures once again occur on the ultimate words of each poetic line, but are now performed in a relaxed, graceful manner rather than a tense, antagonistic one. "Périsse," for example, might coincide with "adoro," one of John Bulwer's gestures in which the speaker places a gentle hand to the chin of a loving, relaxed face to show adoration or admiration (Figure 5.9). This tender gesture would undermine the finality of the word "périsse" (might perish), showing that Armide now prefers a far sweeter fate for Renaud.

Figure 5.9 "Adoro," from John Bulwer's *Chirologia* (1644)

The music in this recitative provides directions for the frequency and manner with which the singer supports her singing with gesture, an important component of the French

declamation Lully emulated in his *tragédies en musique*. The first and third sections are marked by harmonic and melodic stability, reflecting Armide's confidence in the main emotions represented therein: rage and love. This continuity suggests that the singer should perform each section by depicting a singular affect: tense anger or tender desire. The second section features more frequent cadences and less melodic continuity; cadences and melodic phrases correspond with sudden shifts within single poetic lines between Armide's polarized feelings towards Renaud. Lully has thus composed opportunities for the singer to fluctuate rapidly between body language depicting love and anger, an action that reflects Armide's confusion about the impact desire has on her plot for revenge.

English Mad Song

Mad songs were all the rage in Restoration England.[31] Written for performance in spoken plays, these pieces expressed moments of heightened emotion, where words alone were insufficient for conveying the intense passions of characters onstage. They served as spectacles, in which audiences watched the performers act out histrionic emotions with voyeuristic delight. Mad songs were often titillating spectacles; they were typically performed by characters burning with unrequited love, whose emotions had driven them insane.[32]

Madness in the seventeenth century was believed to be caused by an excess of melancholic or sanguine humors in the body. It cultivated a particular attraction in British society, and proved to be an entertaining spectacle on and off the stage. The infamous Bedlam Hospital, which first began admitting mentally ill patients in 1357, was a popular destination for spectators. In 1675, when the institution moved to a new campus at

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[31] For an overview of English mad songs, see: Amanda Eubanks Winkler, "Gender and Genre: Musical Conventions on the English Stage, 1660-1705" (PhD Dissertation: University of Michigan, 2000) and Rebecca Crow Lister, "'Wild Thro' the Woods I'le Fly': Female Mad Songs in Seventeenth-Century English Drama" (DMA Dissertation: Florida State University, 1997).
[32] Winkler, 202.

Moorfields, visitors were charged an entrance fee to observe and even incite the ravings of the inmates, who were not even humanized with the label "patients" until 1700.[33] Above the gates of this institution were grotesque statues of Raving and Melancholy carved by Caius Cibber, depicted in Figure 5.10, an early eighteenth-century engraving of the doorway.

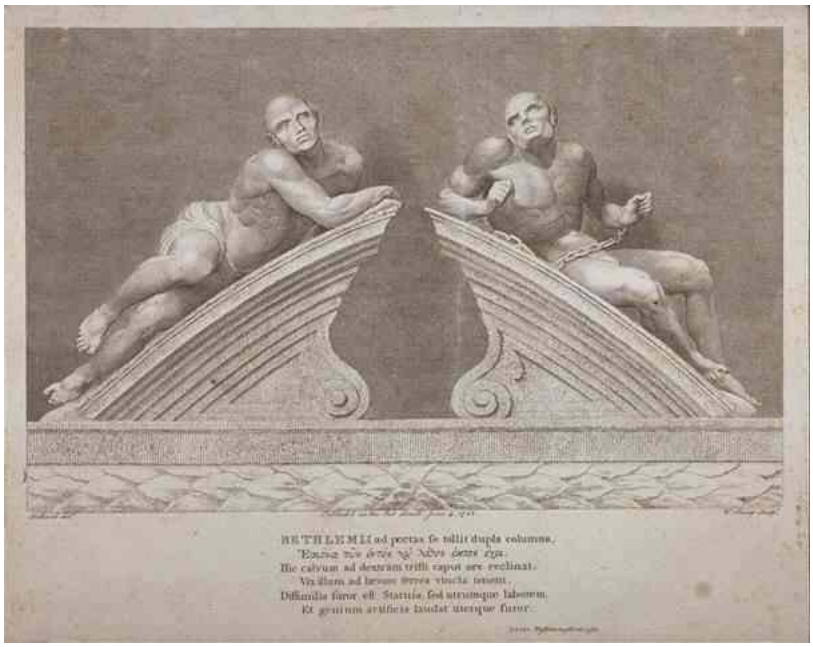

Figure 5.10 Engraving of Sculpted Renditions of Raving and Melancholy by Caius Cibber

Excesses of melancholy and blood were popular themes in the seventeenth century, capturing the imaginations of spectators with visceral images of people experiencing emotions so extreme that they risked losing control over their bodies. Rape scenes, which Marsden notes were popular on Restoration stages, were common visual art.[34] Such a loss of control over their sexuality—especially in such violent circumstances—could drive women to madness. Figure 5.11 provides an interesting example. This painting is Peter Paul Rubens's depiction of the rape of the daughters of King Leucippus. While these women are

[33] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. by Richard Howard (New York: Random House, 1965), 68.
[34] See Jean I. Marsden, "Rape, Voyeurism, and the Restoration Stage," in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), 185-200.

being abducted with the purpose of becoming the wives of Castor and Pollux, it is apparent that they are being violently violated; their clothing has been ripped away and their bodies are contorted, arms reaching as if they are trying, valiantly, to escape the grasp of their abductors. Nonetheless, their faces seem ecstatic, as if they are acquiescing to and even anticipating their eventual violation with pleasure, a paradox Margaret Carroll has drawn attention to in a feminist reading of the painting.[35] Once again, we return to Ovid's *Ars amatoria*; Carroll points out a passage in which this rape is used as an exemplary model of the role force may play in conquering the beloved.

> Though she give them not, yet take the kisses she does not give. Perhaps she will struggle at first and cry, "You villain!" Yet she will wish to be beaten in the struggle.... He who has taken kisses, if he take not the rest beside, will deserve to lose even what was granted.... You may use force; women like you to use it.... She whom a sudden assault has taken by storm is pleased.... But she who, when she might have been compelled, departs untouched...will yet be sad. Phoebe suffered violence, violence was used against her sister: each ravisher found favour with the one he ravished.[36]

In Rubens's painting, the naked women, who await violation by the clothed men in the painting, titillate the senses of the (presumably male) viewers.

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[35] Margaret Carroll, "The Erotics of Absolutism: Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 138-159.

[36] Quoted and translated in Carroll, 140.

