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Seachanges began with a conference on Music in the Mediterranean Diaspora at I Tatti in 2017. For that precious opportunity to think together about cross-cultural musical entanglements in the past, we are indebted to Alina Payne, director of I Tatti, and to the staff, whose hosting of the conference and concert by Jordi Savall and Hespèrion XXI made the whole experience a joy. Thomas Gruber helped assemble these essays, and Marco Jellinek and his design team at Officina Libraria assured that they look as striking as they are thoughtful. Harvard University supported both the conference and this publication most generously, for which we are all extremely grateful. Further acknowledgements have been integrated into the Introduction; readers will find them beginning on page 26.

K.v.O.

INTRODUCTION
Music and Mobility

Kate van Orden

The evidence is in: it is no longer tenable to conceive of early modern cultures as bounded, fixed, and primordial. In the last decade, histories of traveling musics and musicians have multiplied with force, shattering the coherence of static accounts rooted in national, religious, and ethnic identity into a glittering array of new subjects privileging hybridity, cosmopolitanism, and the global. International research projects have produced border-crossing histories of early modern music in Slavic lands of the Mediterranean like Croatia and Dalmatia[1] and comprehensive archival studies of "foreign" musicians in Rome, Venice, and Naples.[2] Two recent collections exploring music's mobilization via diplomatic networks begin with early modern embassies as models of soft power in international relations.[3] A new volume on Euro-American interchanges edited by Javier Marín López argues that "all studies of colonial musical culture in one way or another reflect the dynamics of interchange (whether by assimilation or rejection in various degrees)" and presses for flexible approaches to Hispanic-American musics.[4] Reinhard Strohm's paradigm-shifting Global History of Music project, funded by the Balzan Foundation from 2013 to 2016, has produced two volumes juxtaposing local histories from across the globe with narratives of musical reciprocity and "cross-examinations" (*regards croisés*) reflecting encounters among the musics of Europe, Asia, and Latin America, many from the early modern period.[5] Finally, a volume on acoustemologies in contact in early modernity appeared while this book was in production.[6] And this is only to cite some of the most recent, collective endeavors.

The tide of historiography has turned, and this seachange brings us to a disciplinary turning point: when we accept that music has always moved, what happens to our intellectual frameworks for understanding it? Now that we have exposed the extent to which cultural "purity" is a myth of colonialism and the nation-state, what do we make of it? How can we avoid merely adding minority repertories and marginalized musical communities to historical canons that otherwise remain unchanged?[7] Most urgently, as we grapple with the expansive

geography and cultural plurality tied to the very mobility of music itself, what questions will guide our research and choice of historiographic models? Old histories of Western European polyphony featuring the cyclic masses of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and symphonies of Ludwig van Beethoven were already "global" in the sense that their authors had successfully generalized from the particulars of score study and biography to the universality of a canonic repertoire that is, in fact, broadly dispersed and remains remarkably enduring throughout the world. Simply sighting these musics on the move is risky: new global histories of music require framings designed to expose cultural imperialism and move beyond it.

Microhistory

The essays in *Seachanges* are incisive: each unfolds with the immediacy of musical time, at the scale of human lives. Many are works of microhistory. No matter how peripatetic the musicians and how extensive the circulation of instruments, practices, and repertoires in the past, we believe that the microrealities of musicking require local, individual, connected explanations. While the geographical reach of this volume extends from Constantinople to Cuzco, and its chronological span encompasses several centuries, from around 1550 to 1800 CE, these are not "big" histories of the sort that seek to discover global unities or musical universals.

Our object is not to add unknown or "quirky" micronarratives to music history, but to contest conventional, composer-centric histories of Renaissance and Baroque music from below.[8] Following the lead of Carlo Ginzburg, a number of our authors concentrate on biographies that have been neglected in prior histories: Emily Wilbourne studies a Black singer who starred in Venetian operas, Philippe Canguilhem identifies two Indigenous musicians who were trained by Dominican missionaries in Mexico and then traveled to the Guatemalan Highlands, and Pedro Memelsdorff considers—among others—a flautist of color from Saint-Domingue named Atys, who made a career in Paris and Vienna. Inasmuch as possible, these scholars take the lived experiences of individual musicians as openings that allow them to address the massive cultural upheavals caused by the enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans, Spanish missionization, and French colonization in the Caribbean.

These examples illustrate the *jeux d'échelles* at work throughout this volume, and the ways that our authors play with scales of analysis. Many chapters move from deep readings of a single biography or primary source to the geopolitical configurations it reveals. Others drill down to the human dimension of

large-scale histories in musically contextualized studies of diplomatic relations, war, or imperial expansion. These moves between micro and macro align our methods with what historians are calling "global microhistory," a form of microhistory that aims to populate models and theories of global historical structures with real people.[9] Here culture comes strongly into play, and musicology stands to make significant interventions, for our histories illustrate the benefits of countering hard forms of world history destined to discover the global unities created by economic, colonial, and—eventually—industrial processes with soft forms of global history that take into account cultural variabilities and the crossing of peoples, religions, musics, and languages.[10] The cultural responses to globalization must be part of these expanded histories. Francesca Trivellato argued as much in her landmark essay on microhistory and global history when she cautioned: "no matter how much global historians set out to challenge earlier Eurocentric and teleological narratives, they sometimes reproduce generalizations closely indebted to those very narratives, especially when their accounts unfold on the macro-scale."[11] As musicology finds its footing in the broader field of global history, our studies suggest the importance of microhistory as a model for music historians and the methods by which our discipline's traditional strengths in textual criticism, source study, and archival work might be leveraged to new ends in studies which begin by identifying subjects that defy assignment to a single place, language, or ethnicity.[12]

Many chapters in this volume highlight their own incompleteness, a quality intrinsic to the microhistorical approach. As Ginzburg put it so eloquently when describing his experience working with Inquisition records, the obstacles interfering with the research are constituent elements of the documentation and must be part of the account. As a result, microhistories actively investigate voids and lacunae:

> The same for the hesitations and silences of the protagonist in the face of his persecutors' questions—or mine. Thus, the hypotheses, the doubts, the uncertainties became part of the narration; the search for truth became part of the exposition of the (necessarily incomplete) truth attained.[13]

We find that reckoning with ephemeral figures and marginalized repertoires requires a narrative style that refuses to fill in documentary gaps to obtain the polished surfaces of traditional histories. Indeed, these often elusive subjects are the very stuff of a fully cultural history of music, and elite and mainstream musical cultures cannot be understood without them.

Orality

Historical musicology is always a business of interpreting partial evidence, for writing can never convey the sound of a song or cantillation or a castrato voice. Even exactingly notated choirbooks of polyphonic masses or early opera scores require reading with an ear for pacing, timbre, instrumentation, diction, tuning, and affect. As we are reminded by modern experiments in historical performance practice, notation is not a finished product, only an invitation to do something, to sing or play, just a script. "Listening in" has emerged as a core value across these chapters as we test new means for hearing beyond the printed and manuscript sources that are the stock-in-trade of historians.

Listening for background information becomes essential when investigating migratory musics, for they often traveled in blended patterns mixing oral and written transmission. Several of our contributors examine unwritten musics that moved into foreign terrain where they were subsequently written down. Such is the case with the Spanish strumming techniques studied by Cory Gavito, who explains that Italians—lacking direct experience of them—found it necessary to produce textual supports for guitarists aspiring to learn the style and chord changes of this unfamiliar repertory. The *chansons turcquesques* featured in my own contribution appear to have been composed in Algiers and transcribed by ear by a Francophone musician. By contrast, the Jewish synagogue music studied by Francesco Spagnolo was an entirely oral practice: it sedimented in Corfu in distinct layers over centuries as displaced Jews arrived on the island from Spain, Apulia, Livorno, Venice, and Thessalonica, where it continued to coexist with written compositions that were added to the repertory in the nineteenth century. Recognizing the cultural systems of religious and musical training that sustained repertoires without notation and examining transitions from one system to another can help break down false segregations between written and unwritten musical traditions and illuminate the vast middle-ground of face-to-face training that included everything from biblical cantillation in Hebrew to the rigorous partimento drills of Neapolitan conservatories and the *meṣk* system of the Ottoman court.

Many of the sonic readings essayed here attend to lyrics for what they suggest of interconnections across the early modern world. Passages of slave jargon in a Florentine opera libretto from 1657, a song in Latin, Czech, German, and Italian celebrating the Battle of White Mountain (1620), a book of Roman Catholic devotional songs from the island of Tinos in *Frangochiotika* (a transliteration of spoken Greek using the Latin alphabet)—again and again musical sources seem to capture the rawness of languages in practice, the extreme displacements of

musics and musicians, and the cross-cultural traffic sustained by singing. Yet making cultural sense of these linguistic migrants remains problematic. Often few in number, pieces representing "minority" speech are frequently marginalized. Nonsense syllables in songs may script vocal patter or—conversely—only *seem* like nonsense when they actually record the sounds of dialects and "foreign" speech. Deciphering such texts requires extraordinary linguistic competence and imagination, and even so the results are oftentimes only partial translations. But in their refusal to speak in the idealized and literary forms of languages codified by academies such as the Accademia della Crusca (est. 1583) and the Académie française (est. 1635), in their moves across scriptural traditions (Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, or Latin), they spark new analyses that are sociolinguistic in approach and can better address the sounds of speech in places where people, languages, and cultures were in constant contact.[14]

Working to understand past oralities is enhancing our discipline's critical toolkit, encouraging collaborations that bring complementary and alternative forms of knowledge to bear in our histories, and expanding our range of source materials. Early music practitioners, specialists in Ottoman modal systems, and literary historians have all had hands in this research. Spagnolo's disentangling of the various strains of Jewish ritual on Corfu employed an archive of mid twentieth-century field recordings made by ethnomusicologists, a strong reminder that written records, too, can be studied as "sound recordings" from the past. Jordi Savall's research has been entirely collaborative and practice-based as he learned from musicians expert in performing traditions adjoining his own.

We hope that these studies will encourage methodological eclecticism and more tacking among practices as research unfolds. Moving forward, listening closely to texts that require extra decryption, identifying the codes governing perplexing marginalia, and attending to the convergences of oral and written traditions can broaden the scope of music history to better account for diasporic musicking and the people and musics we encounter in our studies. In our experience, keeping musicians at the center of history allows us to write from the vantage of a philosophical "elsewhere" that validates all forms of musical knowledge.

The Western Sea

Seachanges adopts a geographic configuration that allows us to map new connections in the early modern world and remap present-day intellectual cartographies. This work began in 2017 with a conference on "Music in the Mediterranean Diaspora" organized and hosted by I Tatti, the Harvard Center

for Italian Renaissance Studies just outside Florence. Conversations there ran from Livorno to Ethiopia and the Bosphorus to Brazil, and they included scholars, composers, and musicians. We debated the nature of evidence, compared research strategies, and came away transformed. *Seachanges* provides a snapshot of the trajectories charted at I Tatti, and we see parallels all around as early modernists and musicians specializing in historically informed performance move beyond "Europe," pursuing diasporic studies, collaborating with musicians versed in Armenian, Greek, and Arabic performance traditions, and elaborating new scholarly networks like the Global History of Music study group of the International Musicological Society, which launched in 2019, and the Mediterranean Music Studies study group, which works closely with the International Council for Traditional Music.

The Mediterranean features in *Seachanges* as a place—one place—from which to unsettle Eurocentric histories of music. From the time of Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1949), Mediterranean histories have challenged separatist, Eurocentric views of the world.[15] Whether or not one agrees with Braudel's insistence on the unity of the Mediterranean and the "shared destiny" of the Muslim and Christian worlds bounding it, turning to the sea does stage perspectival shifts that bring new cultural cartographies into view. Indeed, Mediterranean Studies have generated what historians are calling The New Thalassology: "sea studies" designed to counter smaller terrestrial histories from the expanded scale of seas and oceans.[16] Gone are the old boundaries segregating history into national narratives or aggregating them into familiar geopolitical regions: for global historians, these models of a maritime world replace terra firma with ocean as the unifying feature of new histories that promise to destabilize the hegemony of continents like Europe, Asia, and South America by turning perspectives inside-out; for scholars who espouse "connected" accounts like Sanjay Subrahmanyam's study of the Indian Ocean, seas allow us to reconfigure histories of human relations.[17] And where "terraqueous" histories might nonetheless run aground, imaginative scholars are spying "virtual seas" typified by in-betweenness and liminality: "spaces of danger and variable communications—mountain ranges, forests, or arid wildernesses such as the Sahara."[18]

The intellectual benefits of casting out to sea are nicely illustrated by considering the first known map of the world (see figure 1). In this map, made in Palermo in 1154 by the Arab cartographer Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, South is up, islands are overblown—Sicily, Crete, Cyprus—and the Italian coastline bulges with out-of-proportion inlets and harbors. Cities are evident, and it

Fig. 1. Konrad Miller, modern copy (1929) of the 1154 world map of Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* (The Excursion of One Who is Eager to Traverse the Regions of the World), also known as the *Tabula Rogeriana*, with the names transliterated into Latin characters. Note the mirrored configuration of the Indian Ocean (the "Eastern Sea") and the Mediterranean (the "Western Sea")

is possible to spot Rome (ruma), Genoa (ġanua), and Florence (fluranaia), but the representation is largely topographic: mostly rivers, seas, and mountains, with ports so evenly spaced along well-traveled coastlines that they look like strings of dark pearls (see figure 2). Based on the accounts of travelers to Palermo, which al-Idrīsī assembled over a period of fifteen years, the map provides a littoral sense of the routes taken by nomads, pilgrims, exiles, and crusaders, the prevalence of travel, trade, and cultural encounter, and the importance of mobility as a critical lens. Waterways are clearly delineated, from the vast Nile Delta to the Bosphorus (disproportionately large). Recapturing the social and cultural dimensions of these thalassic imaginaries requires following the southern compass point implied in al-Idrīsī's "down is up" cartography and embracing island-centered histories that include coastal cities as virtual islands, local yet linked like archipelagos by small boats and short-distance exchange.[19]

The ancient Romans called the Mediterranean Mare nostrum, "Our Sea," yet one of the most fascinating aspects of the early modern Mediterranean is that it did not belong to the West. Whereas the overarching narrative of the early modern world is Europe as colonizer and the "rest of the world" as colonized, the Mediterranean was *not* colonized, something witnessed by the ongoing

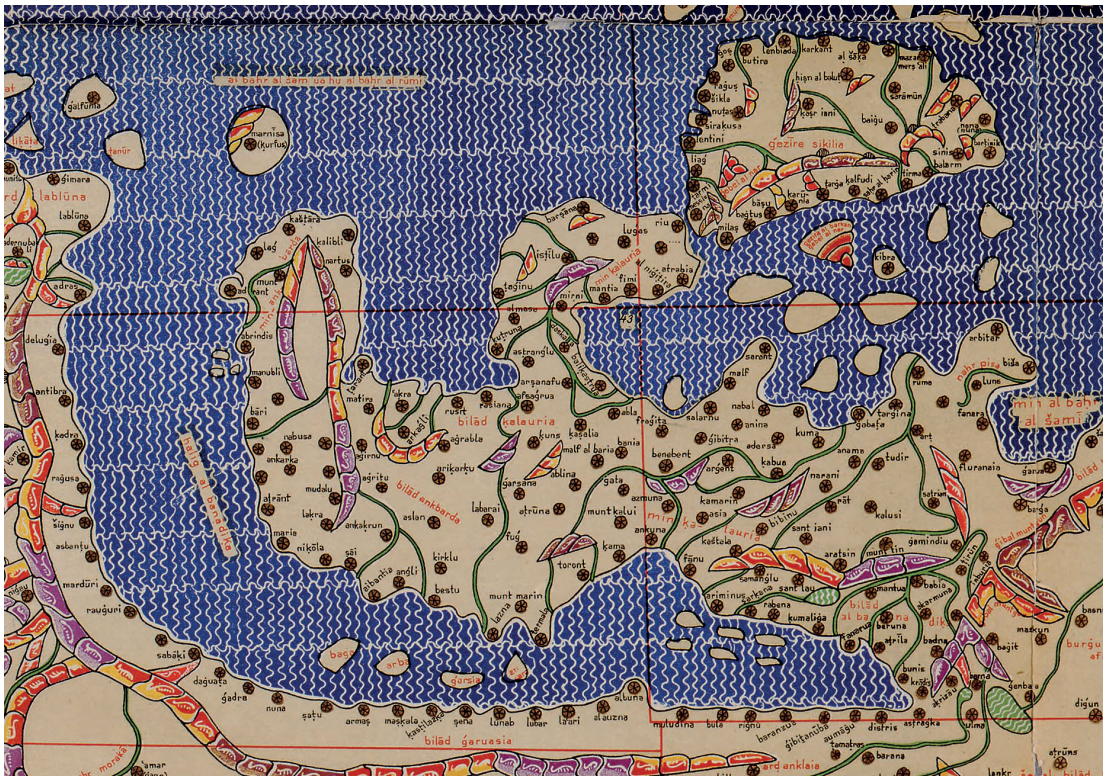

Fig. 2. Detail of the *Tabula Rogeriana* showing the Italian Peninsula

embroilments of West and East that resurfaced again and again after the fall of the Roman Empire. The loss of Constantinople in 1453 proved definitive: notwithstanding the triumph of the Knights Hospitaller at the Siege of Malta (1565) and the victory of the Holy League at the Battle of Lepanto (1571), which aimed to regain Catholic control of the Eastern Mediterranean, ultimately every major island came under Ottoman rule: Rhodes (1522), Cyprus (1573), and fertile Crete (1669). Renaissance poets and historians papered over these centuries of failure with accounts of philosophical progress from East to West, creating paradigms that sighted culture on a naturally occurring westering trajectory from ancient Greece to Rome, France, and England, but we should recall that these myths of cultural reincarnation were necessitated by defeat.[20] In *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (2010), Stephen Greenblatt reminds us that the triumphal symbolism of *translatio imperii*—by which power and authority were transferred successively from Persia to Greece, Rome, and the capitals of early modern Europe—masked political failures left behind: "the symbols, regalia, and

other literal trappings of Roman imperial power were physically carried, when the empire was no longer able to defend itself, from the ancient capital of the world to a succession of new sites of global ambition."[21] As we reckon with the devastating impact of colonization on the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, the cultural complexity evident in Mediterranean musics stands as a reminder that colonial projects and Catholic missionization also failed. Western European powers did not dominate everywhere. On the contrary: Mediterranean histories of music blur the boundaries of a "Europe" that was only coming into being.[22]

Nonetheless, claims of Western exceptionalism prove quite persistent, and even as scholars challenge continental hegemonies from the Mediterranean, the sea's prestige as the "cradle of Western civilization" remains deeply inscribed, surfacing with a vengeance when discussion turns to cultural production. It is not by chance that when Braudel sought to affirm the "greatness" of the Mediterranean world, he summoned forth cultural icons from Italy and Spain in support of his claim:

> The greatness of the Mediterranean … lasted well after the age of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, until the dawn of the seventeenth century or even later. This "waning" of the Mediterranean, to borrow the word Huizinga used of the Middle Ages, had its autumnal fruits: Titian and Tintoretto at Venice; Caravaggio and the Carracci at Rome and Bologna; Galileo at Padua and Florence; in Spain, Madrid and the Golden Century; and the rise everywhere of the theater and music we still love today.[23]

By attributing timelessness and universality to Caravaggio and "the music we still love today," (What music? Who are "we"? Whose "today"?), Braudel casts a very specific set of artistic values across the entire Mediterranean world in a cultural *longue durée* that matches the slow march of environmental and social time.[24] We witness Braudel falling victim to Enlightenment presumptions of Western cultural superiority, and—alarmingly—it is but a small step from his assertion of "Mediterranean" cultural greatness to global projections of Western Art Music as an art form transcending time, space, and cultural difference. Braudel himself staked out just such an intellectual trajectory in *Out of Italy*, a late work describing the "exceptional destiny" of Italian culture: "Between 1450 and 1650, for two extraordinarily eventful centuries, one country—dazzling, multicolored Italy—beamed a radiance out beyond its own frontiers, a light that spread to every corner of the world."[25] Not only do these critical moves reveal how quickly Mediterranean Studies can collapse into merely rebranded

forms of European history, they illustrate how deftly music can be enlisted in totalizing histories that ultimately reinforce narratives of Western cultural imperialism.[26] These tensions are dramatized in *Mare Nostrum* (1975), a piece of *Musiktheater* composed by Mauricio Kagel, an Argentinian-born composer living in Germany. Clearly conscious of his status as an outsider, Kagel created an inverted history of colonization in a piece that recounts the "Discovery, Pacification, and Conversion of the Mediterranean by a Tribe from Amazonia" and explicitly references the Roman Empire in its Latin title.

In short, setting out to sea does not in itself release history from Eurocentrism. But seas and oceans—the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean—*are* places from which to turn back toward "Europe" to question the power relations and exclusions written into histories of Renaissance and Baroque music. At this stage, our subjects are decidedly opportunistic: we begin with microhistories of musical migrants, contacts, repertoires, liturgies, and practices in motion. We look for fissures, weak patches, chinks, and gaps in nationalistic and European narratives of cultural wholeness. They are openings, apertures that can let the dazzling, multicolored, musical radiance of the early modern world ring brightly in our histories.

Seachanges offers pathways toward the new horizons opened up by mobility studies with essays designed to stake out new methodological points of orientation for scholars eager for leads. Models complement and contrast with one another even as all address basic features of musical mobility, such as hybridity, translation (verbal, practical, instrumental, notational), and polyglotism. Some chapters identify patterns of cultural encounter precipitated by economic migration, colonization, war, enslavement, or exile; some investigate cultural crossings on a single island or within a multiethnic empire (Ottoman, Venetian, Spanish); and some analyze the internal evidence of iconographic, literary, liturgical, theatrical, or musical sources. Constructions of racial, religious, and ethnic identities are analyzed at every turn and from multiple vantages that themselves crisscross and look back at each other. Small but fierce, our approaches to cultural mobility are perhaps even "guerrilla," in the sense that they employ unconventional tactics drawn from ethnomusicology, historical performance practice, sociolinguistics, and anthropology. Readers are encouraged to consult the index to this volume, as it is an essential resource for navigating these constellations of subject matter and method.

Chapters that intersect along geopolitical themes are grouped together according to regional designations—the Mediterranean, Italy, the Spanish and French

empires—and these are introduced below. But as one should anticipate in a book of mobility studies, these essays do not stay put, and many defy the regions to which they have been assigned, crossing political borders at every turn. National designations such as France, Italy, and Spain are employed as conventions and not intended to invoke the nineteenth-century ideologies of nation-states.

Orient-Occident: The Mediterranean

Seachanges opens with a set of Mediterranean essays that examine the western and eastern parts of the Great Sea. To a large extent, Mediterranean historiography has been dominated by accounts of the civilizational clashes of the Western Mediterranean, which have been projected across the entire sea: the ultra-Catholicism of Spanish monarchs and their systematic persecution of Jews and Moors created blunt dichotomies between Christian and infidel that did not pertain elsewhere, wringing ambiguity out of the Mediterranean world and intensifying the identification of meridional cultures in France and Spain as different from those of the north.

In France, these polarities largely effaced the country's Mediterranean past. As Megan C. Armstrong and Gillian Weiss explain, French historians, including Braudel, have long assumed "that the Mediterranean—whether as a body of water or a social construct—had little to do with the economic, political, or cultural formation of metropolitan, if not colonial, France."[27] My chapter joins a series of new studies elaborating France's connections to the sea with a microhistory of two isolated *chansons turcquesques* ("Turkish songs") that were printed in Paris in 1604. Previous scholars presumed that the *chansons turcquesques* were fakes—nonsense parodies of Turkish song composed by French musicians for court festivities—but I piece together an alternative history of their oral transmission from Algeria to France by working collaboratively with Turkish, Iranian, and Greek musicians and scholars of Ottoman lyric. Underpinned by new information from the Archives diplomatiques, in my account the songs emerge as a sonic record of Franco-Ottoman relations in the Western Mediterranean and a caution against projecting Saidian Orientalism back in time. This new reading emphasizes the political and musical significance of France's Mediterranean history and urges sustained investigation of cultural entanglements across the sea that predate French colonial rule.

Distinctions between Christian and Muslim worlds break down entirely in the Eastern Mediterranean. Molly Greene has shown that this part of the sea had "a dynamic all its own, one that is not adequately conveyed by the struggle—or absence of one—between Christianity and Islam."[28] Her study

of Crete, *A Shared World* (2000), stresses the Mediterranean history of Eastern Orthodoxy, adding intricacy to binaries opposing Latin Christianity and Islam. Cretan history, in particular, also destabilizes characterizations of religious identity as fixed and religious communities as segregated. In Crete, religious identities were fluid, and shifting alliances based on shared commercial interests could foster cooperation among traditional stake-holders in the region as the Venetians and Ottomans faced common threats from "northern intruders" like France, England, and Holland. Greene explains that the "overemphasis on the Christian-Muslim divide obscures the fact that, in the early modern Eastern Mediterranean, the real battle would prove to be between this *ancien régime* and the 'northern intruders' … They upset the balance in the Mediterranean not because they were Christian but because they were new."[29]

The cultural effects of successive regimes are identifiable in local liturgical traditions, which evince an array of continuities, ruptures, and hybridizations. In her study, **Théodora Psychoyou** describes the Greek Archipelago as strongly multi-confessional: highly Christian, mainly Orthodox but also Catholic in some areas, and the whole situated within a broader sphere of Ottoman hegemony. Enter the Jesuits, who established enduring missions on several Greek islands (Naxos, Syros, Tinos, Chios) and enrolled hundreds of students in their schools by the end of the sixteenth century.[30] In this first glimpse of a larger study, Psychoyou charts the hybrid ritual forms that emerged at this extraordinary encounter of eastern and western Christians. For instance, Jesuits printed catechisms in *Frangochiotika*, and French and Sicilian priests worked out their own rough scripts for baptisms and marriages by translating Latin liturgies into Greek and writing out the results phonetically. Sacred music is equally tangled, with Byzantine and Roman Catholic elements mixed together in contrafacts of pre-existing chant and song.

In his chapter, **Francesco Spagnolo**'s meticulous interpretation of liturgical music reveals the composite identities created by Jewish migration to Corfu, an island in the Ionian Sea that—exceptionally—remained under Venetian rule until 1797. Across the centuries, displaced communities of Greek, Italian, Sephardic, and Ashkenazi Jews took refuge on the island, bringing their own liturgical traditions with them and creating what Spagnolo calls a liturgical *koiné* particular to Corfuan Jews. In a virtuosic unraveling of these interlaced liturgies, Spagnolo draws upon written accounts and liturgical texts as well as a remarkable set of archival field recordings made by Leo Levi in the second half of the twentieth century. The Jewish diaspora, confronting millennia of displacement, here reveals its potency as a paradigm for understanding other

cases of communal mobility: music and ritual sustained uprooted peoples, who counted on the expression of shared beliefs to maintain a sense of togetherness. Yet liturgies responded to time and place as well, and diasporic studies inevitably confront conditions prompting the sorts of métissage, translation, and polyglotism seen across this volume as a whole. Next steps for the field would include more sustained consideration of relationships with homeland and hostland and—following Spagnolo's leads—interrelationships among communities of the diaspora.[31]

The title of this section, Orient-Occident, honors the pathbreaking series of recordings made by Hespèrion XXI and **Jordi Savall**, the Catalan conductor and viola da gambist whose artistic vision of pan-Mediterranean musicking has created an entirely new register of convergence across the sea. Tellingly, the project originated with a gift: during his first concert tour to Istanbul in 2000, friends there gave Savall a new edition of Dimitrie Cantemir's *Science of Music*, a seventeenth-century collection of instrumental music from the Ottoman court. Struck by the beauty of Cantemir's *maḳām*s, Savall "set about studying both the music and the composer in order to learn about a culture which, despite its proximity, seems remote to us as a result of sheer ignorance." These revelations ultimately launched a decade-long project in which Savall and Hespèrion XXI partnered with musicians from Turkey, Armenia, Israel, Morocco, and Greece to perform programs of music from Constantinople, Persia, Iberia, Italy, and beyond. In 2008, Savall was designated a UNESCO Artist for Peace in recognition of his dedication to intercultural dialogue and his commitment to preserving the intangible cultural heritage of the Mediterranean. His Orpheus XXI ensemble, made up of around twenty refugee and migrant musicians, performs Mediterranean repertoire in Europe, preserves musics that are under threat, and teaches young refugee and migrant children about the music of their homelands.

Into Italy, Out of Italy

Italy holds a central place in the early modern Mediterranean, and its history is tied to the sea. The great republics of Genoa and Venice faced outward, culturally, onto maritime empires that were their lifeblood (each year, the doges of Venice tossed a gold ring into the Adriatic, affirming the marriage of Venice to the sea), while the Kingdom of Naples was itself part of a "Spanish" thalassocracy, the Crown of Aragon. In addition to the mobility generated by Venetian and Genoan maritime trade in spices, textiles, and other goods, Rome was a destination for pilgrims, diplomats, and clerics from across Christendom, and

Venice was the launching point for pilgrim ships to the Holy Land. Islands and ports cities like Corsica, Livorno, and Naples thrived on the subjugation of Mediterranean captives and enslaved sub-Saharan Africans trafficked via trans-Saharan routes and by sea from Mauritania, Upper Guinea, and the Gulf of Guinea via Lisbon, Lagos, and Seville, beginning in the fifteenth century.[32] The chapters gathered here stress the extent to which people and musics were constantly on the move, both into and out of the Italian peninsula.

No broad history of cultural mobility can ignore the ramifications of enslavement, but as Olivia Bloechl observed in "Race, Empire, and Early Music" (2015)—a manifesto calling for race critical and postcolonial studies of early modern European music—early musicology has hardly grappled with race and racism.[33] **Emily Wilbourne**'s study rises to the challenge with a Black history of the seventeenth-century Italian opera stage that brings to light the career of Gio: Buonaccorsi, "il Moro" (the Moor), an enslaved member of the Medici household. By crossing the evidence of baptismal records, pay records, a painting, letters of engagement, libretti, and scores that identify Buonaccorsi and his roles, Wilbourne not only elucidates how normalized racial and religious slavery was in early modern Italy, she troubles the presumed whiteness of European music-making. Black singers on the operatic stage, she concludes, "were not an imagined, fantasized representation symbolizing something allegorical, but a reflection of the mundane, day-to-day co-existence of white and Black Europeans."

Cory M. Gavito's study exemplifies the impact of Spanish imperialism in Naples and Rome, and it demonstrates that colonization moved in all directions. By 1600, one third of Rome's inhabitants were Spanish, with communities representing the entire social spectrum from stratospherically wealthy cardinals to workers, provisioners, and the poor.[34] One musical vestige of Spanish Rome and Naples is a distinctive style of guitar playing that Gavito recovers from Italian accounts and musical sources. Whereas these Ibero-Arabic dances and strumming patterns were the stock-in-trade of Spanish guitarists and quite familiar in the Iberian peninsula, where they required no written instructions to perform, Italian musicians textualized them in a new form of tablature, *alfabeto*, beginning in the Spanish orbit of Naples and Rome. Gavito's deft analysis of Italian cultivation of guitar playing *alla vera Spagnola* exemplifies both the advantages of oral traditions and desires to convey unfamiliar musics in writing, in this way contributing to broader histories of memory and haptic knowledge that spanned the Mediterranean.[35] Moreover, by critiquing the cultural and social meanings of *alla Spagnola* in early seventeenth-century

Naples, Rome, and Florence, his study provides new reference points for how to theorize perceptions of musical difference that ran along ethnic lines.

Dinko Fabris, in his chapter, also considers the mobility of a musical practice: the Neapolitan style of musical training and composition. By 1700, Naples' four selective conservatories had launched approximately 4,000 students on professional careers after eight-to-ten years of intensive training in what Fabris describes as an "almost industrial level of production." Singers including Neapolitan castrati dominated opera stages and filled choirs across the peninsula and in European capitals, instrumentalists were in equally high demand, and musicians moved far and wide through intricate professional networks established over generations of student-teacher relationships and institutional genealogies. Whereas Braudel's oblique reference to "the theater and music we still love today" suggests that the success of "Italian" music was self-evident—preordained by the destiny of Mediterranean culture—Fabris illustrates the benefits of a truly Braudelian analysis that aggregates data on the careers of musicians and employs diasporic models of migration.

There is no question that Italian was a musical and courtly language of prestige north of the Alps, though we have much to learn about its traction in the time before Italian opera was cultivated abroad. **Scott Lee Edwards** turns his attention to the early seventeenth century and the printing of Italian *laude* in Bohemia, working outward from aristocratic circles to argue for Italian as a spoken *lingua franca* in very real terms emerging from waves of Italian immigration to Bohemia in the late sixteenth century and reinforced by the incursion of Habsburg armies from Italian and Spanish territories in the seventeenth century. In Edwards's reading, the *laude* printed in Bohemia witness "a linguistic culture sustained by various diasporas from the Italian peninsula, but by no means limited to those who spoke fluently." The drastic circumstances of the Thirty Years War, which brought far-flung civic, military, and religious communities into jarring contact, made multilingual communication especially urgent, and the singing of *laude* became a means for Bohemians to navigate a new and intensely heteroglot environment.

The Spanish and French Empires

Scholars concerned with questions of cultural mixing in early modern empires regularly focus on Spain, which engaged in projects of colonization in the Mediterranean, across the Atlantic, and beyond. Spain's global expansion was financed by silver and gold from Mexico and Peru, which significantly shifted the balance of power in European Christendom. American gold paid

for the construction of roughly a hundred ships that by the late sixteenth century allowed the Spanish navy to defend the Papal State against the Ottoman Empire and secure Spanish claims to Rome itself as Philip II lived up to his title as Most Catholic King.[36] Spain's ultra-Catholicism has magnified accounts of the Mediterranean as the site of irresolvable conflicts between Christians and Muslims (more true in the Western Mediterranean than the East), but more interesting, from a comparative standpoint, is how the extreme religious intolerance evident in the Spanish Inquisition and the militarism of the Jesuit Order (est. 1540) defined imperial forms that did not pertain in the great multiethnic Eastern Mediterranean empires of the Venetians and Ottomans.

Spain's imperial expansion in colonial Latin America was justified as a quest for souls, and musicians became frontrunners in missions to convert and "civilize" Indigenous peoples. **Geoffrey Baker**'s wide-ranging essay begins by considering the professional careers of Indigenous church musicians and the ways they might secure positions within the new social orders that came with colonization.[37] In this respect he resists blunt oppositions between oppressed peoples and oppressor imperialists, but he also moves on to question celebratory histories of religious syncretism and the flourishing of a "mestizo" musical culture as Indigenous song, dance, and instruments were introduced into Catholic ceremonies. Mapping the evidence shows that "mixture was more likely to take place at the margins and in backwaters," whereas repertoire performed in major centers like Cuzco Cathedral projected the social codes of "elite *criollo* institutions dedicated to the reproduction of European cultural values."