Figure 5.11 Peter Paul Rubens's *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus* (1617)

Depictions of melancholy produced during the seventeenth century are scarcely less visceral and provocative than those of sanguinity. Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* was a popular text investigating the causes, symptoms and treatments of this affliction; originally published in 1621, it remained in print throughout the century. The frontispiece of this volume, pictured in Figure 5.13, features images of various figures suffering from this malady; the malaise with which they are afflicted has hindered their productive abilities. In a Latin poem prefacing the work, Burton describes the figures in this image, each of which is hampered by melancholy. The Greek philosopher Democritus, for example, sits in the top

center square studying the lethargic bodies of the animals in the surrounding frames in order to discover the seat of black choler. Saturn, "Lord of Melancholy," rules the image, signified by the sign in the clouds and, as a result, the philosopher is himself forlorn, holding his head in his hand. His pose echoes that of Ripa's "Melancholy," an early eighteenth-century edition of which is pictured in Figure 5.12. Burton equates melancholy with madness in the lower rightmost square, labeled "maniacus," which he describes in the following stanza:

> But see the madman rage downright
> With furious looks, a ghastly sight.
> Naked in chains bound doth he lie,
> And roars amain he knows not why!
> Observe him; for as in a glass,
> Thine angry portraiture it was.
> His picture keeps still in thy presence;
> 'Twixt him and thee, there's no difference.[37]

Excess melancholy has caused the figure in this image to rave with madness; his clothing and hair are disheveled and his body, held in place by chains, rages wildly. Burton explains the correlation between melancholy and madness in the following excerpts from *The Author's Abstract on Melancholy*, reprinted in its entirety in Appendix 5.

> When I lie waking all alone,
> Recounting what I have ill done,
> My thoughts on me then tyrannise,
> Fear and sorrow me surprise,
> Whether I tarry still or go,
> Methinks the time moves very slow.
> All my griefs to this are jolly,
> Naught so mad as melancholy.
>
> 'Tis my sole plague to be alone,
> I am a beast, a monster grown,
> I will no light nor company,
> I find it now my misery.
> The scene is turn'd, my joys are gone,
> Fear, discontent, and sorrows come.
> All my griefs to this are jolly,
> Naught so fierce as melancholy.[38]

[37] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, Peter Parker: 1676), 1.

An excess of melancholy has caused the speaker in this poem to grow abhorrent even to himself; he has become a "beast," a "monster" from which all joys are absent. Indeed, none of his experiences cause as much madness as melancholy.

A lack of self control is evident in visual depictions of both madness and melancholy. Figures in the images in this section break the "rules" of decorum. "Maniacus" in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and the women in Rubens's *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus* are physically incapable of preventing their bodies from excessive movement, "unsightly" gestures escaping the boundaries of the body. A similar lack of self control is mirrored in the musical and textual structures of "Morpheus, thou gentle god," a mad song by Daniel Purcell. Textual and musical allusions to madness beg staging the piece with the wild gestures of the raving lunatic.

Figure 5.12 Cesare Ripa's *Melancholy* (1709)

[38] Burton, 3.

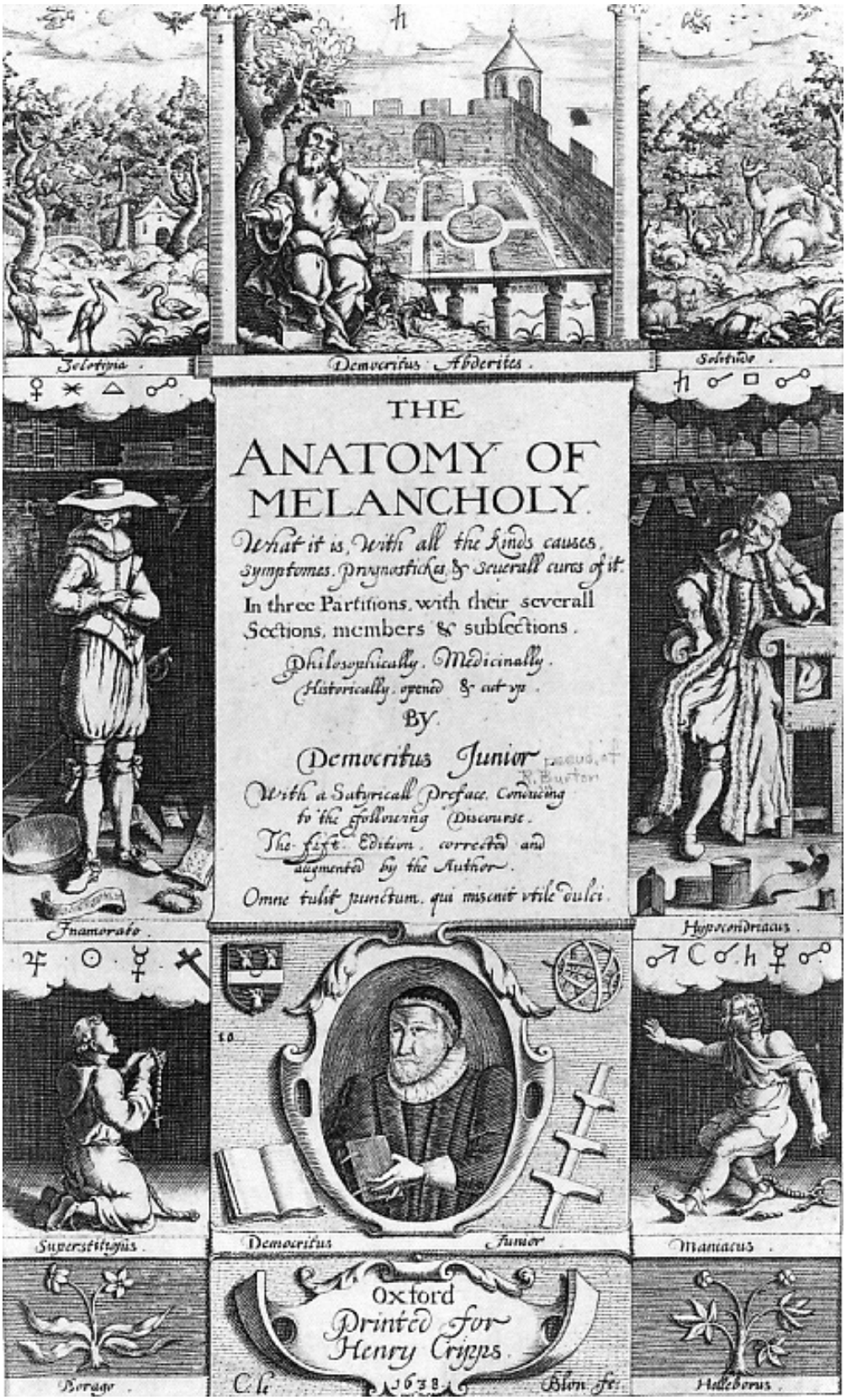

Figure 5.13 Frontispiece of Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1638)

"Morpheus, thou gentle god" was written for performance in a production of John Dennis's *Iphigenia*, produced in 1699 at Lincoln's Inn Fields by Thomas Betterton's cooperative company.[39] An elaborate and expensive production, the play was cancelled after six performances although it was purportedly well staged and acted, as it did not pay for its own expenses.[40] Based on Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the play's title character (played by Anne Bracegirdle) is the daughter of King Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. Iphigenia was rescued by the goddess Artemis when her father attempted to use her as a sacrifice. Artemis relocated the princess in Tauris (Crimea), where she lived as the goddess's priestess. In Dennis's version of the play, Iphigenia lives among the Scythians. The Scythians are ruled by a powerful queen—portrayed by Elizabeth Barry—who demands that Iphigenia—a priestess of Diana—must sacrifice any foreigners who land on her shores. At the beginning of the play, Agmemnon's son Orestes—played by Betterton—finds himself shipwrecked in Scythia. The queen offers to spare Orestes's life if he marries her, but Orestes, who has in turn fallen in love with Iphigenia (whom he later discovers is his sister), refuses, positing the queen and Iphigenia as rivals for his affections.

Purcell's song, which showcases the conflicting emotions of a jealous lover, eventually calling for revenge on a rival, would be appropriate for performance by the queen. However, the only music alluded to in the script is an ode to Diana sung as a concealed figure—allegedly Orestes—is about to be sacrificed.[41] The earliest publication of Purcell's piece notes that it was performed by Mrs. Erwin, who also sang his music that season at

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[39] For more information on Betterton's company, see Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields 1695-1708* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979).
[40] Henry Gilbert Paul, *John Dennis: His Life and Criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911), 24-27.
[41] John Dennis, *Iphigenia A Tragedy Acted at the Theatre in Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields* (London: Richard Parker, 1700), 48-49.

Christopher Rich's rival company.[42] This attribution and the song's absence from the script imply that it was incidental music performed between two acts. It is likely that the piece would have been performed after Act IV, wherein the queen discovers that Orestes has attempted to flee with Iphigenia.[43] The queen views the priestess as her rival, performing an impassioned monologue wherein she vows revenge:

> And is the Priestess then preferr'd to me?
> Have I, who have had the Ambition to behold
> Admiring Monarchs at my Feet adoring,
> Liv'd to reflect, with mortifying Soul,
> That I my self, to one unknown, have offer'd,
> And been, O Gods!, by one unknown refus'd?
> And for *Diana's* Priestess too refus'd?
> Refus'd! Scorn'd! loath'd! Oh, how that tears my Heart!
> But if thou hast a Soul, with tremble Scorn
> Return it: Suffer him to take this Priestess;
> And let his despicable Choice revenge thee.[44]

Rivalry and revenge are the central themes of Purcell's piece, and the instability of the queen's emotions is reflected in its volatile text. The speaker switches the focus of her address often and abruptly. Lines 1-6 are a plea that Morpheus, son of the god of sleep, quiet the fury possessing her body. In the first four lines, she addresses this god directly, demanding his help with strong commands: "compose," "allay," "drive hence" and "chase away." In the next section, the tone of the speaker's plea changes. Rather than demanding Morpheus's help, the speaker becomes passive; she expresses a wish that sleep and dreams will allow her pain to be soothed. The focus of line 7 shifts; rather than asking Morpheus for assistance, the speaker turns inward, inquiring about the nature of the beast that has driven her mad. She asks "What's this I feel?", answering in line 9 that "tormenting

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[42] See Kalman A. Burnim, Philip H. Highfill, Jr. and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other State Personnel in London, 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 94.
[43] Dennis, 33-37.
[44] Dennis, 35-36.

jealousy" is the root of her problems. The focus changes again in line 11, where the speaker describes the state of her body; she is simultaneously tortured by "despair," frigid melancholy caused by her inability to be with her beloved, and "desire," an excess of the sanguine temperament resulting in the rages and ravings of mania (12).

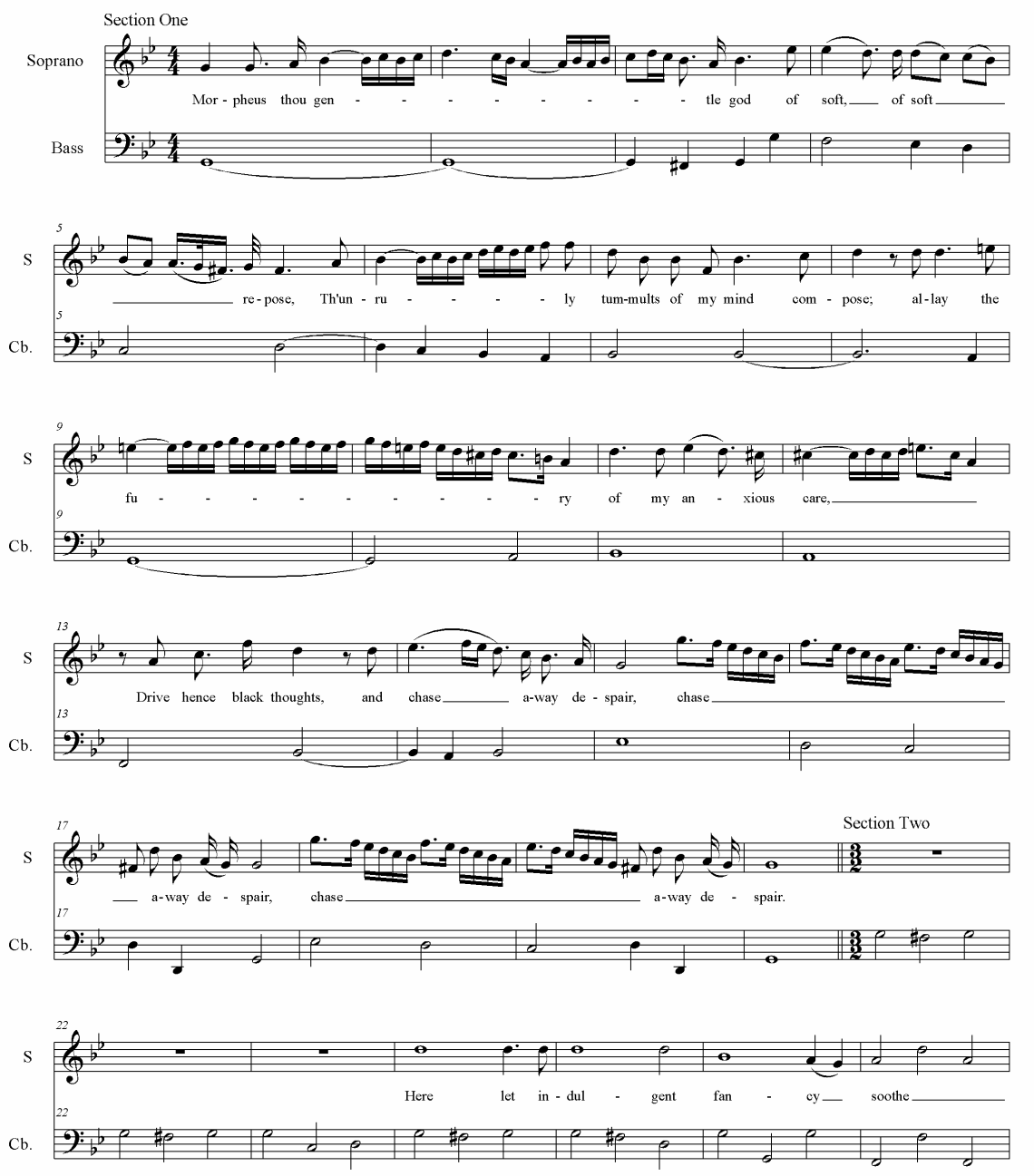
1	Morpheus, thou gentle god of soft repose, the unruly tumults of my mind compose. Allay the fury of my anxious care. Drive hence black thoughts and chase away despair.
5	Here let indulgent fancy soothe my pain. Here let me sleep and never wake again.
7	What's this I feel, what's this within my breast, strikes such alarms and will not let me rest? 'Tis jealousy, tormenting jealousy the bane of love.
10	I rage, I rave, my soul, my soul o' fire, Tortur'd with wild despair and fierce desire. My Strephon's loss I cannot, will not bear. I'll be revenged and more than woman dare; Death, only death can now my thoughts employ; I must my rival or myself destroy.