Baker argues that because church music was a domain that promoted the performance of sameness, it can be challenging to spot cultural hybridity in written sources. In this light, **Philippe Canguilhem**'s precious discovery of traces of mestizo musicking in the margins of a manuscript from the Highlands of Western Guatemala makes complete sense, originating as this source did far from Mexico City, Merida, or any major city and cropping up as these traces do at the edges of a polyphonic manuscript. Canguilhem's reading of this neglected musical fragment shows how the unusual notation and onomatopoetic syllables are both unlike the conventional white-note polyphonic notation being taught to local singers and similar to "marginal" notational forms associated with early organum and the mnemonic techniques of instrumentalists. Analytically, it exemplifies the "lateral" moves of connected history called for by Sanjay Subrahmanyam and a critical perspective that is less a zooming out than a stepping aside, getting off the paths worn by presumptions of sameness and difference to allow previously unseen connections to come into view.[38]

Olivia Bloechl shifts from the real-world geographies of colonial expansion to the fictional cartographies of the operatic stage. In a sustained analysis of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Proserpine* (1680), she shows how the descent of mythological characters from earthly settings to the underworld and back again spectacularizes monarchic power in spatial terms. Drawing on a formulation of Edward Said, Bloechl argues that the make-believe orders comprised by opera's celestial, terrestrial, and infernal realms establish an "imaginative geography" that performs the important cultural work of demarcating "a familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar space beyond ours which is 'theirs'."[39] In this way, cartographic divisions of the known world (as, for instance, into "East" and "West") map onto the political cosmography of the French stage in ways that can reveal the latent Orientalism of hellish *enfers* and other marvelous settings far more prevalent than the geographically distant "elsewheres" represented by the Sicilian myth of Proserpina, Eastern Mediterranean locations, and the otherness of characters such as Dido, the Afro-Phoenician Queen of Carthage.[40]

Pedro Memelsdorff draws our attention to the French colony of Saint-Domingue (Haiti), the most exploitative settlement in the Caribbean. At its apex, Saint-Domingue produced 40 percent of the sugar and 60 percent of the coffee imported into Europe. Its theatrical life has recently emerged as a locus of scholarship on early modern music and race thanks to the wealth of information that survives pertaining to performances at its multiple playhouses.[41] Memelsdorff opens his chapter on opera in pre-revolutionary Haiti with the biography of the superstar coloratura soprano, Minette, the first known French opera singer of color to be cast in a title role. While the broad outlines of Minette's career have been known, surprisingly little consideration has been given to her artistic persona or the significance of her most famous performances. Memelsdorff discloses Minette's complex bonds with the mixed-race audiences of Port-au-Prince through an intricate reading of one of Minette's hits of 1786, *L'amant statue*. In the second half of his essay, he considers the possible identities of the enslaved flautists whose playing from the orchestra pit "animated" the flute-playing statue opposite Minette on stage. Drawing together the Enlightenment fascination with musical automata, the prevalence of actual statues of Black flautists in France and America, and the career of Louis, an enslaved flautist at the theater of Port-au-Prince, Memelsdorff argues that for contemporaries, *L'amant statue* raised questions over "animation" itself as it pertained to the souls of the enslaved and their status as human beings.

International collaborations and cross-cultural conversations have been integral to the genesis of this volume. Our work would not have been possible without all the musicians, cultural informants, academic colleagues, translators, and archivists who broke a code, corroborated an intuition, suggested a new lead, corrected a misunderstanding, and rallied to support this research. We have done our best to respect the epistemological sovereignty of the past peoples and musics we study and disclose the motives behind our studies, but we offer up this volume with the recognition that the potential to misread remains. Expanding beyond traditional areas of expertise brings with it various degrees of uncertainty and individual discomfort, but the payoff comes in the form of new intellectual connections and networks. The in-betweenness of seas and oceans can provoke worry that "this is not my field," but we stand encouraged by the great Italian ethnomusicologist Tullia Magrini, instigator of the Mediterranean Music Studies group of the International Council for Traditional Music, who reputedly told hesitant scholars that their anxieties were "not a matter of concern, the journey will be transformative."[42] We are immensely grateful to all the collaborators whose on-the-ground knowledge anchors so much of this volume and has begun to transform our field.

Our deepest thanks owe to Alina Payne, the visionary director of I Tatti, who encouraged this disciplinary plunge into the Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds, and her superb staff, especially Thomas Gruber. We also thank all those who participated in the conference that gave rise to this volume, which also included Guido Guerzoni, David Irving, Cemal Kafadar, Kay Kaufman Shelemay, and session chairs Martin Alan Brody, Bonnie Gordon, Stefano Lorenzetti, and Michael Wyatt, who added so much to the discussion. Finally, we acknowledge the invaluable advice of the anonymous reviewers for the press.

To be honest, the gathering at I Tatti in May 2017 was organized in the spirit of a workshop to test ideas and define approaches to mobility studies; publication of conference proceedings was not part of the plan. But a sense of urgency coalesced at the meeting, for then—as now—the world was seized by crisis. To introduce this book without mentioning the almost two million migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers who have crossed the Mediterranean Sea since 2014 would be irresponsible. Italy alone had received 624,747 individuals by the end of 2017, most of them via the hazardous Central Mediterranean route from North Africa. NGOs, Italian coast guards, and merchant vessels rescue thousands from rubber rafts and dinghies, but as of this writing, the International Organization for Migration estimates that 17,862 migrants have died en route from Libya to Malta and Italy.[43]

Nothing exposed the failure of international coalitions to establish safe paths of migration more pointedly than the photos that had been published in September 2015 of a young Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, lying drowned on a Turkish beach. His death symbolized the obstacles faced by refugees and the tragedies resulting from systematic resistance to immigrants. Instead of making diasporic communities a lived reality, democratic societies across the world have reacted to refugees with varying degrees of fear. In the United States, voters in the 2016 presidential election endorsed the explicitly anti-Muslim, anti-immigration campaign of Donald Trump in a rising tide of nationalism. Responses in Europe have ranged from Sweden's embrace of asylum seekers to the controversial detention deal between the European Union and Turkey, which shut down migration via the Greek Islands.

As we work to understand the circulation of music and musicians in the past, these pictures, statistics, and isolationist policies have stayed with us, casting shadows across our research. Our studies will not bring relief to refugees, but they can refute claims of nationalism; histories of migration and cultural complexity are more pressing than ever. At a time when colonial philosophies continue to justify economic, military, and cultural imperialism, the euphemistically named Age of Discovery emerges as twinned with the present, in dyad with this now. Indeed, the Mediterranean, the Americas, and their roles in Europe's past have yet to be fully discovered.

Notes

1. For publications, see Gurrieri and Zara, eds., *Renaissance Music in the Slavic World,* research undertaken within the framework of the European program "EACEA—Culture Programme 2007–2013 Aux confins de l'Humanisme musical: monde slave et culture méditerranéenne," developed between 2010 and 2012 by the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours, France, the Matica Hrvatska—Ogranak Dubrovnik (Mediterranean Study Centre of Dubrovnik), the Univerzita Karlova v Praze, and the Università degli Studi di Palermo. From the HERA-funded program managed by Vjera Katalinić, "Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe," www.musmig.eu (accessed November 22, 2019) see zur Nieden and Over, eds., *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe*, and Katalinić, ed., *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age*.

2. Goulet and zur Nieden, eds., *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel*. *Les musiciens européens à Venise, Rome et Naples*, research undertaken by the program MUSICI, www.musici.eu (accessed November 22, 2019), an ANR-DFG research program at the École française de Rome, in collaboration with the German Historical Institute.

3. Ahrendt, Ferraguto, and Mahiet, eds., *Music and Diplomacy*, and Ramel and Prévost-Thomas, eds., *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy*.

4. Márin López, "Introduction. Musical Interchanges in the Atlantic World: A Paradigm under Construction," 24.

5. Strohm, ed., *The Music Road*, and idem, ed., *Studies on a Global History of Music*.

6. Wilbourne and Cusick, eds., *Acoustemologies in Contact*.

7. Madrid, "Diversity, Tokenism, Non-Canonical Musics, and the Crisis of the Humanities in U.S. Academia."

8. On musicology's turn from new historicism to an obsession with objets trouvés and quirky micronarratives, see Mathew and Smart, "Elephants in the Music Room: The Future of Quirk Historicism."

9. Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord," 574, cited in Ghobrial, "Introduction: Seeing the World like a Microhistorian," 14. Ghobrial's invaluable introduction fronts an issue of *Past & Present* devoted to the subject of global history and microhistory.

10. On hard versus soft models of history, see Green, "Maritime Worlds and Global History," 514–15. Green argues that global histories often fail to work through cultural responses to larger processes and the "uneven trajectories and diametric strategies forged by individuals and communities in the face of globalization" (514).

11. Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?" I.

12. For an overview of the working methods of microhistory and macrohistory that can illuminate the degree to which musicological studies of the early modern period align with the former (even if few musicologists explicitly identify as microhistorians), see ibid., III.

13. Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It," 23–24.

14. See Pennycook, *Language and Mobility: Unexpected Places*, a forceful analysis of nationalistic ideologies of language, global Englishes, and linguistic imperialism.

15. Following the lead suggested by Braudel, two of the most notable recent studies of the Mediterranean vastly expand Braudel's *longue durée*: see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, which takes an ecological and partly synchronic approach to history across two millennia, and Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, which charts humankind's relationship with the sea from around 22,000 BCE to 2010.

16. See Horden and Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology'," and Miller, *The Sea: Thalassography and Historiography*.

17. Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: Mughals and Franks*.

18. Horden and Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology'," 723; on virtual seas, see Abulafia, "Mediterraneans," and for a new model of maritime history, see Bashford, "Terraqueous Histories."

19. On island-centered histories, see Molly Greene's studies of Crete (*A Shared World*) and Malta (*Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants*).

20. On Renaissance philosophies of the westward movement of culture, see Ferguson, "The Exile's Defense," 280–82.

21. Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: An Introduction," 7–12. Greenblatt presents two "powerful traditional models for understanding cultural mobility": *translatio imperii* and "the account that theologians developed for describing the ways that Christianity 'fulfilled' the Hebrew Scriptures and hence transformed the Torah into the Old Testament" (7). Both are inherently Mediterranean.

22. On the construction of Europe at this time, see Piechocki, *Cartographic Humanism*, especially her discussion of al-Idrīsī and the designation "Western Sea" at 199.

23. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World* 1:14.

24. Tomlinson, "*Il faut méditerraniser la musique*: After Braudel," is an almost unique example of a music history embracing Braudel's *longue durée*.

25. Braudel, *Out of Italy*, foreword. My warmest thanks to Cemal Kafadar for recommending *Out of Italy* (*Le modèle italien*, Paris, 1989) and several precious conversations concerning Mediterranean Studies.

26. On the tenaciousness of these ideologies, see Irving, "Rethinking Early Modern 'Western Art Music'."

27. Armstrong and Weiss, "Introduction: France and the Early Modern Mediterranean," 2.

28. Greene, *A Shared World*, 4.

29. Ibid., 5. Also see Greene, "Beyond the Northern Invasion."

30. Shore, "The Jesuits in the Orthodox World," 321–23.

31. See Butler, "Defining Diaspora," for ways "to look beyond the *labels* of diaspora currently in use to the fundamental differences between *types* of diaspora" (197).

32. See the data compiled at www.slavevoyages.org, accessed November 25, 2019.

33. Bloechl, "Race, Empire, and Early Music," 77–78.

34. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome*, 9.

35. See, for instance, Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*.

36. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome*, 7–10.

37. Also see Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*.

38. See Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia." Subrahmanyam defines connected history in opposition to the comparative methods of area studies still prevalent at the time of his writing, which depended on segregated histories: "Nationalism has blinded us to the possibility of connection, and historical ethnography, whether in one of its western variants of high Orientalism, or whether practiced in the East, has aided and abetted this unfortunate process" (761).

39. Said, *Orientalism*, 54.

40. On Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* and its place in "turning the Mediterranean-centered consciousness of European memory into an Atlantic-centered one," see Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 42–48, this quote at 45.

41. For resources see the database curated by Julia Prest, "Theatre in Saint-Domingue, 1764–1791."

42. Cited by Philip Bohlman in *Antropologia della musica nelle culture mediterranee*, 12.

43. "Missing Migrants Project," https://missingmigrants.iom.int, accessed December 24, 2019.

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PART I

Orient-Occident: The Mediterranean

Hearing Franco-Ottoman Relations circa 1600: The *chansons turcquesques* of Charles Tessier (1604)*

Kate van Orden

In April of 1589, a French gentleman named Jacques de Villamont boarded the *Nana Fera*, a Venetian merchant vessel destined for Tripoli on the Syrian coast.[1] Thirty-six barques pulled the great craft out to sea from the Lido, whence it set sail on a journey planned to last through summer. The passengers came from near and far: France, Florence, Lombardy, Armenia, Cyprus, Greece, and more. The Venetian merchants traveled in high style, bringing along "spinets, lutes, citterns & other instruments" to pass the time, much to Villamont's delight.[2] This was not the only music on board. Each evening, the captain made sure the *Ave Maria* was sung, and on Saturdays the litanies of the Virgin and a *Salve Regina*; the cabin boys sang their prayers at reveille.[3] Although the *patron* in this way imposed Roman Catholic devotions on board the *Nana Fera*, the passengers were of diverse faiths. Some were Christians such as Maronites, Armenians, Georgians, Cretans, and Greeks, while others were heading home to the Islamic world, "Mores, Perses & Turcs," as Villamont calls them, including a Persian cleric.

Villamont took his meals in the great hall at the rear of the ship, which accommodated thirty-nine, and we have to imagine that table talk mixed multiple vernaculars. In its farrago of peoples, the *Nana Fera* aptly represents the blends of polities, languages, and religions that coursed throughout the Mediterranean basin: groups pooled together for part of a journey, only to drain and be replenished in new concoctions as ships docked en route for fresh provisions.

I begin my essay here, with these travelers embarking on still further travels to unsettle presumptions about where people and things belong in histories of music. Villamont and six other pilgrims on the *Nana Fera* were on their way to the Holy Land, one for the third time. Villamont's wildly popular *Les voyages du seigneur de Villamont* (1595) provided prices for the journey between Marseille and Tripoli and tips on what to pack, and its twenty-three reprintings witness a burst of trans-Mediterranean travel.[4] The end of Turkish-Venetian wars in 1573 facilitated decades of tourism, with "pilgrim ships" setting sail

each spring and longer routes establishing a "Grand Tour" including Cairo and Constantinople.[5] Travelogues like Francisco Guerrero's *El viaje de Hierusalem* (1590), Villamont's *Voyages*, and Jean Palerne's *Peregrinations* (1606) set the stage for maritime histories of cultural mobility that defy segregated framing according to language, nation, or faith.

This essay contributes to a growing body of scholarship designed to situate early modern France in the broader field of Mediterranean studies. Histories of France that venture beyond "the hexagon" generally sight the kingdom's destiny to the West, finding in the Atlantic its "trajectory to modernity as a nation and as a colonial power," as Megan C. Armstrong and Gillian Weiss explain.[6] Even Fernand Braudel's magisterial *La Méditerranée*, begun in French Algiers in the 1930s, barely mentions France or its southern coast.[7] Such exclusions have had follow-on effects in musicology, tacitly validating perspectives biased toward Paris and the French royal court in the north, even though—as I show here—music history can provide new data points for studies of cultural exchange in the Western Mediterranean.

One reason France has remained so easily cordoned off from Mediterranean history relates to ideologies of the French language and written representations of speech in the early modern age. Here, too, Villamont is instructive: throughout his journey, Villamont relied on Italian as a bridge language and knew enough "moresque" to catch fragments of conversation and respond.[8] Clearly polyglot, he used languages resourcefully, mobilizing some sort of *lingua franca* as he traveled.[9] And yet, Villamont recounts his *Voyages* in French. Monoglossia—increasingly typical of French literary production—silences direct speech, suppressing what Mikhail Bakhtin described as the "intense interanimation of languages that took place during the Renaissance."[10] Villamont spoke in the tongues of bazaars filled with civet and musk, and the bartering lingo of places like Cairo, filled with people from "the Indies, all of Asia, Africa, and Europe."[11] His mother tongue was probably Breton. But he wrote in French.

France was itself a place of heteroglot borderlands, and port cities like Marseille were full of resident foreigners. One place to listen for the polyglotism that bathed French shores is in songs. Uncensored by the monotonicism of high literary genres, the linguistic errancy of song repertoires enables Bakhtinian critical moves that can turn scholarship toward polyglossia and the interanimation of languages and cultures, calling into question the purity of essentialized ethnicities keyed to "national" languages like French.