Purcell's setting of this text enhances its structure by creating an equally disjunct musical shape. The piece is divided into four distinct musical sections, each of which asks the singer to perform the text in a distinctive style; these sections are marked in Example 5.5. The frenetic juxtaposition of these disparate singing styles suggests that the performer is possessed by a drastically different passion in each section of the piece, creating a sense of sonic instability and volatility—the effect of which is musical madness.

Section 1 (mm. 1-20) resembles an oration attempting to persuade Morpheus to offer assistance. Set in declamatory recitative, many of the speaker's words are expressed with a musical gestures illustrating the ideas they represent. The word "chase" (mm.16-20) is one example; this word is set with a descending melismatic sequence whose motive "chases" itself down the G-minor scale. "Soft" provides another example (mm. 4-5); this word is

repeated with gentle descending half steps. This style of text setting mirrors the speaker's mindset, which remains collected and rational.

Rationality escapes in sections 2 and 3, as excessive melancholy and mania tip the narrator into the realm of madness. In section 2 (mm. 21-53), the speaker expresses her desire to escape the real world and to enter a dreamlike fantasy from which pain is absent. In a soothing, triple-meter aria she sings "here let me sleep and never wake again." The repetitive, near-ostinato bass pattern present in this section lulls the listener into the speaker's fanciful dream world. The lethargy of this section is excessively melancholic; the speaker wants nothing but to exchange interacting with the world for repose. Section 3 (mm. 54-74) marks the transition from melancholy to mania; it is characterized by repeated syllabic eighth notes, during which the speaker explains that jealousy prevents her from retreating from reality. Rapid-fire repetition of the phrase "'tis jealousy," such as that present in mm. 61-63, resembles *stile concitato*, indicating intense agitation.



Example 5.5 Daniel Purcell's *Morpheus, thou gentle god*

By section 4 (mm. 75-103), the speaker has completely lost control; in the final part of the piece, she fluctuates between mania and melancholy. First, she expresses her anger in a bellicose aria; in mm. 77-82, she uses ferocious 16th-note melismas to sing emotionally-

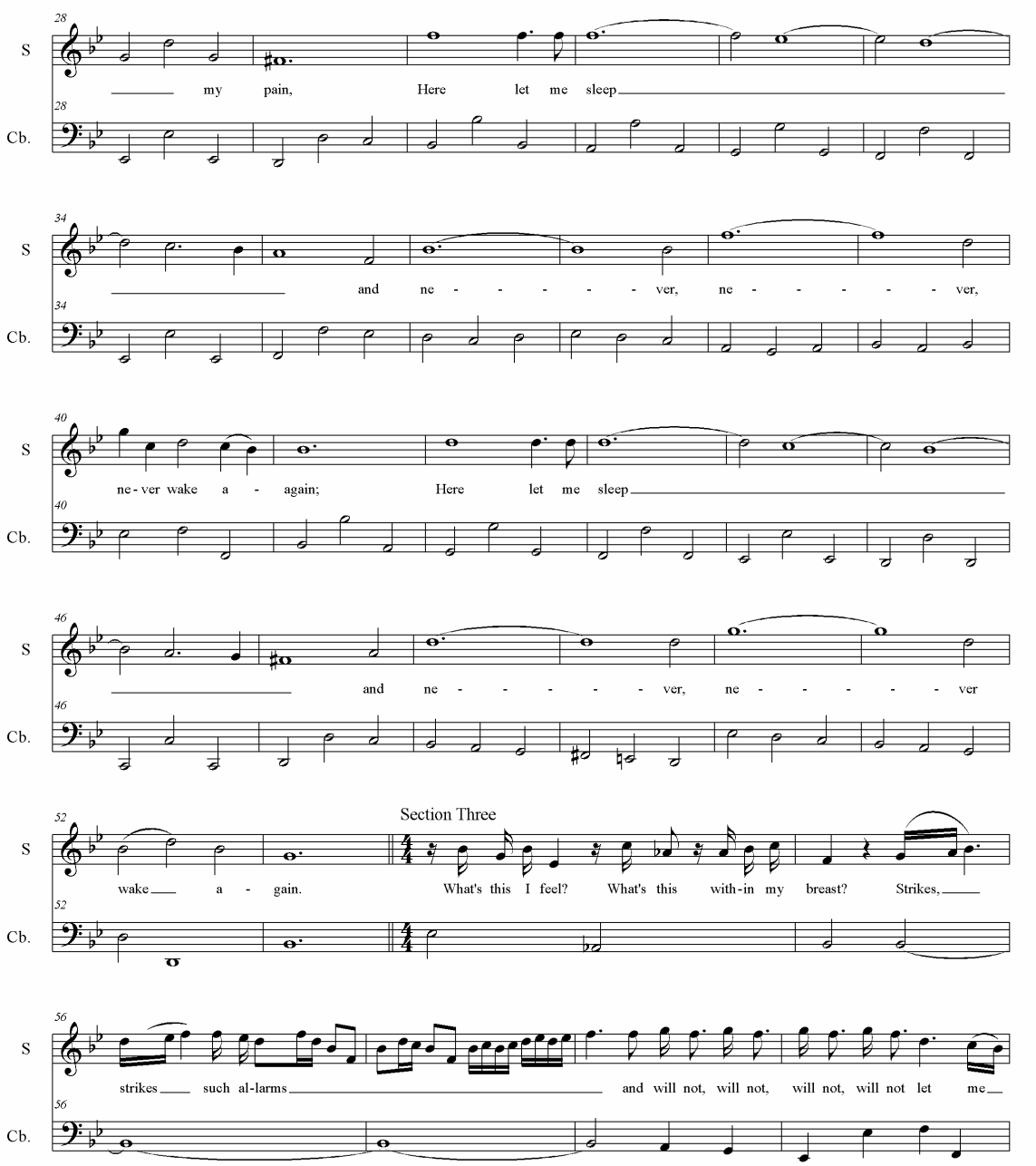
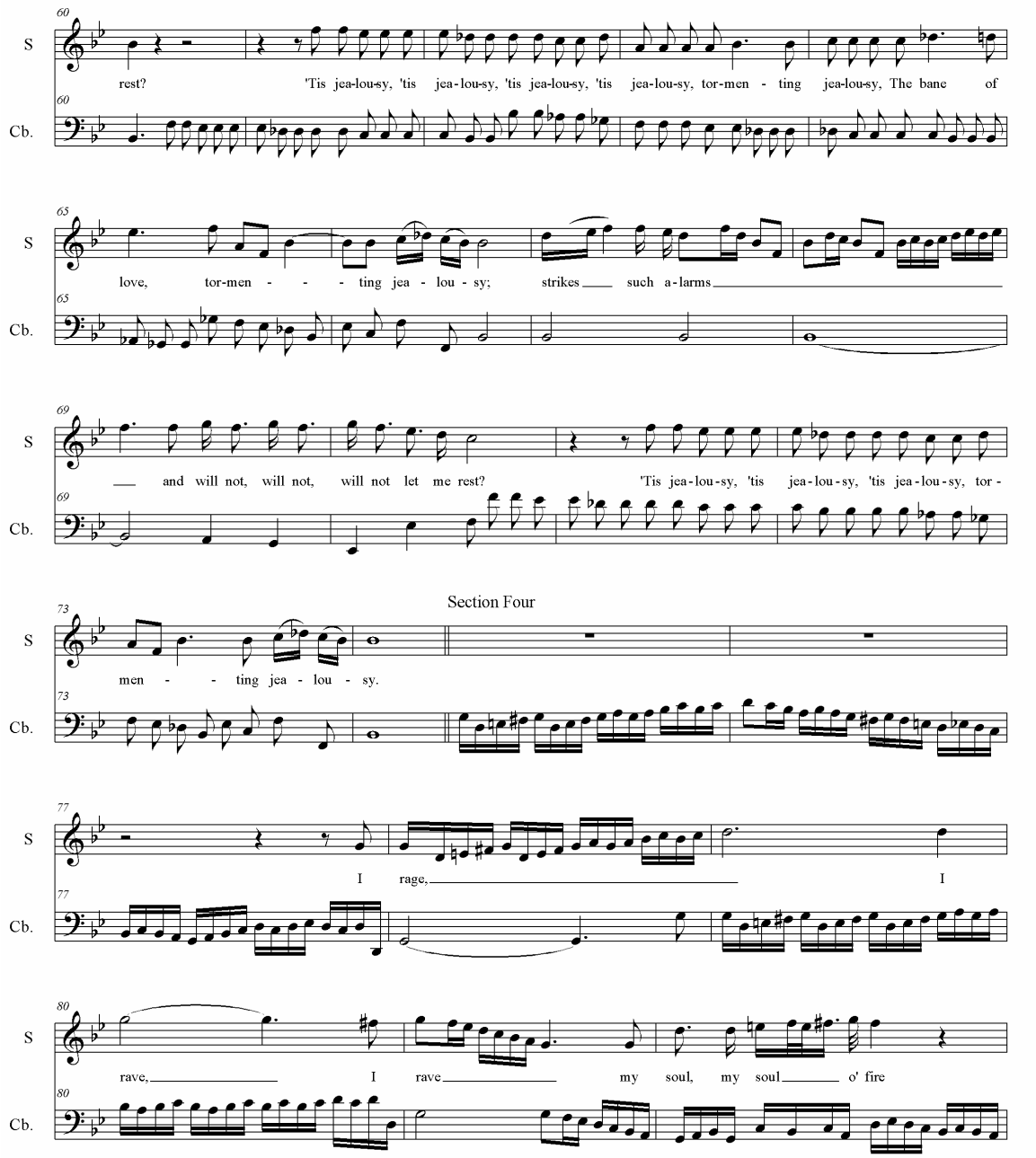


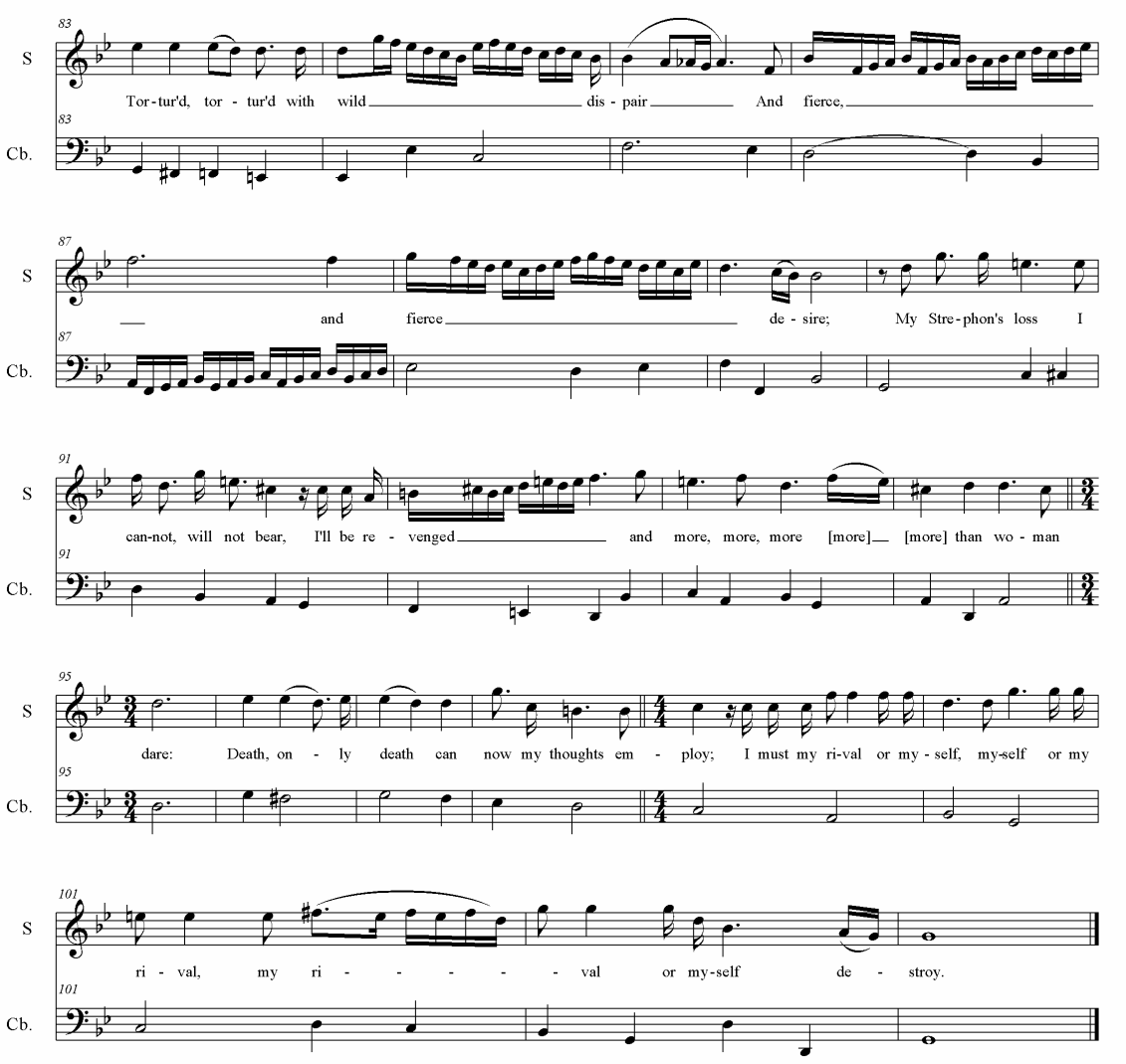
Figure 5.5 (*continued*)

charged words like "rave," "wild" and "fierce." Anger is replaced by melancholy in m. 83, when the music slows to a halt with the word "tortur'd," repeated with a chromatic descent in both the melody and bass. Measure 84 returns immediately to mania, with an unruly sixteenth- note melisma on the word "wild," only to slow down again on the word



Example 5.5 (*continued*)

"despair," a quarter note followed by a notated ornament (m. 85). The music continues to fluctuate between mania and melancholy, with belligerent melismas on words like "revenged" (m. 92) and a foray into triple meter, addressing death that recalls the lethargy of section 2 (mm. 95- 98). Abrupt shifts between these polarized passions indicate the



Example 5.5 (*continued*)

speaker's ultimate instability. The dramatic structure of this piece is thus the juxtaposition of several musical sections, each of which features a different method of communicating emotions. The performer switching among these communication styles in quick succession has the effect of moving rapidly from one passion to another. In the language of Robert Burton, scenes are "turn'd" without warning; the performer appears to have lost control over her ability to communicate a singular passion to the audience, and she fluctuates manically among jealousy, rage and despair.