Villamont's *Voyages* provides tantalizing details about music on the move in the Eastern Mediterranean, and it can be charming to imagine spinets on

their way to the Levant and Venetian gentlemen whiling away empty hours singing *ottave rime* stanzas from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. And yet, the charm of such a history, which would reinforce narratives of Venetian supremacy, lies entwined with myths of Western exceptionalism that must be corrected here at the outset. Ottoman maritime technology easily rivaled that of the Venetian and Habsburg empires, and the sultans wielded extraordinary political power. Goods and people moved in all directions across the sea, and with them ideas, mental constructs, ornamental styles, furnishings, fabrics, and song. Rather than adding to the cultural history of European expansionism charted, for instance, in repeating accounts of keyboard instruments being gifted to Ottoman sultans, I hear music as a cultural frontrunner, which traveled as readily as one could sing at sea.[12]

Segregated histories

The centerpiece of my essay is the *Airs et villanelles Fran. Ital. Espa. Suice. et Turcq.* of Charles Tessier (Paris, 1604), a polyglot anthology pitched to a niche market for songs in foreign tongues. Tessier claims in his dedication that after "tasting the sweet nectar of the Muses and being admitted to their most delightful fields in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Arabia," he gathered together this bouquet.[13] As is true for so many musicians, biographical information about Tessier is scant, and there is no way to verify his claims to have collected songs abroad. He was almost certainly the son of the Breton composer Guillaume Tessier, and he definitely visited England, possibly as early as 1582: his *Premier livre de chansons et airs de cour tant en français qu'en italien et gascon* (London, 1597) is signed "di Londra," and three letters written in England likewise attest to his presence there.[14] Tessier traveled to Marburg to present the 1604 *Airs et villanelles* to the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, but his 1610 dedication to the King of Hungary was signed in Paris, as "Musissien dela chambre Du Roy."[15] We have no hard evidence that Tessier traveled to Italy, Spain, or the Arabian Peninsula, though given the fact that even his employment at the court of Henry IV has proven impossible to firmly corroborate, the flowery language of his dedications may well convey some truths of his peregrinations.[16] In content, Tessier's *Airs et villanelles* certainly resembles a musical travelogue, and it reflects the song-collecting of French travelers like Jean Palerne (d. 1592), who kept a manuscript full of his own poetry and song lyrics in Occitan, Tuscan, Bergamasque, Neapolitan, Spanish, and Turkish, and a diary of his youthful adventure to the Holy Land and Constantinople, places he described as "quite frequented these days by our French" ("aujourd'huy assez frequentee par noz Françoys").[17]

Tessier closed his 1604 *Airs et villanelles* with two "chansons turcquesques" that might well have been picked up on a Mediterranean voyage or from a traveler, sailor, or captive, and these are what drew my attention to the collection in the first place, for they seemed to represent what Sanjay Subrahmanyam has called "the at times fragile threads that connected the globe."[18] Yet scholarship on them has remained resolutely hexagonal, with disbelief and misreadings cutting short investigation into the context of their publication. By far the most striking omission in the secondary literature is the failure to relate the *chansons turcquesques* to the political event that almost certainly defined their reception: the signing of a landmark set of Franco-Ottoman trade capitulations in May 1604.[19]

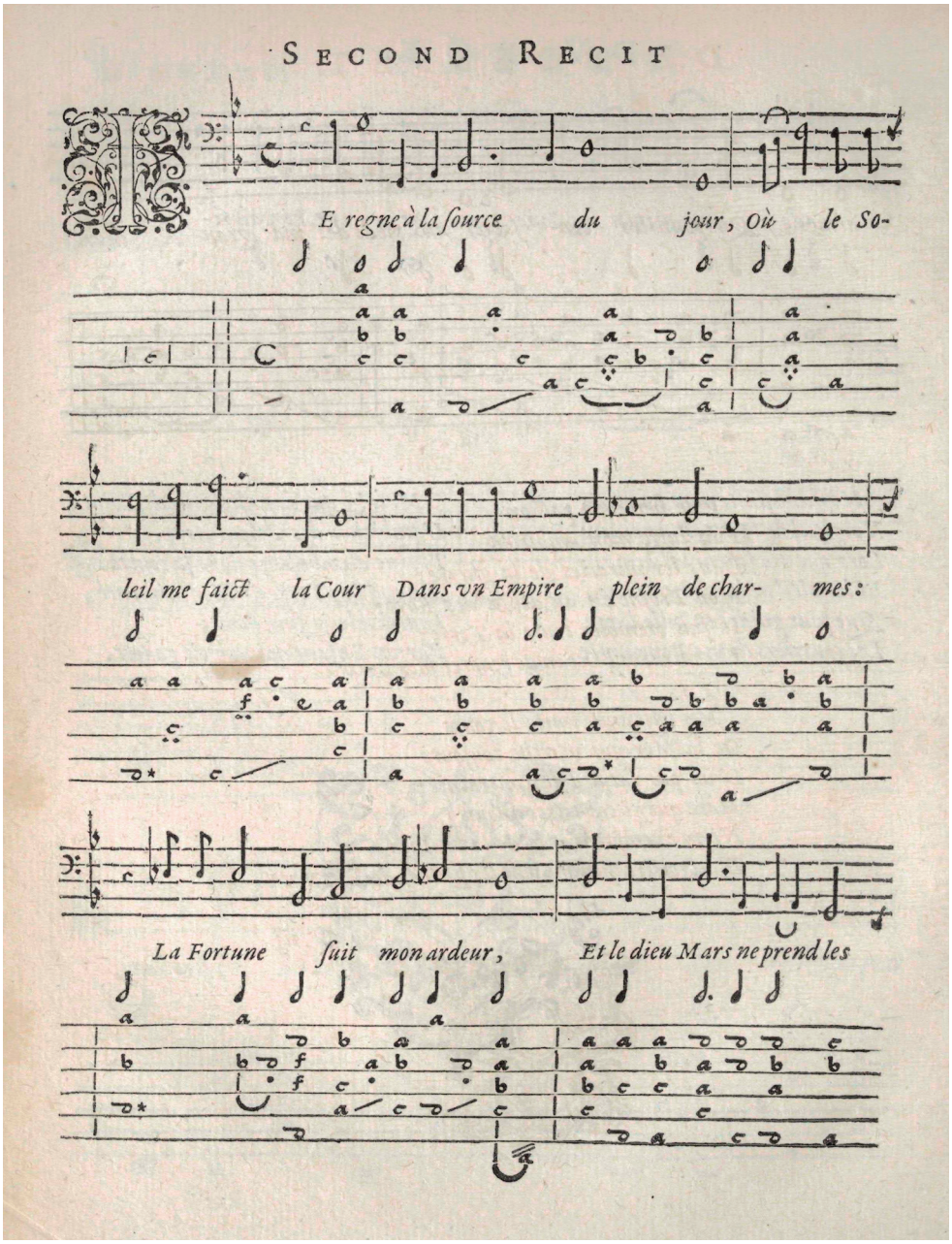
The capitulations, which endured until 1923, culminated decades of negotiation by the French, who badly needed Ottoman support to strengthen their geopolitical position. Already in 1535, François I[er] had joined with Süleyman the Magnificent in opposition to Charles V, after which the French became the first Europeans to establish a permanent diplomatic embassy in Galata, in 1536.[20] Not only did this benefit French trade, Süleyman's galleys, commanded by Hayreddin Barbarossa, subsequently captured Nice in the name of France (1543–1545), defended French interests against Spain, and even wintered in the port city of Toulon, where the Cathédral de Saint-Marie was turned into a mosque for the sailors.[21] French soldiers fought alongside the Ottomans against the Habsburgs in Eastern Europe, and in 1572, the Poles elected Henry de Valois as their king in an effort to please the Sultan.[22] After he became king of France, ultra-Catholic detractors called Henry "le roi Turc" for his "unholy" alliance with Murad III. By 1599, the Franco-Ottoman coalition proved so powerful that the Persians attempted to forge a counter-alliance with the Habsburgs against their Ottoman enemies. Nonetheless, studies of the *chansons turcquesques* fail to mention the 1604 trade capitulations and their protection of Levantine commerce.

Rather, most assessments of the songs relegate them to the fictionalized realms of court festivity, attributing them to Oriental fantasies. Frank Dobbins, editor of Tessier's *Œuvres complètes* and the composer's most energetic biographer, described the songs as "exotic," "parodic," and "probably related to masques or other revels presented at the French or English courts."[23] Alex Robinson followed Dobbins's lead, noting that "exotic themes were rather common in ballets at this time" ("les thèmes exotiques étaient assez communs dans les ballets à cette époque"), and citing a "Ballet pour une troupe de Turcs Armez" of 1596 as one example.[24] Indeed, numerous contemporary ballets featured Saracens, Ottoman princes, and "Turcs": even a cursory search of Margaret McGowan's

L'art du ballet de cour turns up a "ballet des étrangers" including Turks, Persians, and East Indians (1598), a "ballet des Turcs" (1600), a "ballet: le Roy des Maures Nègres" (1600), and a "ballet des Janissaires" (1604), all dating from the years just before Tessier's *Airs et villanelles*.[25]

What distinguishes Tessier's *chansons turcquesques* from Turkish-themed *ballets de cour* is their language: *airs* from contemporary court ballets are almost invariably in French, no matter what character is being portrayed.[26] To take one notable example, René Bordier provided French lyrics for the Grand Turk, the African Chief, and Atabalipa, the King of Cuzco, in his famous *Grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut* (1626).[27] Such adherence to French makes sense given that these roles were regularly played by French courtiers and the declarations of these characters might be quite recitative-like.[28] Antoine Boësset wrote a magnificent bass *air* for the Grand Turk, full of octave leaps and in G with affective flats that project the power of the persona (see figure 1). Described as "comically serious" in the livret, when the Grand Turk descended from his (real) horse, he took large steps to exaggerate his rigid comportment (see figure 2). This burlesque scene turns on a heightened masculinity projected through the low voice, athletic vocal leaps, large moustache, and the oversized turban, and the role was taken by le sieur Marais, a lead much appreciated for his comic talents.[29] Each stanza ends with a ponderous alexandrine line, and the poetry is beyond regal, designed to parody the ostentation of the French court through hyperbolic language that is funny precisely because it is so familiar.

Occasionally ballets employed a foreign tongue, but the instances are extremely rare. One such moment occurs in the African scene of the *Grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut*. Just before the African Chief sings his *air* from atop an elephant, he addresses his entourage in their own language: "he held forth in his song, & his subjects answered him in such excellent jargon that one could understand neither him nor the others" ("il cause en son ramage, & ses sujets luy répondent en si excellent jargon, que l'on n'entend ny les uns ny les autres").[30] This break from convention owed entirely to the casting, for the African Chief was played by "le sieur Delfin," a Corsican courtier who seems to have worked up the scene in jargon himself.[31] Though the audience could not understand what Delfin said, they praised his delivery as "excellent"—this was obviously a convincing performance by a fluent speaker, an off-script interpolation keyed to his abilities. The same ballet includes a Spanish song and a troupe of guitar-playing "Musiciens de Grenade," and here, too, we should probably assume that Spanish-speakers took a role in producing the performance, perhaps musicians in the entourage of Anne of Austria, the queen consort.[32]


SECOND RECIT
E regne à la ſource du jour, Où le So-
leil me faict la Cour Dans vn Empire plein de char- mes:
La Fortune ſuit mon ardeur, Et le dieu Mars ne prend les

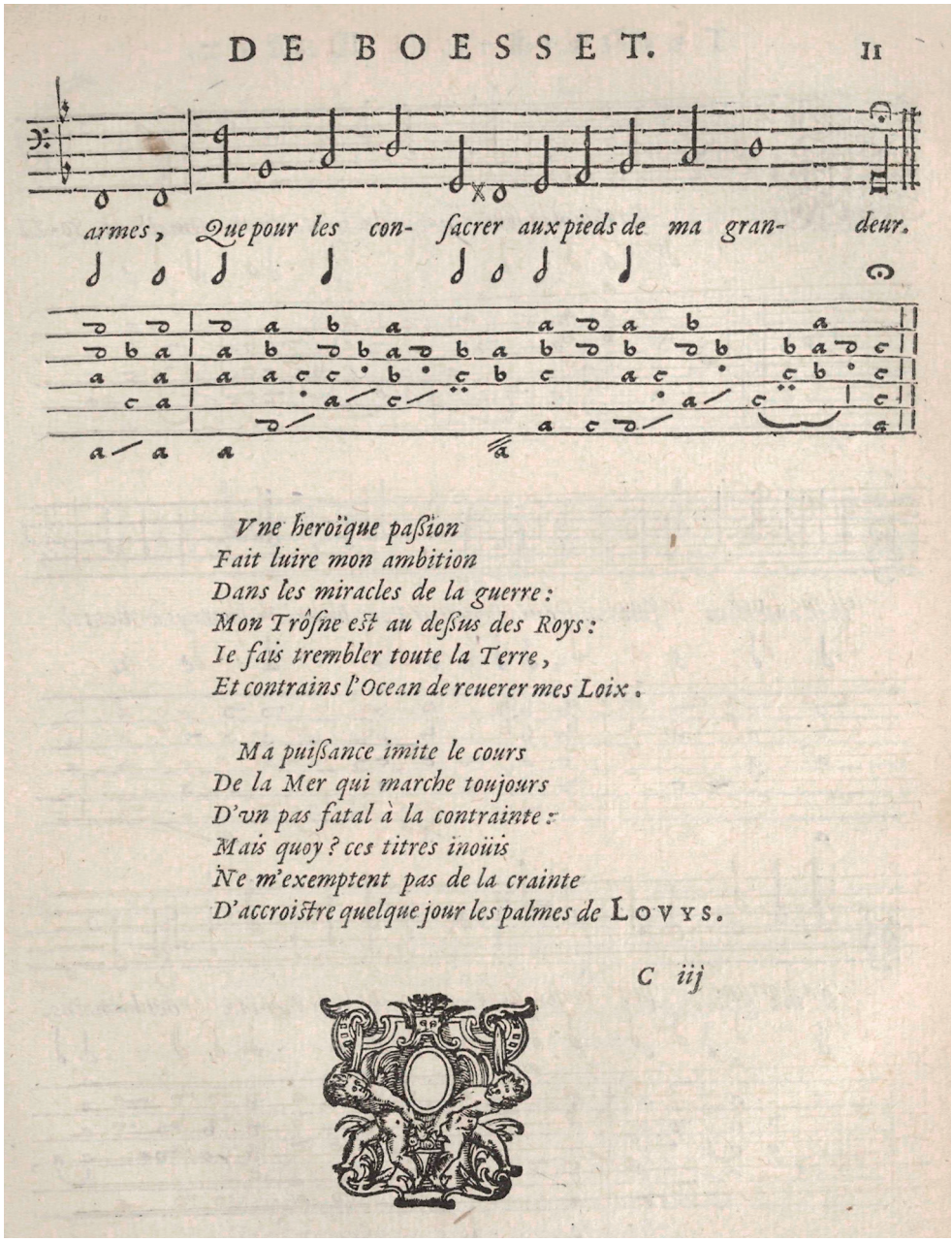


Fig. 1. Antoine Boësset, Air for the Grand Turk

Fig. 2. [Atelier de Daniel Rabel], Seconde entrée du grand Seigneur, *Grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

The working relationships that can be discerned from the situations I have just described suggest that Tessier collaborated with a speaker of Turkish in producing the *chansons turcquesques*, and yet scholars have not pursued this avenue of research. One possibility is Francesco Andreini, whose *commedia dell'arte* troupe played at court in 1603–1604.[33] Their repertory included Turkish-themed plays like *La fortuna di Lelio*, in which Isabella Andreini, the leading lady, sang songs disguised as a "little Turk" ("Turchetto"); not only did Isabella and Francesco both employ Turkish on stage, Francesco had been captured while fighting the Turks in 1568 and spent eight years in Ottoman captivity.[34] Though the plots of these plays were fictitious—this is not ethnography, after all—the players did put actual life experiences to use on stage in performances that spun together authentic vocabulary, delivery, and song in carefully crafted sonic identities.[35]

This is to say, even if Tessier's songs were employed in *ballets de cour*, we need not necessarily dismiss them as fake. Nonetheless, Dobbins uses the term "*turquerie*"—analogous to *chinoiserie*—to describe one song, implying that it is a Western product styled *à la turque*.[36] Georgie Durosoir, in her study *L'air de cour en France*, twice cuts short any discussion of the Turkish songs with

an exclamation point, simply mentioning "deux airs turcs!" with no further remark, as though their mere existence is stupefying.[37] Finally, Damien Vaisse doubles down on the Orientalist interpretation in the liner notes for a 2006 recording made by the ensemble Le Poème Harmonique:

> As for the "chansons turcquesques," … they are purely whimsical pieces, corresponding to the wave of interest in the East aroused by François I's privileged relations with the Sublime Porte. … Tessier was apparently the first to publish songs in a pseudo-Turkish gobbledegook ["un sabir pseudo-Turc"], and his example was followed by others and culminated in the *turquerie* of *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* by Molière and Lully (1670).[38]

That Damien Vaisse's translator renders "un sabir pseudo-Turc" as "pseudo-Turkish gobbledegook" fully exposes how swiftly songs, poems, and tongues that seem to be out of place can be dismissed as parodic nonsense.[39] Unsurprisingly, reviews of the recording pick up the Orientalist tone, describing the songs as a "spicy sonic journey" and "tasty" morsels, as though listening to them is equivalent to dining out on meze and kebab.[40]

Chansons turcquesques / *türkïs*

Certainly one obstacle to interpreting the *chansons turcquesques* has been the difficulty posed by their lyrics. Dobbins seems not to have attempted a translation, and Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont was unable to identify the language, which seemed to be neither Turkish nor Sabir, the *lingua franca* of the Western Mediterranean.[41] But the *chansons turcquesques* cannot be read like literary texts written in normative orthography. Songs that travel from one speech community to another are often transcribed using local phonetic systems, and reading them can be laɪk ˈridɪŋ aɪ-pi-ɛɪ wɪˈθaʊt ˈnoʊɪŋ ðə koʊd (like reading IPA [the International Phonetic Alphabet] without knowing the code). Unfamiliar phonemes may be rendered with more habitual sounds, breaks between words may fall in different places, and words can dissolve into a staccato sequence of disconnected syllables.