Staging the piece with postures and facial expressions that represent these disparate mental states would provide a visible counterpart to the sonic mania that characterizes the piece. The musical and textual characteristics of each section resemble emblems in Motte's edition of Ripa's *Iconologia*, with which Restoration audiences would have been intimately familiar. Taking on the postures and facial expressions represented in these images in the musical sections to which they apply would result in hairpin shifts in weight, intensity and direction, contributing to a sense of instability for the singer and the listener. Whether or not the audience would necessarily recognize these emblems without props or the assistance of costume—which are important components in identifying each figure—is almost irrelevant; rapid shifts among the postures required to physicalize each emblem would foster a sense of volatility signifying madness. The shifting physical stances make instability visible and also enhance the singer's understanding of character, encouraging her to produce a different vocal timbre in each section and thus contributing to a volatile sound. A vital element in fostering this illusion of madness was breaching the decorum that would likely have characterized performances of pieces such as Strozzi's *Moralità amorosa*. The excessive heat and melancholy inherent in the text encourage the singer to abandon order, indicating a loss of control through large-scale and unruly gestures.

Section 1, a composed plea to the gods, is represented by Rhetoric (Figure 5.14), described by Ripa as "…a fair lady, richly cloth'd, with a noble Head-dress; very compliant; holds up her right Hand open…. [She is] Fair and compliant because there is none so ill bred that is not sensible in the *charms* of Eloquence. Her open hand shows Rhetoric discourses in a more open way than logic..."[45] Though Rhetoric, personifying the classical art of methodically and deliberately persuading another of one's point of view, is seated in

[45] Ripa, 80.

this image, it is apparent that her posture is tall, proud and open, weight shifted forward, with gestures directed towards the person she hopes to convince. Emulating Rhetoric's poise and focus allows the singer to begin the piece with a sense of control, providing an initial context of restraint that makes the unraveling of decorum that will soon follow even more unnerving.

FIG. 319. Rettorica: RHETORICK.
A fair Lady, richly cloth'd, with a noble Head-dreſs; very complaiſant; holds up her right Hand open; a Scepter in her left, with a Book; on the Skirt of her Petticoat are theſe Words, *ORNATUS PERSUASIO*; of a ruddy Complexion, with a Chimera at her Feet.

Fair and complaiſant, becauſe there is none ſo ill bred that is not ſenſible of the *Charms* of Eloquence. Her open Hand ſhews Rhetoric diſcourſes in a more *open* Way than Logic. The Scepter, her *Sway* over Mens Minds. The Book, *Study* requiſite. The Motto denotes its *Buſineſs*: The Chimera, the three *Precepts* of it; judicial, demonſtrative, and deliberative.

Figure 5.14 Ceare Ripa's *Rhetoric* (1709)

Section 2, which is characterized by the musical attempt to escape the rational world, features a speaker with a tendency towards fancy and indulgence. These states may be

represented by "Blindness of the Mind" (Figure 5.15). This emblem is described as "A lady cloth'd in green, standing in a Meadow full of flowers, her head inclin'd and a Mole by her side. The Mole intimates Blindness; her head inclin'd towards fading flowers, worldly delights, which allure and busie the mind to no purpose…." To represent this emblem, the singer could transfer her gaze, weight and palms from the heavens to the earth, performing melancholic lethargy. She might even eventually become so transfixed by fancy that she kneels, succumbing to the fantastical world of sleep.

FIG. 47. Cecita' della mente: *BLINDNESS of the MIND.*

A Lady cloth'd in green, ſtanding in a Meadow full of various Flowers, her Head inclin'd, and a Mole by her Side.

The Mole intimates *Blindneſs*; her Head inclin'd towards fading Flowers, *worldly Delights*, which allure and buſie the Mind to no purpoſe; for whatever the flattering World promiſes, yet all is but a Clod of Earth, cover'd, not only under the falſe Hope of ſhort Pleaſures, but with many Dangers, all our Days.

Figure 5.15 Cesare Ripa's *Blindness of the Mind* (1709)

Fig. 133. Gelosia: JEALOUSY.
A Woman in a Grogram Veſtment, all wrought with Ears and Eyes; Wings on her Shoulders; a Cock on her left Arm, and a Bundle of Thorns in her right Hand.
The Cock denotes *Jealouſie*, *Vigilance*, and *Addreſs*; the Wings, the *Quickneſs* of fanciful Thoughts; the Eyes and Ears, Care to *hear* and *ſee* the leaſt Act, or Intimation of the Perſon beloved. The Thorns, the continual *Trouble* and *Uneaſineſs*.

Figure 5.16 Cesare Ripa's *Jealousie* (1709)

In section 3, the speaker notes that jealousy is the root of her problems. As she articulates this fact in a manner resembling *stile concitato*, she could assume a posture inspired by Ripa's "Jealousie" (Figure 5.16), a woman clothed in a dress decorated with ears and eyes who holds a bundle of thorns and on whose arm a cock perches; the eyes and ears allude to the goddess Rumor, while cock fighting is a symbol of envy. "Jealousie" is one of the few figures in Ripa's treatise whose body turns away from the viewer; her face and head are twisted in different directions, distorting the delicate, listless posture prevalent in the previous section. The singer could use the contortion present in this image as a model after

which to twist her own face and body into unpleasant poses, an action signifying manic aggravation.

Section 4 is marked by rapid fluctuation between extremes caused by mania and melancholy: anger, despair and desire. The first is personified by Ripa as "a young man, round shouldr'd, sparkling eyes, a round brow, a sharp nose, wide nostrils; he is armed, his crest is a Boar's head; from which issues fire and smoke; a drawn sword, in one hand, and a lighted torch in the other" (Figure 5.17).[46] During moments ruled by "Anger," the singer could stand tall and strong, weight forward and ready for battle, with furious energy radiating through her limbs and face. She could flail her arms as she sings ferocious melismas, just as the youth swings his sword to ward off enemies. Ripa's "Despair" (Figure 5.18), offers the model of an old man, weight backward in a hunched, defeated posture, for melancholic moments. "Desire" (Figure 5.19), represented by the "Sanguine" temperament, an excess of blood and heat, offers a model that may be emulated during moments where mania is caused by excessive lust. Here, the singer is alert rather than lethargic, but movements are soft and inviting rather than abrasive and aggressive. Fluctuating rapidly among these dramatically different postures would allow the singer to make the increased volatility in the music visible.

[46] Ripa, 43

FIG. 170. Ira: *ANGER.*

A young Man, round ſhoulder'd, his Face bloated, ſparkling Eyes, a round Brow, a ſharp Noſe, wide Noſtrils; he is arm'd, his Creſt is a Boar's Head; from which iſſues Fire and Smoak; a drawn Sword, in one Hand, and a lighted Torch in the other, all in red.

Young, ſubject to *Anger*. The Bear is an Animal much inclin'd to Wrath; The Sword ſhews that Anger preſently lays *hold* on it. The puft Cheeks, that Anger often *alters* the Face, by the Boiling of the Blood; and *inflames* the Eyes.

Figure 5.17 Cesare Ripa's *Anger* (1709)

Figures 5.18 and 5.19 from Cesare Ripa's *Despair* and *Sanguinity* (1709)

Within these large-scale sections, the singer could use hand gestures described in Bulwer's *Chirologia* to show emotional reactions to small-scale words and ideas. When the singer begs Morpheus for help, she might use "ploro" (C in Appendix 4), a gesture meant to both show humility and to beg a favor.[47] She could strike her left palm with the fingers of her right, performing "explodo" (F in Appendix 4) as she sings the word "strikes" to demonstrate the explosive, destructive effect the emotion has on her body (m. 55-56).[48] Gestures are colored by the emblems in which the singer's body operates at any given moment; as explained in Chapter 3, gestures of the hand must proceed from the passion governing the body (pp. 102-104), and are thus often performed with drastically different affects. To dismiss or negate ideas, the singer could push her hands away from her body, using "dimitto" (X in Appendix 4). When she repeats the word "never" in the character of "Blindness of the Mind," she would perform this gesture with a slow, graceful, lethargic motion. In the character of "Anger," she could present the same movement with sharp, angular, rapid sweeps of the arm. Movements of the arm and hands could exceed the boundaries imposed by decorum; sweeping the hands outside the limits of the body—holding them "too high" or "too low"—would aid the singer in transmitting visually her loss of mental and physical control.

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[47] Bulwer, 19. It is interesting to note that Bulwer provides historical justification for the use of this gesture. He writes: "The stretching out the hands to God is sometimes taken in Scripture for the acknowledgement of an offence, as in the prayer of Solomon at the consecration of the Temple: and Solomon praying, stretched forth his hands to Heaven I this manner (1 King, 8.32); And thus Moses praying stretched out his Hands unto the Lord (1 King, 8.22)…".

[48] Bulwer postulates that the former gesture is meant to negate an idea (65) and that the latter is meant to "mock, chide, brawl, insult, reproach, rebuke, explode and/or drive out by noise" (75).

Conclusions

Pieces written for different performance contexts in the seventeenth century require performance with drastically different uses of the body. A cantata by Barbara Strozzi, a recitative by Jean-Baptiste Lully and a mad song by Daniel Purcell provide vivid examples of a range of situations with various needs. Strozzi's cantata begs for subtle, rhetorical gestures appropriate for the educated audience in the mid-seventeenth-century Italian salon. Lully's recitative provides implicit instructions on transposing the codified, elevated gestures of classical tragedy into a musical context. Purcell's mad song requires the juxtaposition of unrelated, histrionic gestures appropriate for the depiction of a woman who has lost control in a theatrical context. Each composer's music is intensely theatrical in different ways, giving the singer clues as to how she might use her body to make musical and affective structure visible. It is my hope that these three examples demonstrate for the reader the level of musical understanding that can be gleaned from thinking about the correspondence between musical and affective structure and visible gesture. Gesture was an integral component of sung performances in the seventeenth century; investigating how composers manipulated this idea by "writing" gesture into their music invites a new level of understanding of music from this period.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1

Description of fear from Descartes' *Passions of the Soul* (1649)

…the light reflected from its body forms two images, one in each of our eyes; and these images form two others, by means of the optic nerves, on the internal surface of the brain facing its cavities. Then, by means of the spirits that fill these cavities, the images radiate towards the little gland which the spirits surround: the movement forming each point of one of these images tends towards the same point on the gland as the movement forming the corresponding point of the other image, which represents some part of the animal. In this way, the two images in the brain form only one image on the gland, which acts directly upon the soul and makes it see the shape of the animal…. If, in addition, this shape is very strange and terrifying—that is, If it has a close relationship to things which have previously been harmful to the body—this arouses the passion of anxiety in the soul, and then that of courage or perhaps fear and terror, depending on the particular temperament of the body or strength of the soul, and upon whether we have protected ourselves previously be defense or by flight against the harmful things to which the present thing is related…. The rest of the spirits go to nerves which expand or constrict the orifices of the heart, or else to nerves which agitate other parts of the body from which blood is sent to the heart, so that the blood is rarefied in a different manner from usual and spirits are sent to the brain which are adapted for maintaining and strengthening the passion of fear—that is, for holding open or re-opening the pores of the brain which direct the spirits into those same nerves. For merely by entering into those pores they produce in the gland a particular movement which is ordained by nature to make the soul feel this passion. And since these pores are related mainly to the little nerves which serve to contract or expand the orifices of the heart, this makes the soul feel the passion chiefly in the heart. Something similar happens with all the other passions.[1]

[1] René Descartes, *Passions of the Soul,* in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes: Volume One*, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff and Dugald Murdoch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 356-357.

Appendix 2

Act III, Scene ii (145-220), from *Hamlet*

Trumpets sound. The dumb show enters. Enter a King and Queen, very lovingly; the Queen embracing him and he her. She kneels and makes show of protestation unto him. He takes her up and declines his head upon her neck: lays him down upon a bank of flowers: she, seeing him asleep, leaves him. Anon comes in a fellow, takes off his crown, kisses it and pours poison in the King's ears and exits. The Queen returns; finds the King dead and makes passionate action. The Poisoner, with some two or three mutes, comes in again, seeming to lament with her. The dead body is carried away. The Poisoner wooes the Queen with gifts: she seems loath and unwilling awhile, but in the end accepts his love. [Exeunt]

Player King
Full thirty times hath Phoebus' cart gone round
Neptune's salt wash and Tellus' orbed ground,
And thirty dozen moons with borrow'd sheen
About the world have times twelve thirties been,
Since love our hearts and Hymen did our hands
Unite commutual in most sacred bands.

Player Queen
So many journeys may the sun and moon
Make us again count o'er ere love be done!
But, woe is me, you are so sick of late,
So far from cheer and from your former state,
That I distrust you. Yet, though I distrust,
Discomfort you, my lord, it nothing must:
For women's fear and love holds quantity;
In neither aught, or in extremity.
Now, what my love is, proof hath made you know;
And as my love is sized, my fear is so:
Where love is great, the littlest doubts are fear;
Where little fears grow great, great love grows there.

Player King
'Faith, I must leave thee, love, and shortly too;
My operant powers their functions leave to do:
And thou shalt live in this fair world behind,
Honour'd, beloved; and haply one as kind
For husband shalt thou--

Player Queen
O, confound the rest!
Such love must needs be treason in my breast:
In second husband let me be accurst!
None wed the second but who kill'd the first.

HAMLET
[Aside] Wormwood, wormwood!

Player Queen
The instances that second marriage move
Are base respects of thrift, but none of love:
A second time I kill my husband dead,
When second husband kisses me in bed.