Giving *He vel a queur* and *Tal lissi man* a fair hearing thus began in the voice. In 2016 during a music seminar at the Fondazione Cini in Venice, I worked with a Turkish early music singer, Ozan Karagöz. As a specialist in historical performance practice, he knew sixteenth-century French pronunciation and could sound out enough of the lyrics to translate some individual words. Next, two generous colleagues at Harvard pitched in: first Himmet Taskomur, from the

Tessier, *Airs et villanelles*	Turkish (modern)	English Translation
He vel a queur si hu geau ne my Guierler molac kara guiu selly Ba ha durly durly gie far *Guie lere mi ci guie lere mi ci* *Cara guiu selly*	Evvela gör şu gönnümü Görürler m'ola kara gözlüyü Bana dürlü dürlü cefa *Görürler mi ki, görürler mi ki,* *kara gözlüyü*	Look at this heart of mine first I wonder if they could see that black-eyed one [s/he inflicted?] All sorts of pain upon me *Will they ever see, will they ever see* *that black-eyed one.*
Occu la dam ha te la ha hyn Es cherine catte la ha hyn Cula la hin sa tu la ha hyn *Guie lere mi ci guie lere mi ci* *Cara guiu selly*	Oku? aldım? atılayım Eskerine katılayım Kul olayım satılayım *Görürler mi ki, görürler mi ki,* *kara gözlüyü*	I seized the arrow, let me jump (rush) Let me join his/her soldiers Let me be [his/her] slave and be sold *Will they ever see, will they ever see* *the black-eyed one.*
Tal lissi man he ra his he hi der Va ra lon bo hi hon da ul duc Iol lo na co hor ba ho la lon *Al dic ca hic ol da celar* *Ka ter galarey*	Dalışman'a reis Haydar Varalım boyunda öldük? Yoluna kurban olayın *Aldı kayık yoldaşlar* *kadırgalara*	Haydar is captain to Dalışman [or, Dalışman's captain is Haydar] Let us go, join his "tribe" (forces?) Let me sacrifice myself in his path *Comrades embarked* *on [took] boats to(ward) the galleys*
Hi gri mi alti ol dacch belle hy Ho chi ha hin helin de naldy Tal lissi man ia ra lin moldy *Al dic ca hic ol da celar* *Ka ter galarey*	Yigirmi altı yoldaş ile hey O cihanı elinden aldı(?) Dalışman yaralı m'oldu *Aldı kayık yoldaşlar* *kadırgalara*	With twenty-six mates, hey He took the world from his [some rival captain's?king's?] hand Was Dalışman wounded? *Comrades took boats to(ward) the galleys*

Table 1. Song texts and translations

Department for Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, and finally Cemal Kafadar, Harvard's Professor of Turkish Studies.

Producing the translations in table 1 required reading the lyrics against the spoken forms of Ottoman Turkish, and yet despite the expertise of my collaborators, portions of *Tal lissi man* remained impossible to render until Kafadar identified the author as Dalışman, a poet active in sixteenth-century Algeria who "signed" the song in the opening line ("Tallissiman" = "Dalışman").[42] This was the final key. Tessier's chansonnier is the only known source of *Tal lissi man he ra his he hi der/ Dalışman'a reis Haydar*, but other poems by Dalışman survive in manuscript, and one includes the line "Dalışman der Reis Paşa biz n'olduk" and the words "yoldaşlar kadırgalara" in the refrain, as in this chanson, confirming the attribution.[43]

Little about their transmission can be determined directly from the texts. Tessier's transcriptions employ (mostly) French orthography, inasmuch as francophone biases of pronunciation and spelling can be discerned from such a small amount of text (and given the fact that French is far from phonetic).[44]

The songs appear to have been transcribed by a French speaker who worked by ear with little comprehension of Turkish or recognition of Dalışman's name.

With their repetitive rhymes, brief stanzas, and catchy heterometric refrains, these lyrics resemble the strophic poetry of Turkish-language songs known as *türkī*s, which often state the pen name of the poet in the last stanza.[45] Their prosaic handling of rhyme and meter, in which assonance or a final consonant can stand in for full rhymes and line-lengths vary, accords with the songs created by singer-poets known as *ʿāṣıḳ*s, who entertained patrons of taverns, coffeehouses, gardens, and other pleasure spots for music, wine, and love.[46]

*Türkī*s were also heard at the Sultan's court, and much of what we know about them owes to a Polish-born musician, santûr-player, and interpreter at the Ottoman court, ʿAlī Ufuḳī (ca. 1610–1675, also known as Wojciech Bobowski and Albert Bobovius), who compiled several collections of music that include instrumental repertory from the court, *türkī*s, and urban art music.[47] ʿAlī Ufuḳī also produced an insider's description of life at Topkapı Palace, *Serai Enderum*, with precious details about the education of palace musicians, rooms where musicians rehearsed, and the musical genres in their repertoire.[48] Although these sources post-date *He vel a queur / Evvela gör* and *Tal lissi man / Dalışman* by several decades, they remain indespensible to music historians for the very reason that they are the earliest known notated collections of that musical repertory. Yet they are extremely difficult to decipher. My work has benefitted enormously from the recent publication of Judith Haug's magisterial study *Ottoman and European Music in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Compendium, MS Turc 292: Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context* (2019, 2020) and Haug's analysis of the *türkī*s recorded by ʿAlī Ufuḳī.

Mobility is a defining characteristic of the *türkī*: the *ʿāṣıḳ*s who devised *türkī*s were poet-singers who traveled the countryside performing at fairs, dervish gatherings, and Bektaşi lodges; moreover, the number of *ʿāṣıḳ*s known to have been Janissaries, and the longstanding association of the *çöğür* (a fretted instrument with metal strings) with both the *türkī* and Janissary regiments and marines marks out the military as a source of musical circulation to destinations far beyond Topkapı Palace and Constantinople.[49] ʿAlī Ufuḳī describes the *türkī* as a popular style of song telling of local warriors, their victories, loves, longing, and suffering, which neatly captures the substance of the *chansons turcquesques*.[50] Indeed, the *ra'is* (Muslim corsair captain) mentioned in Dalışman's song may be Haydar Ra'is (ca. 1492–1572), a poet, painter, and captain in charge of the Ottoman Imperial Naval yards known for his portraits of Barbarossa and François I^{er}.[51]

The nautical themes of *Tal lissi man / Dalışman* bring us to the Western Mediterranean, where Dalışman worked, aptly evoking the significance of Algiers as a military stronghold and the reliance of the regional economy on maritime warfare, ransom, and plunder.[52] The poet hastens to serve his captain, Haydar, setting off with twenty-six mates toward galleys and full of admiration for his commander. The swirl of activity turns on the poet's desire, expressed as the lust for martial contest and yearning of a subservient to die for love. Such amorous hierarchies are equally evident in *He vel a queur / Evvela gör*, in which the poet is a slave to love, suffering at the hands of his beloved and rushing toward desperate ends. Enslavement was a fact of life in the Mediterranean, and the trope of the captive lover was a lyric commonplace at the time, particularly in Ottoman lyric, where it referenced not just enslaved servants or oarsmen on galleys, but the elite Janissaries and *kul*s, who were taken as prisoners of war or forcibly recruited through the *devşirme* (child levy).[53] The ambiguous gender of the beloved in *He vel a queur / Evvela gör*—common in Ottoman lyric—allows for double reading, though the masculine dynamics energizing both poems registers the barely masked violence of male society with its scripted aggression.[54]

European singers able to understand these lyrics may well have found their poetics familiar. The symbolism of dark eyes and arrows were ubiquitous in lyric traditions throughout the Mediterranean, while the melancholy longing and subordination of the lover in *He vel a queur / Evvela gör* shares much with Petrarchan lyric, making it instantly legible across cultures as a poem of courtly love.[55] Such foundational parallels between Ottoman and European love lyrics have led Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı to see the Renaissance as a pan-Mediterranean whole, an "age of beloveds" in which the desire for a corporeal union that can never be achieved inevitably results in poems of separation and longing: "If there is a point at which Ottoman and European, Hafezan and Petrarchan love intersect completely, it is in the taste for melancholy as the dominant theme."[56] Whether or not Tessier fully appreciated the "Arabian muses," these songs make a nice bouquet with the more sorrowful French court *airs* in his volume.

The *chansons turcquesques* seem to be genuine examples of *türkī*s, yet how Tessier came by them remains unclear. *ʿĀşıḳ*s did produce written collections of their verse, but the phonetic spellings suggest living, breathing transmission, encounters that involved a singer of Turkish and a writer of French. The orthography also eliminates bilinguals with dual literacy from consideration, since someone like the French ambassador François Savary de Brèves, who could read and write Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, would have provided more accurate transliterations of the lyrics, with syllables grouped together in words.[57]

Tessier's lyrics evince—at most—only spoken command of Turkish, multiplying the possible agents of transmission exponentially and likening the songs to the "lullabies, dance melodies, and sea shanties" that Owen Wright posited might travel between cultures across the Mediterranean.[58] Did they come to France on the lips of an Ottoman merchant? An enslaved Muslim, ransomed Christian, or Christian convert? Entirely possible at a time when three thousand French captives were being held in Algiers and—following the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain—Marseille was so full of foreigners that some considered it "more Moorish than French."[59] Could they have come via Constantinople? If so, they would be further evidence of the small-scale verbal exchanges charted so exquisitely by John-Paul Ghobrial in *The Whispers of Cities*, a musical instance of the way "personal encounters between Europeans and Ottomans in Istanbul produced conversations, news, and stories, which consistently, albeit unpredictably, experienced a second life in scribal and print media in Europe."[60] It is still too soon to provide full answers, since studies of minority languages and polyglotism in France and the cultural effects of trans-Mediterranean mobility are still coming online. My focus, in the research that follows, has been to concentrate on the French court and flesh out the categories of potential "carriers" that can be adduced from the archives.[61] Given their date, Tessier's *Airs* certainly seem related to the diplomatic efforts of Henry IV in 1604, but this stock-taking has a larger goal, for sifting through the archives for records of "foreign" tongues, the ceremonial performances of emissaries and foreign courtiers, and echoes of Mediterranean song models musicology's ability to amplify historical connections that might otherwise remain quite faint.

Emissaries, dragomans, and captives at the royal court

The political and legal history of Mediterranean relations makes it difficult to locate speakers of Turkish, Andalusian Arabic, and Berber languages on French soil. At the top level of diplomatic interchange, Ottoman embassies to Europe were rare, and most French negotiations with the sultans took place at the Sublime Porte. At the bottom end of the social scale, the legal maxim that "no one is a slave in France" has made enslaved "Turks" and "Moors" particularly difficult to trace and relegated accounts of them to port cities like Marseille and Bordeaux.[62] Notwithstanding, archival records for the French royal court do witness Ottoman diplomatic missions to France, ownership of the enslaved by courtiers, and the presence of official interpreters (dragomans) capable of translating spoken Turkish. Each of these categories represents a specific form of early modern mobility.

Table 2
Ottoman Embassies to the French Court, 1550–1610
Bold= embassies that followed the granting of trade capitulations

1552	Ottoman ambassador from the king of Argos[a]
1559	Mahmud Bey[b]
1562	Assun Aga, envoy from the king of Algiers[c]
1565	Hajji Murad, a *bey* (gentleman)[d]
1567	Hajji Murad, a *bey*[e]
1569	**Ibrahim Bey, a dragoman and *müteferriḳa* (five times)[f]**
1571	Hajji Murad, a *bey*, spring[g]
1571	Ottoman envoy named Mahumet (imprisoned in Verona, turned back), spring[h]
1581	**Gabriel de Bourgoigne, dragoman, with letter from the Sultan, September 19[i]**
	Hasan Aga, a *çeşnīgīr* (official taster), November–December[j]
	Ali Aga, a dragoman and *müteferriḳa*, scribe to the Sultan, November–December[k]
1598	Muteferrika Mutahher (recalled)[l]
1599	Ali *çavuş*[m]
1601	Barthélemy de Coeur (physician of Mehmed III), mid-June[n]
1602	A *çavuş* arrived in September with letter from the Sultan[o]
1602	A *çavuş*, Mustafa, arrived with a letter from the Sultan dated December 16[p]

a. The entourage numbered at least seven or eight. See Coulas, *Henri II*, 357; McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance*, 149.

b. Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, date: 1559.

c. Presumably Hassan the Eunuch, a Sardinian renegade and Barbarossa's lieutenant in Algiers and effectively its ruler until 1545. Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 837.

d. Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 836–41. Işıksel, "Haci Murâd," 252–53; Skilliter, "Catherine de' Medici's Turkish Ladies-in-Waiting," 198–99; Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel*, 176.

e. Işıksel, "Haci Murâd," 253–55.

f. Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, date: 1569; Ibrahim had also been sent to Venice in 1567. See Pedani Fabris, *In nome del Gran Signore*, appendix 1.

g. Işıksel, "Haci Murâd," 256–57.

h. Charrière, *Négotiations*, 3:175–84.

i. Traveling with Hasan Aga, Gabriel ran letters from the Sultan and Venice to Paris and back again while Hasan Aga's party waited to proceed. Gabriel was a dragoman for the French embassy in the Sublime Porte. Charrière, *Négotiations*, 4:72–74. Skilliter, "The Sultan's Messenger," 54.

j. Jensen, "The Ottoman Turks," 466–67; Charrière, *Négotiations*, 4:114–17; "Relation des ambassadeurs envoyez par le Grand-Seigneur, Empereur des Turcs"; L'Estoile, *Journal*, 1:222; Skilliter, "The Sultan's Messenger," 54–55.

k. Ibid (that is, all the above citations relate to this embassy as well). For a copy of the French translation of the Sultan's letter, made and delivered by Ali Aga, see AAE MD Turquie, vol. 2, fol. 62r; Skilliter, "Catherine de' Medici's Turkish Ladies-in-Waiting," 188–91 provides the original text as preserved in the official register of the Ottoman Chancery with English translation.

l. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 2:635; Baudier, *Inventaire de l'histoire générale des Turcz*, 441–42. Baudier gives the name and title as Muttafer Aga.

m. Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, date: 1599.

n. Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi, *Le paradis des infidèles*, 23; L'Estoile, *Journal*, 3:310; Barthélemy de Coeur was also in Venice in April, 1601. See Pedani Fabris, *In nome del Gran Signore*, appendix 1.

o. Chalcondyle et al., *Histoire générale des Turcs*, 869–70, with reproduction of the letter.

p. AAE CP Turquie, vol. 3, fols. 16r–23r.

1607	**A *çavuş* delivers a letter from the Sultan May 22[q]** **Mustafa Aga received at Fontainebleau June 27[r]**	

q. L'Estoile, *Journal*, 4:58. May 22, at Fontainebleau. "Traitement fait en France au chiaoux que l'empereur des Turcs envoya au roi Henri IV en 1607," AAE MD Turquie, vol. 10, pièce 2, fols. 37r–38v.

r. Héroard, *Journal*, June 27, 1607, at Fontainebleau. Given his high status, it seems unlikely that Mustafa Aga was the "chiaoux" received at court in May. Rather, the messenger likely announced Mustafa Aga's embassy. Savary de Brèves was present at both royal audiences. The intensity of contact in 1607 is attested by multiple missives from the Sublime Porte. See the letters sent "par ordinaire" from the Sultan, Grand Vizier, and Mustafa Bassa (=Pasha) copied in AAE MD Turquie, vol. 5, fols. 74r–87v.

Table 2. Ottoman embassies to the French court, 1550–1610

Between 1550 and 1610, the French royal court welcomed a series of envoys from the Sultan, some of very high rank, who traveled with entourages and stayed for months (see table 2).[63] Two well-documented embassies occurred in 1581 and 1607, though even for these, surviving diplomatic correspondence, diaries, and court payment records are incomplete. Moreover, some missions attested in Ottoman archives cannot be confirmed from the French side, and we know of others that had to be abandoned, as happened in 1571 when an envoy named Mahumet was forcibly detained by the Venetians at the height of the *Lega Santa*.[64] Decades later, in 1598, Muteferrika Mutahher was sent to France with a gem-encrusted sword and orders to bring thirty-six richly harnessed Arabian horses as gifts for Henry IV, but he was recalled before he reached France.[65]

The embassies of 1581 and 1607 were both diplomatic missions of the highest order, led by powerful ambassadors with entourages that spent months in France. In 1581, worried by English initiatives to establish the Levant trading company, the French ambassador in Constantinople worked behind the scenes to have the English trade agreement revoked and strengthen the French capitulations already in place.[66] As a result, Sultan Murad III granted to France the most definitive privileges to date: diplomatic precedence over other Christian nations, exemption from personal taxation, and mandates that the English trade under the French flag. Two Ottoman delegations then traveled to France, one led by Hasan Aga, a *çeşnīgīr* or official taster to the Sultan, who extended an invitation for Henry III to attend the circumcision ceremony of the Sultan's son; Hasan Aga apparently traveled with his own son and at least two retainers.[67] The second party was led by Ali Aga, a dragoman in French royal employ and *müteferriḳa* to the Sultan, who carried the new capitulations.[68]

Both parties stalled at Venice, where they awaited an invitation to proceed to Paris as Henry III deliberated over whether to receive them. The conciliatory politics of the Valois toward the Huguenot "heretics" in their own country continually threw into question the Catholicity of the French crown, and receiving the "infidel" ambassadors had political ramifications for the king. Indeed, propaganda campaigns begun by Charles V and continued by Philip II regularly cited French alliances with the Turks as evidence of French heresy, to such an extent that Christine Isom-Verhaaren sees in these Habsburgian polemics the origins of "Europe" as a cultural and religious entity defined in stark opposition to the Ottoman Empire.[69] But France needed her Ottoman allies, and eventually Henry III welcomed the Sultan's ambassadors to France, sending mounted dignitaries to escort them to Paris and housing the dozens in their parties in lavishly furnished *hôtels* in the faubourg Saint-Germain where they were attended to by his own servants and had multiple audiences with the king, queen, and queen mother; Pierre de L'Estoile, the Parisian diarist, says they stayed for a month, from November 8 to December 10.[70] It was this embassy that occasioned Catholic extremists to dub Henry III "le roi Turc."[71]

Royal audiences were highly public, and Henry III recounts that he was attended by the whole court and infinite numbers of other people. Hasan Aga kissed his hand and those of the queens, read the Sultan's letter aloud (with the dragoman Gabriel de Bourgoigne there to translate), and at the end of his mission, the *āġā* was given a silver cup richly lined with gold for the Sultan, bolts of scarlet fabric for the Sultanas, and a magnificent clock for the Sultan's son, all items that were highly prized in the Levant.[72]

In similar fashion, in 1607, Ahmed I sent his closest advisor to France, El-Hajj Mustafa Aga, Chief Eunuch and one of his favorites.[73] Mustafa Aga arrived in high style at Fontainebleau accompanied by "a Janissary, two other Turks, and two slaves"; after his royal audience, he was entrusted to the care of François Savary de Brèves, France's long-time ambassador to the Porte, who had negotiated the 1604 agreement and liberated seventy-two French captives from Tunis on his way home from Constantinople in 1605–1606.[74] Mustafa Aga had accompanied Savary de Brèves on that eighteen-month journey and represented the Sultan's desire to protect French interests in Tunis and Algiers; given the mutual perils they survived on the way, the two must have been quite close.[75] While at court, Mustafa also visited the young dauphin, Louis, bringing him green damask and a Turkish tunic decorated with flowers. Jean Héroard, Louis's physician, recounts that the five-year-old dauphin received

the *āġā* in his own apartments in a dignified fashion, with whipped-together accoutrements of a rug and little throne, the whole time maintaining a steely, confident gaze.[76] These encounters find their artistic parallel in the "ballet des nations" discussed earlier, in which rulers from distant parts of the globe pay their respects to the French king.

Ceremonial performances weighed heavily in court society throughout the Mediterranean, where only face-to-face proclamations could ratify agreements, and the size of embassies, the status of ambassadors, and displays of wealth materialized the *éclat* of kings, emperors, and sultans. The diplomatic archives are but written records of verbal accords that required the presence of high-ranking courtiers to guarantee their validity: ambassadors represented their rulers in the most literal sense of reproducing the authority of their very being in a distant place, for which reason accounts concentrate on physical signs of deference such as kneeling and kissing the hand or mantle of the king; reports from French ambassadors to the Sublime Porte are equally attentive to etiquette at Topkapı and the rites of passage through the palace complex, which evince shared understandings of comportment.[77] A negative example is offered by the 1601 embassy of Barthélemy de Coeur, personal physician of Mehmed III (see table 2). He came to ask that the king recall the duc de Mercoeur from Hungary, where he was fighting the Ottomans on behalf of emperor Rudolf II, and to sweeten the Sultan's request, de Coeur brought extravagant gifts as tokens of esteem (a scimitar and a dagger, both with golden handles and ruby-studded scabbards, and a plume of heron feathers in a gold and turquoise setting).[78] But Pierre de l'Estoile, for one, remarked that de Coeur had "ni la suite ni le titre d'ambassadeur" (neither the entourage nor the title of ambassador), and in fact, Henry IV refused to intercede on behalf of his Ottoman allies.[79]

Barthélemy de Coeur brings into earshot a host of transnational go-betweens that facilitated diplomatic exchanges at consulates and courts. De Coeur was a native of Marseille who converted to Islam and held a sufficiently high position as the Sultan's doctor that he was sent on a European mission taking him to the French royal court, the court of Elizabeth I, and to Venice.[80] The circum-Mediterranean trajectory of his life from Marseille to Constantinople and round again was not extraordinary, for the Ottoman polity was largely governed by renegade elites like de Coeur, who were brought to the Porte through the *devşirme* or as captives.[81] Most came from the Balkans, but renegades from the Western Mediterranean were not uncommon. These individuals often became dragomans and, like de Coeur, presented natural choices as emissaries.[82] Ali Aga

may have been a French native as well, since he personally translated the 1581 trade capitulations into French.[83]

The French embassy to the Porte employed its own dragomans, renegades like Domenico Olivieri, Gabriel de Bourgoigne, and Martin de Bourgoigne, and they, too, exemplify the cultural entanglements of life in the Mediterranean.[84] Gabriel was the son of a French consul to Alexandria. As a youth he was captured in Venetian waters by Dalmatian brigands and sold as a slave into Turkey, where he converted to Islam and took the name Maḥmūd ʿAbdullāh Frenk; in Constantinople he worked as an importer of luxury goods for the Imperial Household, during which time he became an agent of the Grand Vizier and parlayed his connections into employment at the French embassy as a dragoman. By 1581, he knew Italian, Turkish, vulgar Greek, and some Latin, and had already engaged in espionage in England, Holland, and Venice on trips purportedly made to procure "clocks and mechanical instruments" for the seraglio.[85] The ultimate middle-man, he epitomizes the go-betweens that Emrah Safa Gürkan sees as typical of Constantinople's unique plurality, the small-scale ransom agents, merchants, and information-traders that "used their in-betweenness and liminality to weave dense networks of patronage … in quite an entrepreneurial fashion."[86]

In France as well, dragomans (*truchements*) were retained by the court, but little is known of them. Under Henry IV (if not earlier), when messengers arrived with letters from the Sultan, the *çavuş* was brought before the king where the contents were read aloud in Turkish by the messenger and then translated by the king's *truchement*, who responded in Turkish to the envoy.[87] Eventually Jean-Baptist Colbert would institute official training of *truchements* with the *jeunes de langues*.[88] The linguistic reach of the royal court audibly expressed power—the power to dominate, the power to govern—and like the exotic animals kept imprisoned by kings and dukes, foreign tongues could inspire wonder by symbolizing the geographical compass of a monarch's authority, to say nothing of the brutality securing it.[89] That said, multilinguals could imperil themselves by freely exercising their linguistic abilities: in 1558 someone penned a letter in Turkish to the desperate mother of two captive girls who had been made ladies-in-waiting to Catherine de' Medici, causing a diplomatic uproar. The French ambassador at the Porte counseled the king to seek out and expel the perpetrator from the kingdom, which suggests that numerous persons could have been suspect.[90]

The scandal of the Turkish girls exposes yet another stratum of polyglots at court: enslaved Muslims.[91] The girls had been captured along with their

brother while on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1557 by François de Lorraine, who gifted them to Catherine de' Medici and Marguerite de France; their brother may have ended up on a Maltese galley. Thanks to their mother's persistent pleas in Constantinople and the intervention of the Sultanas, the Ottomans pressed for the girls' return for decades, making their liberation a point of negotiation during the embassies of both 1565 and 1581. Nonetheless, "Catherine" and "Marguerite" (named for their owners), "La Turque et La More," remained in France, and must stand as reminders of the other enslaved individuals who disappear in court records behind Christian names when baptized, and who, having accepted the Catholic faith, were not relinquished to infidels.[92] At the very least, we know that Diane de Poitiers also owned a number of enslaved Muslims, and that at her marriage in 1533, Catherine's retinue included a young "Moorish" girl and two "Turkish" girls.[93] Perhaps they assisted in the 1552 "Mascarade à la mauresque" honoring an embassy from the King of Argos, which featured ladies dressed in Turkish fashion who twisted their bodies as they danced.[94]

The unremarkable tone in which enslaved domestics are mentioned underscores just how ordinary they must have been. Nathalie Rothman's research locates numerous enslaved "Moors" in Venetian households throughout the seventeenth century.[95] Emily Wilbourne's contribution to this volume attests to intergenerational families of enslaved sub-Saharan Africans at the Medici court, including a talented singer.[96] Further south, we know that in 1581 Luigi d'Este, Cardinal Protector of France, purchased ninety-seven "Turkish" captives, which he paraded in chains through the streets of Rome before taking them back to Tivoli.[97] These sinister histories ran deep: in the fifteenth century Philip the Good outfitted an entire troupe of "Moorish" dancers in animal collars and costumes with Arabic letters.[98]

At the French court, an aside made by Jean Héroard attests to a singing Turkish boy there, probably enslaved: in 1606, Héroard mentioned a song the dauphin had been singing that day, "Houja Criaqué Chinchin, Criaqué, pista, christa, Criaqué," which he had learned the year before from "le petit Turc de M. de Vendosme."[99] The "little Turk" would have belonged to one of the dauphin's older half-brothers, César (b. 1594) or Alexandre (b. 1598), and was probably a boy himself. Not only did the *devşirme* systematically target children between the ages of ten and eighteen, even younger children were forced into servitude on both sides of the Mediterranean.[100] This boy was probably a Greek captive, since the lyrics sound more Greek than Turkish—something like *Houda Kyriaki*, *chinchin* (?) *Kyriaki*, *pistá christá Kyriaki* (Houda Κυριακή, chinchin Κυριακή, πιστά,

χρηστά, Κυριακή), reminiscent of a devotional song: "Lord on Sunday, [chinchin] on Sunday, faithfully, kindly, on Sunday."[101]

Tessier's songs need not have come from Vendôme's "petit Turc." Rather, both "Houja Criaqué" and the *chansons turcquesques* witness the face-to-face contacts that we should acknowledge as commonplace throughout the Mediterranean basin. As they traveled on when sung by the dauphin, in bourgeois homes, perhaps in theaters, the very sound of *Houja Criaqué*, *He vel a queur*, and *Tal lissi man* continued to build up cultural memories based on hearing and oral communication. Along with plays, storytelling, news, and reading aloud, songs echoed Mediterranean encounters long after voyages and lives had ended, their rough phonetic transcriptions allowing singers to inhabit sonic representations of pashas, diplomats, and captives that were equally present in dictionaries, phrase books, travelogues, *commedia dell'arte* plays, and the first wave of picaresque novels coming from Spain. Overfull of *k*s (as in "al dic ca hic") and foreign consonants like the aspirated *h*s of "he ra his he hi der" and studded with comprehensible code words like "galarey" (*galère* or galley)—the only three-syllable word in either song—the very sound of *He vel a queur* and *Tal lissi man* established affective meanings through which singers could imagine the songs of *ʿāṣıḳ*s or mariners and speech patterns of the seraglio and *eschelles*.[102] Singing probably resulted in creative mishearings as well—"cara" as the Italian *cara* ("dear" instead of "black"), or "queur" as *coeur* ("heart" instead of "see")—leading some to adduce that *He vel a queur* was a love song. Some singers may well have taken them to be French parodies of *türkī*s and adopted a burlesque style, but others could have correlated them into horizons of expectation established by amorous tales like *Les estranges avantures* (1580), in which a heart-broken chevalier from Seville ends up enslaved as a "serf du jardin" for six years in an Algerian palace, where he learns to converse "en langue Moresque, de fort bonne grace," charms a local lady by singing to the lute with "gracieuses parolles," and eventually sings his way to manumission.[103] In sum, although we cannot account for details of their reception, it would be a mistake to suppose that these transcriptions stood alone, silent, meaningless, and disconnected from surrounding sonic frames of reference. Finally, printing them was not neutral: it presumed an audience for *türkī*s, construed them as *chansons*, and marketed them as flowers from Parnassian "elsewheres" located in a mythological realm unmarked by Orientalism's imaginative geographies of barbarian lands.[104]

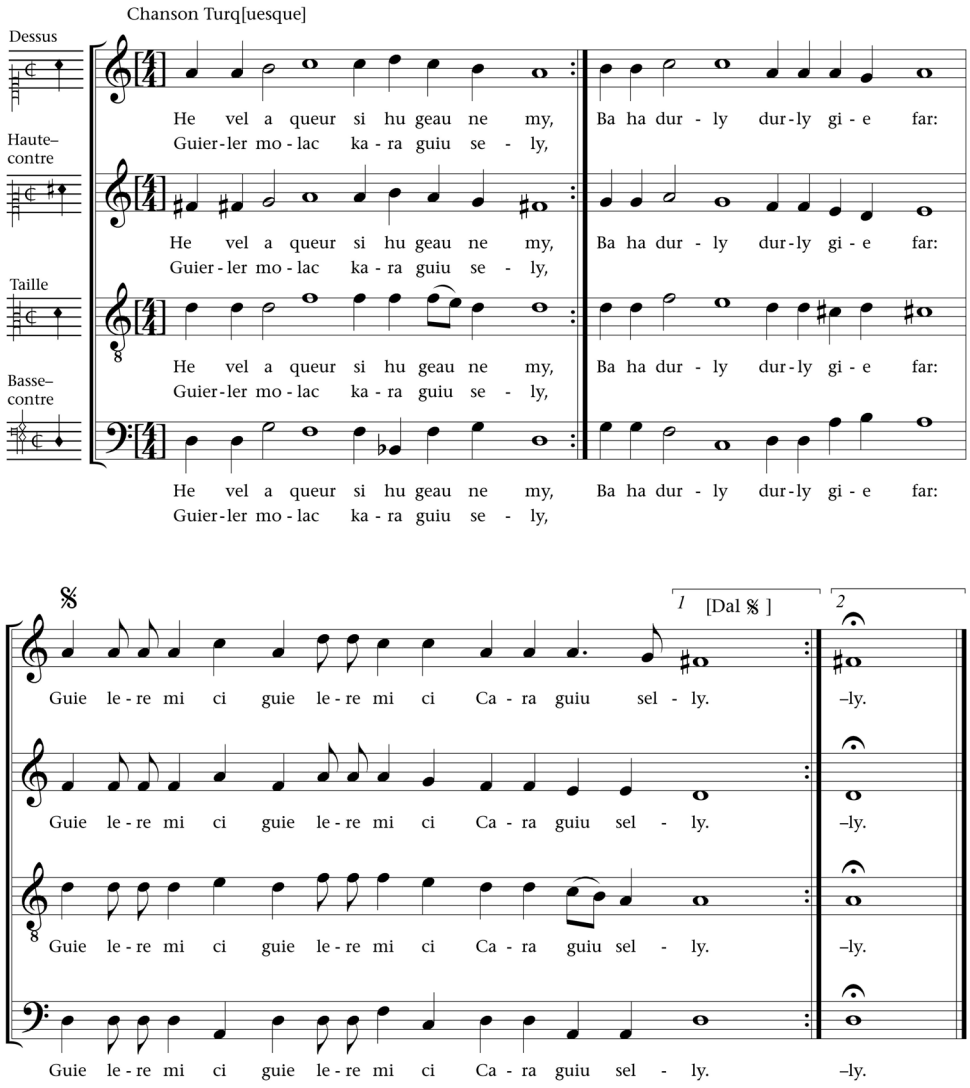
Musical translation

The Turkish lyrics of *He vel a queur / Evvela gör* and *Tal lissi man / Dalışman* encourage closer consideration of their melodies, even as we remain mindful that musical analysis cannot recover the sound of these *türkī*s: for the songs have not simply been transcribed, they have been *translated* into a polyphonic musical system governed by diatonic harmony and the simple rhythmic proportions of mensural notation. The analyses that follow do test Tessier's Westernized melodies using the theoretical toolkit of Ottoman court music—the melodic system of *maḳām*s and the rhythmic system of *uṣūl*s—but not with the goal of "authenticating" them, which would be highly problematic for several reasons. In the first place, the melodies of *türkī*s did not necessarily adhere to the *maḳām*s and *uṣūl*s that governed the performance practices of Ottoman art music; rather, the tunes of *türkī*s were more akin to ways of singing a song that were reused across the repertoire of the *ʿāşıḳ*s.[105] Secondly, performance practices have evolved across the centuries, making it difficult for modern *ʿāşıḳ*s to judge seventeenth-century songs.[106] Thus even for Ottoman repertoires that have not traveled, disentangling originals from the twists and turns of transmission across time remains a fraught enterprise. What we *can* do is allow the songs to retain their in-betweenness, rather like Sabir, and to concentrate on the "chansonization" process itself. Listening for *maḳām*s and *uṣūl*s in the *chansons turcquesques* puts pressure on Tessier's texts, opening up gaps for a critical operation that asks what would have been required to bridge between European and Ottoman theoretical systems.