Player King
I do believe you think what now you speak;
But what we do determine oft we break.
Purpose is but the slave to memory,
Of violent birth, but poor validity;
Which now, like fruit unripe, sticks on the tree;
But fall, unshaken, when they mellow be.
Most necessary 'tis that we forget
To pay ourselves what to ourselves is debt:
What to ourselves in passion we propose,
The passion ending, doth the purpose lose.
The violence of either grief or joy
Their own enactures with themselves destroy:
Where joy most revels, grief doth most lament;
Grief joys, joy grieves, on slender accident.
This world is not for aye, nor 'tis not strange
That even our loves should with our fortunes change;
For 'tis a question left us yet to prove,
Whether love lead fortune, or else fortune love.
The great man down, you mark his favourite flies;
The poor advanced makes friends of enemies.
And hitherto doth love on fortune tend;
For who not needs shall never lack a friend,
And who in want a hollow friend doth try,
Directly seasons him his enemy.
But, orderly to end where I begun,
Our wills and fates do so contrary run
That our devices still are overthrown;
Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own:
So think thou wilt no second husband wed;
But die thy thoughts when thy first lord is dead.

Player Queen
Nor earth to me give food, nor heaven light!
Sport and repose lock from me day and night!
To desperation turn my trust and hope!
An anchor's cheer in prison be my scope!
Each opposite that blanks the face of joy
Meet what I would have well and it destroy!

Both here and hence pursue me lasting strife,
If, once a widow, ever I be wife!

HAMLET
If she should break it now!

Player King
'Tis deeply sworn. Sweet, leave me here awhile;
My spirits grow dull, and fain I would beguile
The tedious day with sleep.

Player Queen
Sleep rock thy brain,
And never come mischance between us twain!

HAMLET
Madam, how like you this play?

QUEEN GERTRUDE
The lady doth protest too much, methinks.

Appendix 3

Thomas Dekker's Dumb Show before *The Whore of Babylon* (1607)

A Dumb shew.

HE drawes a Curtaine, discouering Truth in sad abilliments; vncrowned; her haire disheueld, & sleeping on a Rock: Time (her father) attired likewise in black, and al his properties (as Sithe, Hawreglasse and Wings) of the same Collor, vsing all meanes to waken Truth, but not being able to doe it, he sits by her and mourns. Then enter Friers, Bishops, Cardinals before the Hearse of a Queen, after it Councellors, Pentioners & Ladies, al these last hauing scarfes before their eyes, the other singing in Latin. Truth suddenly awakens, & beholding this sight, shews (with her father) arguments of Ioy, and Exeunt, returning presently: Time being shifted into light Collors, his properties likewise altred into siluer, and Truth Crowned, (being cloathed in a robe spotted with Starres) meete the Hearse, and pulling the veiles from the Councellers eyes, they wondring a while, and seeming astonished at her brightnes, at length embrace Truth and Time, & depart with them: leauing the rest going on.

This being done, Enter Titania (the Faric Queene) attended with those Councellors, and other persons fitting her estate: Time and Truth meete her, presenting a Booke to her, which (kissing it) shee receiues, and shewing it to those about her, they drawe out their swordes, (embracing Truth,) vowing to defend her and that booke: Truth then and Time are sent in, and returne presently, driuing before them those Cardinals, Friers &c. (that came in before) with Images, Croziar staues &c. They gon, certaine graue learned men, that had beene banished, are brought in, and presented to Titania, who shewes to them the booke, which they receiue with great signes of gladnesse, and Exeunt Omnes.

Appendix 4

Sample Table of Hand Gestures from Bulwer's *Chirologia* (1644)

A. Entreating (B)
B. Praying (B)
C. Weeping (C)
D. Expressing admiration for an idea (C)
E. Applauding to express favor (C)
F. Expressing indignation (C)
G. Striking the fist against an open palm, expressing a negative reaction (C)
H. Lowering the hands to show despair (C)
I. Indulging in ease (A)
K. Clasping the hands together to indicate mental anguish (D)
L. Showing innocence (D)
M. Applauding the taking of money (C)
N. Resigning liberty (C)
O. Protecting (C)
P. Triumphing (C)
Q. Demanding silence (B)
R. Swearing (C)
S. Declaring emphatically (A)
T. Permitting (C or A)
V. Rejecting (C or A)
W. Inviting (A)
X Dismissing (C)
Y. Forming a fist to show anger (C)
Z. Begging (B)

Key
(A) demonstrating gesture
(B) urging gesture
(C) responding gesture
(D) indicating gesture

Appendix 5

Robert Burton "The Author's Abstract of Melancholy," Διαλογῶς, from *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621)

When I go musing all alone
Thinking of divers things fore-known.
When I build castles in the air,
Void of sorrow and void of fear,
Pleasing myself with phantasms sweet,
Methinks the time runs very fleet.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as melancholy.
When I lie waking all alone,
Recounting what I have ill done,
My thoughts on me then tyrannise,
Fear and sorrow me surprise,
Whether I tarry still or go,
Methinks the time moves very slow.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so mad as melancholy.
When to myself I act and smile,
With pleasing thoughts the time beguile,
By a brook side or wood so green,
Unheard, unsought for, or unseen,
A thousand pleasures do me bless,
And crown my soul with happiness.
All my joys besides are folly,
None so sweet as melancholy.
When I lie, sit, or walk alone,
I sigh, I grieve, making great moan,
In a dark grove, or irksome den,
With discontents and Furies then,
A thousand miseries at once
Mine heavy heart and soul ensconce,
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so sour as melancholy.
Methinks I hear, methinks I see,
Sweet music, wondrous melody,
Towns, palaces, and cities fine;
Here now, then there; the world is mine,
Rare beauties, gallant ladies shine,
Whate'er is lovely or divine.
All other joys to this are folly,
None so sweet as melancholy.
Methinks I hear, methinks I see
Ghosts, goblins, fiends; my phantasy

Presents a thousand ugly shapes,
Headless bears, black men, and apes,
Doleful outcries, and fearful sights,
My sad and dismal soul affrights.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so damn'd as melancholy.
Methinks I court, methinks I kiss,
Methinks I now embrace my mistress.
O blessed days, O sweet content,
In Paradise my time is spent.
Such thoughts may still my fancy move,
So may I ever be in love.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as melancholy.
When I recount love's many frights,
My sighs and tears, my waking nights,
My jealous fits; O mine hard fate
I now repent, but 'tis too late.
No torment is so bad as love,
So bitter to my soul can prove.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so harsh as melancholy.
Friends and companions get you gone,
'Tis my desire to be alone;
Ne'er well but when my thoughts and I
Do domineer in privacy.
No Gem, no treasure like to this,
'Tis my delight, my crown, my bliss.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as melancholy.
'Tis my sole plague to be alone,
I am a beast, a monster grown,
I will no light nor company,
I find it now my misery.
The scene is turn'd, my joys are gone,
Fear, discontent, and sorrows come.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so fierce as melancholy.
I'll not change life with any king,
I ravisht am: can the world bring
More joy, than still to laugh and smile,
In pleasant toys time to beguile?
Do not, O do not trouble me,
So sweet content I feel and see.
All my joys to this are folly,
None so divine as melancholy.
I'll change my state with any wretch,
Thou canst from gaol or dunghill fetch;

My pain's past cure, another hell,
I may not in this torment dwell!
Now desperate I hate my life,
Lend me a halter or a knife;
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so damn'd as melancholy.

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