I began my musical investigations in consultation with the ethnomusicologist Payam Yousefi, a specialist in Persian classical music, who quickly steered our conversation toward meter. Yousefi heard the sixteen-beat *uṣūl* Nīm ḫafīf operating in *He vel a queur / Evvela gör*, particularly at the opening of the chanson, where the *uṣūl*'s signature "short short long" pattern is quite evident: "düm tek tek, düm tek tek, düm tek düm düm, tek teke" (see examples 1 and 2).[107] The *uṣūl* would have been tapped out on a frame drum or the knees, a practice described by ʿAlī Ufuḳī in the *Serai Enderum*.[108]

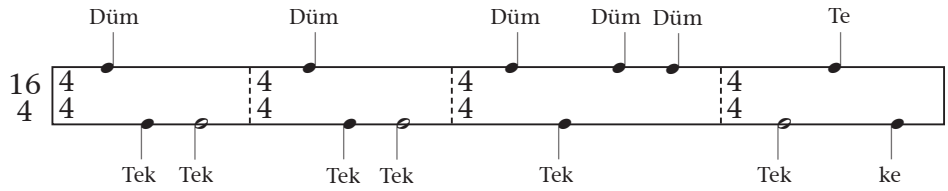
The *uṣūl* Nīm ḫafīf neatly matches the four-square phrasing of Tessier's *He vel a queur / Evvela gör*, with its sixteen-beat units, but it is possible to hear the shorter four-beat *uṣūl* Ṣōfyān in this piece as well, something suggested by another of my informants, Mehmet Sanlıkol, musicologist and director of the ensemble Dünya, who pointed to the dactylic rhythms of the refrain and their reversal of the opening anapests in double time.[109] If identifying a 16/4 or 4/4 *uṣūl* in *He vel a queur / Evvela gör* seems inconclusive (given how common

1604 ff. 42



6. Oc-cu la dam ha te la ha hyn
Es che-ri-ne cat-te la ha hyn,
Cu-la la hin sa tu la ha hyn
Guie-le-re mi ci, gui-e-le-re mi ci
Ca-ra gi-u se-ly.

Example 1. Tessier, *He vel a queur / Evvela gör*, ed. Dobbins in Tessier, *Œuvres complètes*



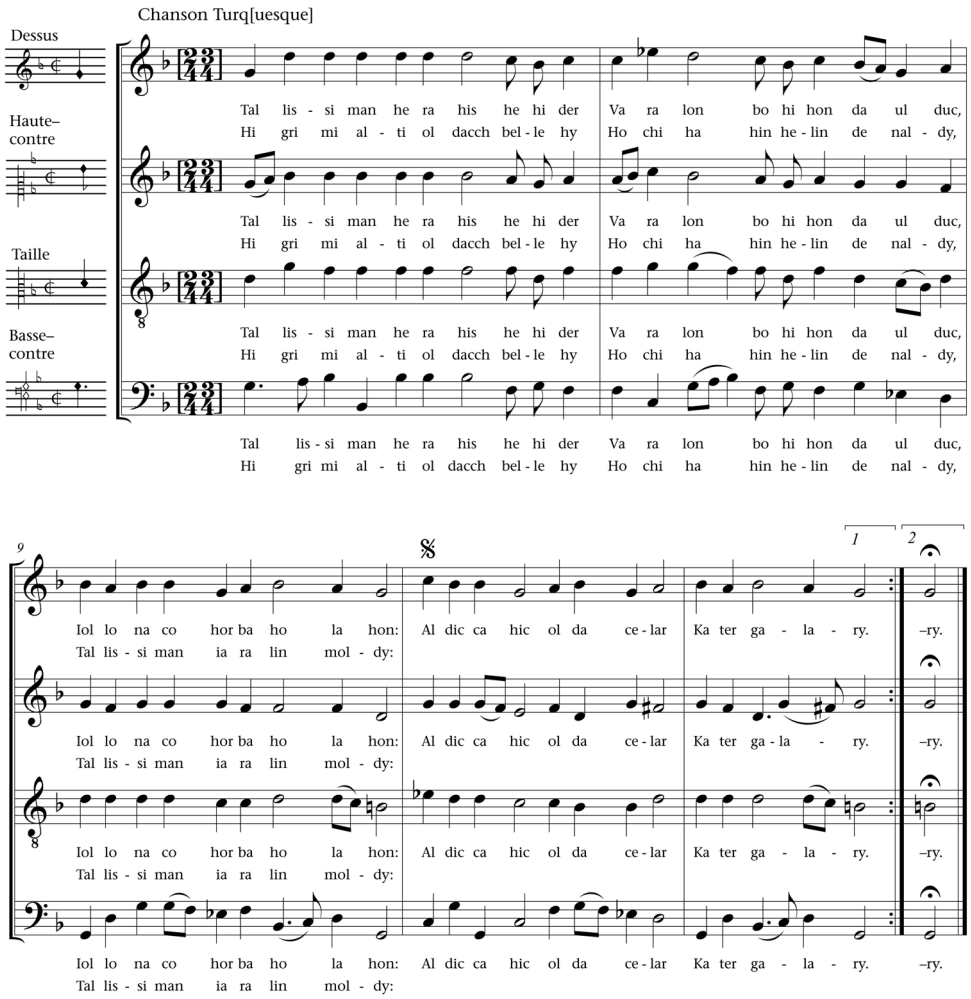
Example 2. *Uṣūl* Nīm ḫafīf

four-bar phrases in 4/4 meter are in other repertories), we might note that none of Tessier's other pieces fall into regular meters. Frank Dobbins correctly cites the "square repetitive rhythm" as "quite unlike the French or Italian airs" in the volume.[110] Indeed, in order to accommodate Tessier's barrings, throughout his edition Dobbins refrains from adding bar lines and often resorts to multiple meter signs. Such metric irregularity is evident in *Tal lissi man / Dalışman*, for instance: as Yousefi began to play through it on his *kemençe*, he remarked that "the rhythm makes no sense" and quickly abandoned the notated rhythms (see example 3). Sanlıkol, who agreed that *Tal lissi man / Dalışman* was not based on an *uṣūl*, guessed that even though the lyrics are in the form of a *türkī*, the piece might be a *gazel*, a genre of poetry sung in a rhythmically free improvisation over a drone.

Tal lissi man / Dalışman quickly turned the attention of both Yousefi and Sanlıkol toward *maḳām*s, with Yousefi hearing the *maḳām* Beyātī in the *dessus* (transposed up a fourth) and Sanlıkol hearing the *maḳām* Nihāvend or—if imagined with a microtonal quality—the *maḳām* Ḥüseynī, which predominates in the seventeenth-century repertoire of *türkī*s and *türkī*-like folk music (example 4).[111] At stake in these differing assessments is whether the fourth or fifth scale degree operates as a structural pitch (*c* or *d*).[112] Yousefi acknowledged that the opening leap up to *d″* is not typical modal behavior in the *maḳām* Beyātī, at least in the present day, though the initial resting place on *c″* is typical, as is the *seyir* or overall sweep down to $\hat{2}$ and $\hat{1}$ as the phrases progress, which struck Yousefi as "quite modal" (see example 3). In his performance, shown in example 5, Yousefi extrapolated significantly from Tessier's diatonic notation, adding in a half-flat second scale degree (*a𝄳′*) and affective ornaments, which—coupled with the flattened sixth scale degree (*e♭″*), elongations of *c″* (around 8 seconds in), and rhythmic freedom—significantly transformed the melody.

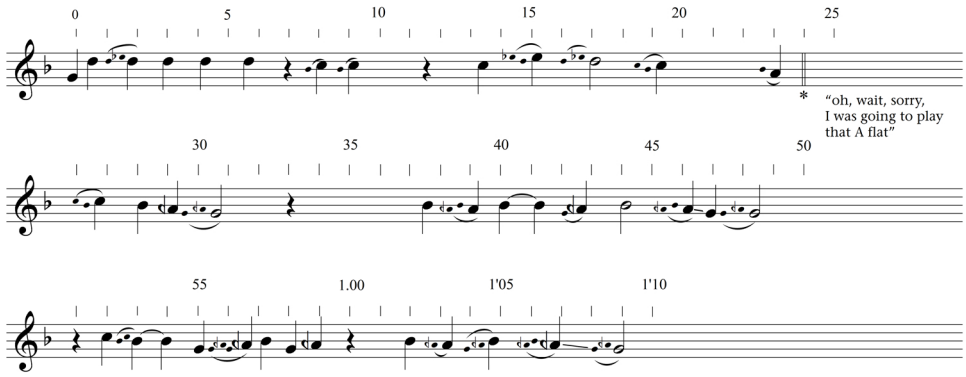
Present-day difficulties hearing *maḳām*s in these melodies when working from harmonized sources in staff notation and at the distance of half a millennium should not be underplayed. For instance, Yousefi found it impossible

1604 ff. 42v



Example 3. Tessier, *Tal lissi man / Dalışman*, ed. Dobbins in Tessier, *Œuvres complètes*

Example 4. *Maḳām* Beyātī (transposed) and *maḳām* Nihāvend



Example 5. Transcription of Yousefi performance of *Tal lissi man / Dalışman*

to hear a known *maḳām* in the *dessus* of *He vel a queur / Evvela gör* (example 1), whereas Sanlıkol felt that the melody's *seyir* strongly resembled the *maḳām* Segāh or ʿIrāḳ, despite the atypical leaps between *a′* and *c″*. A seventeenth-century Ottoman musician might have had a completely different *maḳām* in mind, and we will never be able to reconstruct this. Nevertheless, the appraisals of today's musicians establish valuable points of orientation from which to reconsider the "hexagonal" perspectives that often frame the analysis of chansons.

In his critical edition, Frank Dobbins remarks that *He vel a queur / Evvela gör* has a "limited melody with strange mode and cadences."[113] He never specifies what he finds "strange" about the mode, and his reading of cadences is rather garbled, since he identifies every arrival on a semi-breve as a cadence, despite the fact that chansons often have phrases that end without cadences; he also mislabels the "cadences" in the first phrase as g-F and g-D (instead of G-F and G-D). These slips in the critical commentary are particularly surprising because they produce the chord changes D-g-F-B♭-F-g-D: read in G minor, the progression is V-i-VII-III-VII-i-V. Far from "strange," this is a folia bass pattern, replete with the vamp's signature B♭ in the bass at the move to III and the obligatory *f*♯s in D chords that create the dominant of G minor (see example 1). A favorite of improvisers and amply evident in the late sixteenth-century chanson repertoire, folia-based songs were stock-in-trade of French musicians, who used the bass pattern in homophonic settings such as those in Nicolas de La Grotte's extremely popular *Chansons de P. de Ronsard, Ph. Desportes, et autres* (Paris, 1569).[114] One song, *Quand le gril chant*, opens with the same harmonization found in *He vel a queur / Evvela gör*, with the top two voices moving in parallel motion over the folia bass line, beginning with

f♯s in the alto. Moreover, because the entire polyphonic fabric of folia songs is generated from the bass, with root-position chords, the melody in the *dessus* results "bottom up" from the chord progression. If Tessier was working with a Turkish song, he apparently retained the rhythms and devised a chordal setting beginning with the folia bass in G minor and shifting to D minor in the second part of the song.

One could excuse Dobbins's oversight by noting that *He vel a queur / Evvela gör* ends on a D major chord (is it I of a folia in D minor? V of a folia in G minor?); this is indeed a special moment. Some contemporary folia chansons that begin with the stock G minor folia pattern do end elsewhere tonally, in F, for instance, and many have a raised third in the final sonority, but its placement here in the *dessus* is extraordinary.[115] Could the *f*♯′ have come forward with the *türkī*? Sanlıkol observed that it is not at all unusual for a number of *maḳām*s to end in this way, citing ʿIrāḳ as an example. Again, we cannot resolve these questions, but raising them models the kinds of eclectic analysis and cross-repertorial investigation that may payoff more decisively another time.

Unfortunately, what this brief analysis does expose is how quickly Dobbins dismissed *He vel a queur* as inscrutable. Anticipating more strangeness than the song delivers, Dobbins not only misread chords and missed identifying the folia, he also let the *b*♮′ in the first phrase of the *haute-contre* stand against the B♭ in the bass without editorial remark. To put it bluntly, the unexpectedness of the *chansons turcquesques* seems to have short-circuited the textual criticism at which Dobbins otherwise excelled.

Dobbins noted nothing "strange" about *Tal lissi man / Dalışman*, where—fair enough—hearing the *maḳām* Beyātī would have required reading past the diatonic straitjacket of Tessier's chordal harmonies. But we need not leave off here, for Yousefi's rendition of the melody, with its half-flat second scale degree, affords two critical moves, making audible the *maḳām*, as already discussed, but also aligning these songs with Renaissance attempts to recover the microtonal singing of ancient Greeks. Here too, a Mediterranean perspective opens up alternative readings with direct relevance to Tessier's collection.

In southern France, in Toulouse, Anthoine de Bertrand employed the enharmonic genus in his chansons to recreate the ravishing effects of ancient music, while in Ferrara and Rome, Nicola Vicentino railed against the limits of diatonicism in *L'antica musica ridotta alla prattica moderna* (1555).[116] Accounts of these experiments generally frame them as expressions of Renaissance neo-Platonism, but we should note that Vicentino took inspiration both from ancient Greek music and contemporary song traditions. In his characterization,

all the peoples of the world sing with microtones.[117] Hence the invention of his famous *archicembalo* with its division of the octave into thirty-one parts, which he developed to better match these idiomatic styles of singing:

> Tutti potranno porre in musica il suo modo di cantare con i gradi della divisione del nostro strumento, che con la musica che hora s'usa, non si può scrivere alcuna canzone Franzese, ne Tedesca, ne spagnuola, ne Ungara, ne Turca, ne Hebrea … si che con questa nostra divisione havremo accommodato tutte le nationi del mondo, che potranno scriver i loro accenti e comporli à quante voci à loro parerà.[118]
>
> [All nations represent their own way of singing by means of the steps found in the division of my *archicembalo*. But with the music in use nowadays it is not possible to write French, German, Spanish, Hungarian, Turkish, or Hebrew songs. … This is why I have devised my division, which allows all nations of the world to write with their own accents and to compose in as many voices as they like.]

Had Tessier employed Vicentino's microtonal compositional method and enharmonic notation, he could have indicated the half-flat second scale degree of the *maḳām* Beyātī, if *Tal lissi man / Dalışman* was actually based on it, but the larger point is that the very invention of the *archicembalo* and experiments with subtle divisions of the octave are symptomatic of an urge among polyphonists to defy the constraints of diatonicism and develop genres of vernacular polyphony keyed more directly to the idioms of various tongues. Tessier's polyglot *Airs et villanelles Fran. Ital. Espa. Suice. et Turcq.* achieves linguistically what Vicentino aspires to harmonically.

Comparing Tessier's printed song to performances of it by Yousefi and others stands as a strong reminder that we also know very little about how French *airs* were performed at the time. Star singers such as Lambert de Beaulieu or Estienne Le Roy would have employed pitch, rhythm, diction, and ornament affectively, and to presume that they stuck to printed parts denies the declamatory aesthetic of this largely monodic genre. Yousefi's interpretation may radically defamiliarize songs once imagined as plodding choral renditions, but it has much in common with that of Le Poème Harmonique, whose recording of *Tal lissi man / Dalışman* opens with percussion and a solo viol. The gambist employs wide vibrato in places, a sprinkling of mordents, and adds slides to falling intervals. When the singer enters, voice and viol celebrate an Ottoman aesthetic of melodic heterophony and mixed timbres. Even in the final section of four-part harmony, the singers' balance favors the melody, still doubled by

viol, as if to create a sound musically at sea, half-way to Algiers, someplace between Dalışman and Tessier.

In the end, Vicentino's assessment of how inadequately diatonic notation represents songs in any vernacular—Turkish or French—is doubtless truer than we realize. With so little information about contemporary attitudes toward the four-voice versions of *airs* that churned from commercial presses, there is every reason to be skeptical that Tessier's printed songs would represent the performances of professional lutenist-singers much more accurately than they would those of *ʿāṣıḳ*s. What Claudio Monteverdi meant by the "canto alla francese" that he heard in Spa in 1599 remains as much a mystery as the "pleasing effect" of the tremolo chords produced by the Arab instrumentalist he heard at Mantua around 1604.[119]

If this essay has worked to connect the *chansons turcquesques* with the French, Italian, Todesca, and Spanish songs in Tessier's collection, it is with the aspiration that they might inspire more attention to musical difference, not less. The surprise they have elicited in the past—"deux airs turcs!"—can be redirected toward undoing notions of European culture as a coherent whole: the clean appearance of white mensural notation, standardized and employed throughout Europe, may have facilitated the printing and transmission of repertoires, yes, but the *chansons turcquesques* should not now be integrated into a history of pan-European polyphony standing behind the "rise" of a Western musical canon of universal, timeless appeal. On the contrary, the critical turns incited by these songs—toward histories of mobility, oral transmission, cross-cultural study of lyric traditions, microtonality, and performance as research—can disrupt histories that ignore ethnic complexity within Europe itself and privilege polyphonic composition and written texts over the lyric performances that inspired them.

Finally, learning to hear Franco-Ottoman relations in the *chansons turcquesques* should provoke resistance to labels like "turquerie," a term shot through with imperial imaginings of the Orient as Europe's feminized Other: decadent, sexualized, weak, and in need of Western governance. Trade capitulations facilitated French consumption of imported goods while diplomacy and travel heightened interest in Arabic and the practices of Islam, but—as Nicholas Dew has underscored in his study of what he calls "baroque Orientalism"—despite the aspirations of Louis XIV to establish an Eastern empire, the French could not compete with the dominant powers of the age: the Ottoman, Safavid Persian, Mughal, and Qing empires.[120]

As long as we allow Orientalism to frame studies of early modern music with presumptions of Western cultural hegemony, songs like Tessier's *chansons turcquesques* will continue to be positioned as precursors of the post-Enlightenment ideologies described by Edward Said. Orientalism is an old critical move, one that allows scholars to reinforce anachronistic boundaries between Europe and its cultural Others by keeping "Turks" safely confined to the stage, draining meaning from lyrics, capturing the Ottoman voices behind Tessier's songs in falsifying quotation marks ("pseudo-Turkish"), and allowing Western imperialism to continue assimilating cultural artifacts to a colonial view of the world, unchecked by scholarly critique. Early modern studies are uniquely positioned to define alternative critical approaches, if we listen a little more closely to the sources.

Notes

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1. See Villamont, *Les voyages*, 101v. The *patron* was Candido di Barbari (see Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 2:563).

2. Villamont, *Les voyages*, 102r, "qui avoient faict apporter espinettes, luts, cistres & autres instruments au son desquels nous passions souvent le temps."

3. Ibid., 104r–v. The crew was sizable, as the main mast held thirty sailors (104v).

4. Yerasimos, "Voyageurs européens," 99, and Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel*, 165–79.

5. See Yerasimos, "Voyageurs européens," 94, and Jensen, "The Ottoman Turks," 462–63.

6. Armstrong and Weiss, "Introduction: France and the Early Modern Mediterranean," 1.

7. For this critique of Braudel, see ibid., as well as Greene, "Beyond the Northern Invasion," and Miller, "The Mediterranean."

8. Judging from the polyglot dictionary in Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 522–54, the "moresque" used by Villamont was a dialect of Arabic.

9. See Dakhlia, *Lingua franca*, 15–17, and Dursteler, "Speaking in Tongues," 67–74, for helpful definitions of *lingua franca*.

10. Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 68.

11. Villamont, *Les voyages*, 261r, "tant ceste ville est habitee & peuplee de toutes les nations qui sont au monde, à cause du grand commerce qui s'y faict des Indes, & de toute l'Asie, Affrique & Europe."

12. On the gifts of organs and their reception, see Wright, "Turning a Deaf Ear," 5, 18–19.

13. "Ayant eu cest heur de succer quelq[ue]fois le doux Nectar de ces doctes pucelles, & d'estre admis en leurs vergers plus delicieux de France, d'Italie, d'Espagne, d'Allemagne et Arabie, mesme ay en iceux recueilly un assez bon nombre des plus belles fleurs" (1604). For the publication history of the 1604 edition and its two dedications, see Tessier, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Dobbins, li–lii.

14. See the biography in Tessier, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Dobbins, xii–xv, and Brooks, "Tessier's Travels in Scotland and England," on Charles' contacts in England.

15. Dobbins, "Les airs de Charles Tessier," 142.

16. Robinson, "Musique et musiciens," 203–5, believes Tessier was probably engaged at the court, but not in a steady position (that is, not a musician "ordinaire").

17. Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 4. The Turkish song in Palerne's collection has the incipit "Brey aramber" (Palerne, *Poésies*, 179). For later transcriptions of Ottoman and Safavid songs (with notation), see Wright, "Turning a Deaf Ear," 152–55; Du Loir, *Voyages* [1654], 154–55, which includes a Dervish hymn; and Muḥammadī, *Musical Souvenirs*, 13–16, on a Persian song in the travelogue of Jean Chardin (1643–1713).

18. Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 762.

19. Savary de Brèves, *Relation des voyages*, "Traicté faict en l'annee mil six cents quatre," 23.

20. On the negotiations of 1536 and capitulations of 1569, 1581, and 1604, see Jensen, "The Ottoman Turks," 456, 461–62, 466, and 469–70, and, for the period to 1560, Barthe, *French Encounters with the Ottomans*.

21. Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel*, chapter 4.

22. This plan for a French king of Poland seems to have originated with the Ottomans. See Charrière, *Négotiations*, 4:73 n. 1. According to a French dispatch dated March 28, 1573, Selim II sent a *çavuş* to Poland to secure Henry's election (AAE MD Turquie, vol. 4, fols. 209r–212r).

23. Tessier, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Dobbins, lxii; idem, "Les airs de Charles Tessier," 142–43.

24. Robinson, "Musique et musiciens," 206.

25. See McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour*, 254–61.

26. For non-French *airs* written for court performances, see Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard*, 1:691–98. The earliest was probably written for the *Ballet de la Folie* (1614). Most date from 1645 or later.

27. Boësset, *Airs de cour … treizième livre*, 9v–12r. For an overview, see McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour*, 149–53, plates XVII–XXI. Also see Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*, especially 232–36 and 252–53 for an excellent account of ethnicity on stage in this and other productions.

28. Louis XIII played a Persian scholar in the Turkish scene with his gentlemen; all sang or recited French verse, see Bordier, *Grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut*, 17–23.

29. Prunières, *Le ballet de cour*, 177.

30. Bordier, *Grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut*, 39. McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour*, 153.

31. On Delfin, see Le Vassor, *Histoire du règne de Louis XIII*, 501. Corsica and Sardinia were transit points in the Mediterranean slave trade. For a Sardinian convert to Islam who rose to high ranks, take note of Hasan Aga, Barbarossa's lieutenant in Algiers, who led an embassy to France in 1562 (table 2).

32. Bordier, *Grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut*, 53. Another recit (ibid., 33) for characters from Greenland or Friesland resembles neither language.

33. For the biographical outlines, see Frajese, "Andreini, Francesco."

34. Scala and Andrews, *The* commedia dell'arte *of Flaminio Scala*, 19–30, and Jaffe-Berg, Commedia dell'arte *and the Mediterranean*, 50–3, 88–91. Giovan Battista Andreini's *La Sultana* (Paris, 1622), has lines in *lingua franca* and Turkish for the Sultana and includes songs in Spanish, Slavic, or Turkish, "if she [the player] knows some" (62).

35. On reading such "sonic records," see Wilbourne, "*Lo schiavetto* (1612)."

36. Tessier, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Dobbins, lxii–lxiii.

37. Durosoir, *L'air de cour en France*, 45, also see p. 35, "turc!"

38. Vaisse, "Charles Tessier, Carnets d'un voyageur," 44–45 with translation by Mary Pardoe at 16.

39. By contrast, see Salvatore, "Parodie realistiche," a brilliant study of Afro-Mediterranean speech in the *moresca* and "realistic" parodies.

40. "… un parcours épicé, goûteux et polyglotte," R. Ma., Review, "Charles Tessier, Carnets de voyages."

41. Tessier, *Carnets de voyage*, 24.

42. Usually these pen names are given in the last stanza: these stanzas may have been mixed up.

43. See Elçin, *Akdeniz'de ve Cezâyir'de Türk halk şâirleri*, 8.

44. Some vowel sounds in modern Turkish (which is used to transcribe Ottoman poetry from Arabic script), such as the "ı" of "katılayım" ("ɯ" in IPA), and some consonants, such as the "k" of "ki" ("c" in IPA), have no equivalents in modern French, Italian, or Spanish: the inconsistency of Tessier's orthography suggests that it was difficult to transcribe them (for instance, the phoneme "gö" is spelled "queur," "geau," and "guie"). That said, where French and Italian offer contrasting orthographies for the same sound, such as the "ş" of "yoldaşlar" and "yoldaş" ("ʃ" in IPA), Tessier's version uses equivalents of modern French spellings "c" and "ch" ("ol da celar," "ol dacch"), though "Dalışman" is spelled with "ss" (Italian

would be "sc"). In one place where Italian offered a sound not used in (modern) French—the "dʒ" sound of "cefa" and "cihanı"—Tessier's lyrics employ non-Italian spellings ("gie far" and "chi ha hin").

45. For generic definitions, see Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Compendium, Monograph*, 208–12 and 351–67. The line-lengths of the *chansons turcquesques* fall outside those of the *türkī*s transmitted in the later seventeenth-century compendium of ʿAlī Ufuḳī (8-, 11-, and 15-syllable lines [ibid., 355–56]), but quatrains and cinquains ending with refrains are common stanza types (ibid., table 8.7), as are rhyme schemes that shift from stanza to stanza. Also see Şenel, "Ottoman *Türkü*," 199–201.

46. On such spots in Constantinople, see Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*, 63–73.

47. On the performance of *türkī*s at court, see Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Compendium, Monograph*, 352–53.

48. The *Serai Enderum* survives in a number of seventeenth-century copies, among which is a French translation, US–Ch Ms. Fr. 103 of Houghton Library at Harvard University. On the provenance of this copy, see Koval, "'Ottoman Secrets'."

49. See Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Compendium, Monograph*, 212–13 on the *ʿāşıḳ*s, and 417–19 on the *çöğür*.

50. US–Ch Ms. Fr. 103, fols. 89v–90r.

51. See Atıl, "Haydar Ra'is."

52. According to Savary de Brèves, *Relation des voyages*, 359–60, in 1600, the garrison of Algiers numbered 10,000 soldiers with 6000 Janissaries governing the city of 100,000. Dalışman, the *nom de plume*, may mean "diver."

53. On the ubiquitousness of enslavement, see Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*, 237–50. "Thus, at the higher levels of society, everybody (even the kuls) owned slaves, men made love to slaves, and everybody was in some degree dominated by slaves" (238).

54. On love and violence, see ibid., chapter 8.

55. See, for instance, Andrews, Black, and Kalpaklı, *Ottoman Lyric Poetry*, 107–9, and Goldberg, "*Romeo and Juliet*'s Open Rs," 225–26 on Shakespeare's "dark lady" sonnets.

56. Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*, 292.

57. Hamilton, "François Savary de Brèves."

58. Wright, "Turning a Deaf Ear," 161.

59. See Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 14, 12.

60. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 17.

61. One important research initiative is the French Laboratoire d'excellence "Religions et Sociétés dans le Monde Méditerranéen," which is spearheading research into subjects such as Mediterranean humanism, Byzantine diplomacy, and more.

62. Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 10.

63. I am grateful to the team at the Sefâretnâmes—Ottoman Embassy Reports Edition at the Don Juan Archiv Wien for their assistance. For seventeenth-century French understandings of Ottoman titles (*āġā*, *çavuş*, and so forth), see Rouillard, *The Turk in French History*, 670–72. Here and in table 2, where relevant, I use names and titles as given in the sources.

64. On Mahumet, see Charrière, *Négotiations*, 3:175–84.

65. Baudier, *Inventaire de l'histoire générale des Turcz*, 441–42.

66. I rely here on Jensen, "The Ottoman Turks," 466–67.

67. Charrière, *Négotiations*, 4:114.

68. Ibid., 4:114–17, and Skilliter, "The Sultan's Messenger," 54–55.

69. Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidels*, 180–85.

70. "Relation des ambassadeurs envoyez par le Grand-Seigneur, Empereur des Turcs"; L'Estoile, *Journal*, 1:222. The Venetian ambassador reports 10–12 in the party of Hasan Aga, and we can guess at the same number in that of Ali Aga. Charrière, *Négotiations*, 4:72.

71. L'Estoile, *Journal*, 1:222.

72. See Jensen, "The Ottoman Turks," 461 and 467, and Charrière, *Négotiations*, 2:766–67 for a 1564 letter from the French ambassador pressing for diplomatic gifts.

73. Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch*, 88–97. Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 23, 153.

74. Héroard, *Journal*, June 27, 1607. On the captives he liberated see Savary de Brèves, *Relation des voyages*, 353.

75. Savary de Brèves, *Relation des voyages*. Their galleon left Constantinople May 15, 1605 and arrived in Marseille November 19, 1606. Mustafa Aga's presence is attested intermittently in the journal.

76. Héroard, *Journal*, June 27, 1607.

77. See the "Relation au vray de ce qui s'est passé au baisemain de Monsieur de Salagnac Ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant le premier Mars 1605," AAE MD Turquie, vol. 2, fols. 36r–39r.

78. L'Estoile, *Journal*, 3:310.

79. Ibid.

80. Norton, "Iconographs of Power," 340–41.

81. See Gürkan, "Mediating Boundaries," 120–24.

82. On the dragomans, see ibid., 111–16.

83. AAE MD Turquie, vol. 2, fols. 53r–62r.

84. In 1569, Olivieri was signing as "truchement et interprete du Roy"; under Henry III he received a salary ("Comtes de dépenses de Henri III," 433).

85. See the biography in Skilliter, "The Sultan's Messenger," 52–54.

86. Gürkan, "Mediating Boundaries," 111, 124–25.

87. For the order of ceremonies, see "Traitement fait en France au chiaoux que l'Empereur des Turcs envoya au roi Henri IV en 1607," AAE MD Turquie, vol. 10, pièce 2, fols. 37r–38v. "Puis mettant une seconde fois le genoüil en terre il [the *çavuş*] baisa le bord du manteau de sa M.^{té} et luy ayant presenté la lettre du G.^{d} Seigneur, il fit sa harangue a haute voix en sa langue. Cette harangue fut interpretée par l'Interprete du Roy, et sa M.^{té} luy repondit par des paroles d'honesteté qui luy furent interpret[é]es par le même trucheman."

88. Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*, 24–25.

89. See Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 100–108, 193–95.

90. Charrière, *Négotiations*, 2:460.

91. The French ambassador Jean de la Vigne confirmed: "sans point de faulte il y a quelques esclaves turcqs en votre royaume et en vostre court, mesmement quelques femmes." Charrière, *Négotiations*, 2:459.

92. In 1558, Diane de Poitiers relinquished those of her enslaved Muslims that had not converted—number unknown—but not the Christian converts. See Charrière, *Négotiations*, 2:459.

93. Skilliter, "Catherine de' Medici's Turkish Ladies-in-Waiting," 194.

94. McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance*, 149, and Coulas, *Henri II*, 357–58.

95. Rothman, "Contested Subjecthood," 428.

96. Wilbourne, "'… la curiosità del personaggio': 'il Moro' on the Mid-Century Operatic Stage."

97. Pacifici, "Luigi d'Este, Cap. XV, Gli ultimi anni," 16, 23.

98. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 101.

99. Héroard, *Journal*, January 29, 1606.

100. See Rothman, "Contested Subjecthood," and Savary de Brèves, *Relation des voyages*, 344–45, on captive boys as young as two, three, and four being circumcised, "made Turk" by force, and kept for sex in Algiers.

101. "Houja" may be the Turkish "houda": Lord, God, or master. For the Greek, alternative interpretations include: *Krya kai* (κρύα καὶ, cold and) for Criaqué and *Christé* (Χριστέ, vocative of Christos, Christ) for christa. "Chinchin" remains indecipherable. My thanks to Théodora Psychoyou and Cemal Kafadar for their renderings and Judith Haug for suggesting that the lyrics were more Greek than Turkish.

102. The Turkish words for *galère* (*caterga*), *noir* (*cara*), *flèche* (*oc*), *vingt-six* (*igrimi alti*) are provided with French translations in Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 522–35; *esclave* is given as *hiaser* (m.) and *haliac* (f.).

103. Contreras, *Les estranges avantures*, 236–45.

104. Said, *Orientalism*, 54.

105. Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Compendium, Monograph*, 322–23. On the relevance of *maḳām*s and *uṣūl*s to *türkī*s, see ibid., 359, and Feldman, "The Musical 'Renaissance' of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey," 100.

106. See Reinhard, "Ist die türkische Volksmusik über die Jahrhunderte konstant geblieben?," 224 and the discussion in Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Compendium, Monograph*, 365–66 and 429–32.

107. The syllables represent drumming patterns in which düm = a flat stroke with the dominant hand, tek and te = striking with the ring finger near the rim, and ke = striking with the index finger of the non-dominant hand near the rim.

108. US-Ch Ms. Fr. 103, fols. 88v–89r.

109. Classroom demonstration at Harvard University, October 23, 2018. Judith Haug (personal correspondence, December 8, 2019), agrees that Ṣōfyān is a more plausible identification.

110. Tessier, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Dobbins, lxiii.

111. Dimitri Psonis, who performed with Jordi Savall at I Tatti during the "Music in the Mediterranean Diaspora" conference in May 2017, agreed with Yousefi that Beyātī was the most likely *maḳām* for *Tal lissi man / Dalışman*. On the relative frequency of Beyātī, Nihāvend, and Ḥüseynī in the repertoire transmitted by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, which Sanlıkol factored into his assessment, see Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Compendium, Monograph*, 233–38.

112. For the *maḳām* Beyātī as characterized by ʿAlī Ufuḳī and Cantemir, see Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Compendium, Monograph*, 247–48, and Wright, *Demetrius Cantemir*, 134–35.

113. Tessier, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Dobbins, lxiii. "This *turquerie* has a square repetitive rhythm and limited melody with strange mode and cadences–g-F, g-D, F-C, g-A & a-D."

114. It was reprinted in 1570, 1572, 1573, 1575, and 1580.

115. In La Grotte's collection, the major third is common in final sonorities; for a song that begins as a folia in G minor and ends in F, see *Las! je n'eusse jamais pensée*.

116. See Vaccaro, "Les Préfaces d'Anthoine de Bertrand," and Vicentino, *L'antica musica*.

117. Wright, "Turning a Deaf Ear," 157–58, notes that Charles Perrault (1688) linked "Oriental" melodic refinement with ancient music, aptly adding "one might have expected such open-minded responses" from Vicentino and Monteverdi.

118. Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, 85v. I thank Daniel Walden for drawing this passage to my attention.

119. See Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, 111–12, on "canto alla francese", and Monteverdi, *Letters*, ed. Stevens, 412–17, on the Arab instrumentalist.

120. Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*, 6–9.

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